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THE

OFFICIAL REPORT

OF THE

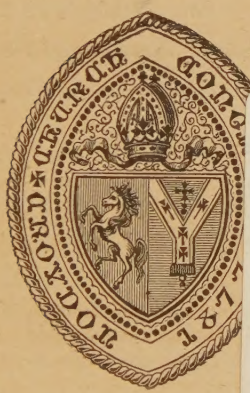
SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Church Congress,

HELD AT

CROYDON, 1877.



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EDITED BY REV. W. WILKS, M.A.

CROYDON:

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1877.

*** *A few copies of the Archbishop's Opening and Closing Addresses, together with the Sermons by Professor Lightfoot and Canon Farrar, can be obtained by applying to Rev. W. Wilks, Croydon. Price* 1/-, *or by post* 1/1.

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PREFACE.

IN issuing the Official Report of the Seventeenth Church Congress but few words are necessary by way of preface.

No exertion has been spared to make the Report as complete as possible, and if some little delay has occurred in its publication it is hoped that this will be found to be more than compensated for in the general accuracy of the Report. It would be folly to imagine that no mistakes have crept in, in so voluminous and complex a work; but it is hoped they may be few and unimportant. The Editor has been materially assisted by the great care and attention of the Printer.

The expenses connected with this meeting of Congress have been unavoidably large, yet when compared with those at Brighton—the last *large* Congress held—they appear in a not unfavourable light. Exclusive of cost of the buildings, the figures stand thus: Croydon, £530; Brighton, £682. At Brighton—and again at Plymouth last year—buildings sufficiently large were placed at the command of the Committee free of all charge;

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whereas at Croydon the Committee were obliged to put up a large hall to accommodate 4,500 persons, with necessary out-buildings, refreshment-rooms, &c. This was done as economically as possible consistent with safety, but yet it entailed an outlay of almost £2,500. Had it not been for this unavoidable expenditure, the guarantors would not have been called upon at all, and there would have been a balance in hand of £1,100, as against £650 at Brighton and nothing at Plymouth. The Hon. Secs. therefore feel that it is in no way owing to them that the guarantee fund is so heavily taxed; indeed they congratulate themselves in having (in the departments which they could influence) decreased the expenditure and increased the receipts.

The thanks of all who were in any way connected with the Congress are due to Mr. Edward Salter, the hon. architect, for the time and attention which he so kindly devoted to the work, for the excellent plans he designed, and for the magnificent acoustical properties which he secured to the building.

This Official Report is sent forth with the hope that the spirit of concord and peace, which in so marked a manner pervaded this meeting of Congress, may spread and prevail for the greater union and strength of that branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church in this Kingdom established.

W. WILKS,
Hon. Sec.,
Church Congress, 1877.

CHRISTMAS EVE, 1877.

CHURCH CONGRESS, CROYDON, 1877.

BALANCE SHEET.

	£	s.	d.
4073 Full Members' Tickets, at 7s. 6d.	1527	7	6
730 Day Tickets, at 3s.	109	10	0
Amount of deficiency chargeable on the Guarantee Fund	1403	15	11
	£3040	13	5

	£	s.	d.
Congress Hall, Fittings, &c.	2476	18	11
Hire of Section Room and Offices	33	3	0
Stationery, Printing, Stamps, &c.	253	19	7
Police, Commissionaires, &c.	86	5	6
Reporting	52	10	0
Advertising	50	2	4
Musical Arrangements	39	1	8
Clerks' Salaries	16	10	0
Sundries	32	2	5
	£3040	13	5

December 21st, 1877.

C. E. WATSON, Major R.A.,
Hon. Sec.

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CHURCH CONGRESS, 1877.

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

HELD AT CROYDON

ON

TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, AND FRIDAY,

OCTOBER 9th, 10th, 11th, & 12th.

PRESIDENT.

The Right Honourable and Most Reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

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The Lord Archbishop of York.
The Lord Archbishop of Armagh.
The Lord Archbishop of Dublin.
The Lord Bishop of London.
The Lord Bishop of Winchester.
The Lord Bishop of Llandaff.
The Lord Bishop of Ripon.
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The Lord Bishop of Chester.
The Lord Bishop of St. Alban's.
The Lord Bishop of Rochester.
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The Lord Bishop of Hereford.
The Lord Bishop of Peterborough.
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The Lord Bishop of Killaloe.
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The Lord Bishop of Derry.
The Lord Bishop of Kilmore.
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The Right Rev. Bishop Jenner.
The Right Rev. Bishop Perry.
The Right Rev. Bishop Ryan.
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The Very Rev. the Dean of St. Paul's.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Canterbury.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Lichfield.
The Ven. the Archdeacon of Ely.
The Ven. the Archdeacon of Maidstone.
The Ven. the Archdeacon of Middlesex.
The Rev. Professor Lightfoot.
The Rev. Canon Gregory.
The Rev. Canon Farrar.
The Rev. Canon Robertson.
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Services at the Parish Church, Croydon,

IN CONNECTION WITH THE CONGRESS.

Saturday, Oct. 6th.—5.0, Evensong.

Sunday ,, 7th.—8.0 and 9.30, Holy Communion.
11.0, Mattins and Holy Communion.
Preacher—The Lord Bishop of Oxford.
3.30, Choral Litany and Sermon.
Preacher—The Lord Bishop of Dover.
7.0, Evensong and Sermon.
Preacher—The Lord Bishop of Argyll.

Monday ,, 8th.—9.0, Mattins.
5.0, Evensong.

Tuesday ,, 9th.—8.0, Holy Communion.
9.0, Mattins.
11.0, Mattins and Sermon.
Preacher—Professor Lightfoot.
5.20, Evensong.

Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, Oct, 10th, 11th, 12th.—
8.0, Holy Communion.
5.20, Evensong.

Saturday, Oct. 13th.—8.0, Holy Communion.
9.0, Mattins.
11.0, Mattins and Sermon.
Preacher—Canon Farrar.
5.0, Evensong.

Sunday ,, 14th.—8.0 and 9.30, Holy Communion.
11.0, Mattins and Holy Communion.
Preacher—The Lord Bishop of Derry.
3.30, Choral Litany and Sermon.
Preacher—Rev. W. J. Knox Little.
7.0, Evensong and Sermon.
Preacher—The Lord Bishop of Rochester.

Monday ,, 15th.—9.0, Mattins.

There was also a Daily Celebration during the Congress at Christ Church, S. Matthew's, and S. Michael's, and frequent Services at S. Michael's.

THE SERMON

PREACHED IN THE PARISH CHURCH, CROYDON,

On Tuesday, October 9th, 1877,

by the

REV. PROFESSOR LIGHTFOOT, D.D.,

Canon of S. Paul's.

THE SERMON

BY THE

REV. PROFESSOR LIGHTFOOT, D.D.

"I looked and behold a whirlwind came from the north, a great cloud, and a fire."—*Ezekiel* i. 4.

THE history of the Jews was a succession of startling paradoxes. Their most signal defeats were ever their most splendid triumphs. Their worst disasters ushered in their proudest successes. At three several crises in their career—in youth, in middle life, in old age—they came into collision with three giant empires of the ancient world, Egypt, Babylon, Rome. Each time they were crushed, almost annihilated, by the conflict. Yet each time they started up into a fresh and more vigorous life. The Egyptian bondage created Israel as a nation; the Babylonish captivity consolidated the nation as a Church; the Roman desolation expanded the Church of a nation into the Church of mankind. Their three chief scourges were their three greatest benefactors—Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Titus. Their unmaking was in each case a making anew.

As a paradox, the Babylonian captivity was the most striking of the three. In the other cases we can trace with some distinctness (at least after the event) the connection between the cause and the effect, between the disaster and the triumph; but here it is far more subtle and less apparent. We picture to ourselves the earlier bands of Jewish exiles on the banks of the Euphrates, homeless and forlorn, their ranks cruelly thinned by the calamities of war and the hardships of slavery. Hoping against hope, they strain their eyes towards their native land, eager for fresh tidings. Each announcement is darker than the former. Blow follows upon blow, until the tale of their misery is full. The last company of exiles is deported; the last scion of royalty is a prisoner; the last breach in the fortress is stormed. The city is laid waste; the temple is a heap of stones. All is over. The sweet minstrelsies of the sanctuary jar cruelly on their ears now. The very name of Sion is a bitterness to them. And meanwhile, in this

their helpless, hopeless misery, they are confronted with the most gigantic, awe-inspiring power which the world had hitherto seen. All the environments of the scene combine to crush them with a sense of their own nothingness—the vast size of the capital, the luxuriance and extent of its gardens, the pomp and splendour of its equipages, its huge architectural piles, its solemn weird sculptures, the broad, ceaselessly flowing river, the mighty Euphrates (what a contrast to the scarcely audible rippling of their own little Siloah!), the boundless expanse of plain and desert beyond, parting them by a weary journey of weeks and months from the home of their forefathers. How can they help feeling dwarfed, while everything around is cast in this colossal mould? If at that crisis any calm and impartial bystander had been asked whether of the two—Babylon or Israel, the master or the slave—held in his grasp the future destinies of mankind, would he for a moment have hesitated what answer he should give?

And yet out of the very abyss of despair the prophet's hope takes wing and soars aloft. Above the howling of the storm, and through the darkness of the night, the pæan of victory rises and swells, clear and jubilant, till the whole air is charged with its defiant notes. No prophet is more hopeful, more lavish in his promises, more confident of the future, than the forlorn exile on the banks of the Chebar in the first stunning moment of his country's despair.

It is not that he sees only the bright features of the prospect. No words can be fiercer or less compromising than the invective in which he denounces the sins of the nation. It would seem as if in his imagery he could not find colours dark enough to blacken the Israel of God. The Israel of God? Why, thy father was an Amorite and thy mother a Hittite—vile, polluted, God-forsaken heathens both; and after the foul deeds of thy parentage thou thyself hast done. The Israel of God? Why, thine elder sister is Samaria—Samaria, the profane and the profligate; and thy younger sister is Sodom—Sodom, whose very name is a byeword for all that is most loathsome, most abominable in human wickedness, and whose vengeance—the sulphurous fire from heaven—flares out as a beacon of warning against sin and impurity to all time. And thou art far worse than thy sisters. Restore thee from thy captivity? Aye, then when Samaria is restored, then when Sodom is restored—then, and not till then—unless thou repent. Would they shift the burden of the blame on other shoulders? Would they plead that it is unjust to make them suffer for the sins of past generations? "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." This poor rag of excuse with which they would cover their shame is ruthlessly torn away. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." Here then is

Israel's sentence; "Thus saith the Lord; say a sword, a sword is sharpened, and it is furbished. It is sharpened to make a sore slaughter; it is furbished that it may glitter," gleaming defiantly, flashing out laughter, as it descends on the victim cowering to receive the blow.

And yet, as the prophet's eye ranges beyond the immediate present, what does he see? The Spirit carries him into the wilderness and sets him down there. It is the scene apparently of some murderous conflict between the wild tribes of the desert or of some catastrophe which has befallen a caravan of travellers. The ground is strewn with the bones of the dead—fleshless, sinewless, picked clean by the vultures and bleached by long exposure, tossed here and there by the rage of the elements or the reckless hand of man. Is it possible that these bones, so bare and so dry, shall unite, shall be clothed, shall live and move again? God only can say. A moment more, and the answer is given. There is a rustling, a clatter, a movement, a uniting of joint and socket, a meeting of vertebra and vertebra. Sinews stretch from bone to bone; flesh and skin spread over them. At God's bidding breath is breathed into them. They start up on their feet, an exceeding great army.

But the range of vision is not bounded here. Beyond the wilderness lies the pleasant land. Beyond the valley of dry bones is the hill of Sion, the city of the living God. After the revival of Israel comes the spread of the truth, the expansion of the Church. The exceeding great army is there; but the battle is still unfought, the victory has still to be won.

So the prophet is carried again by the Spirit, and set down in the holy city. He is there once again within the sacred precincts, where of old he had ministered as a priest. The scene is the same, and yet not the same. The hill of the temple has grown into "a very high mountain." Everything is on a grander scale—a larger sanctuary, a more faithful priesthood, richer and more abundant offerings. His eye is arrested by the little spring of pure water which issued from the temple rock and found its way in a trickling stream to the valley beneath—fit symbol of the Church of God. As he watches, it rises and swells, ancle-deep, knee-deep, overhead. Silently, steadily, it expands and gathers volume, pouring down the main valley and filling all the lateral gorges, advancing onward and onward, till it washes the bases of the far-off hills of Moab and sweetens the salt waters of the very Sea of Death — teeming with life, watering towns and fertilising deserts, throughout its beneficent course—a stream so puny and obscure at its sources, so broad and full and bountiful in its issues—this mighty river of God. Indeed it was no earthly pile of masonry, no building made by hands—this magnified temple, which rose before the prophet's eyes.

So it has always been. God's chief revelations have ever flashed out in seasons of trial and perplexity. As in Ezekiel's vision, there has been first the whirlwind—then the cloud—then the flame, the light, the glory, glowing with ever-increasing brightness from the very heart and blackness of the cloud. There is first the wild impetuous force, unseen yet irresistible, rooting up old institutions, scattering old ideas, perplexing, deafening, blinding; sweeping all things human and divine into its eddies. Then the dark cloud of despair—the despair of materialism or the despair of agnosticism—settles down with its numbing chill. Then at length emerges the vision of the Throne, the Chariot of God, blinding the eyes with its dazzling splendour; and after this the vision of the dry and bleaching bones starting up into new life; and after this the vision of a larger sanctuary and a purer worship. It was so at the epoch of the Babylonian captivity; it was so at the downfall of the Roman empire; it was so at the outbreak of the Reformation. And shall it not be so once again?

We are warned by the experience of the past not to over-rate either the perplexities or the hopes of the present. Nearness of view unduly magnifies the proportions of events. Yet it is surely no exaggeration to say that the Church of our day is passing through one of those momentous crises which only occur at intervals of two or three centuries. One fact alone would mark this century, even this decade which has still some years to run, as a signal epoch in the history of Christendom. The solemn ratification of the claims of the Roman pontiffs to an absolute tyranny over the minds and consciences of men, followed almost without a breathing space by the annihilation of the last remnant of their temporal sovereignty—this twofold incident in itself would stamp our age with a significance which no time can efface. But indeed these striking outward events, portentous as they seem, are in reality of less moment than the working of those silent underground forces, political, social, and intellectual, which betray themselves for a time only by a confused rumbling, but burst out at length in desolation and ruin. It is the concurrence of so many and various disturbing elements which forms the characteristic feature of our age. Here is the vast accumulation of scientific facts, the rapid progress of scientific ideas; there is the enlarged knowledge of ancient and widespread religions arising from the increased facilities of travel. Here is the sharpening of the critical faculty to a keenness of edge unattained in any previous age; there is the accumulation of new materials for its exercise from divers sources, the recovery of many a lost chapter in the history of the human race, whether from ancient manuscripts, or from the deciphered hieroglyphs of Egypt and the disentombed palaces of Assyria, or even from the reliques of a more remote

past, the flint implements and the bone caverns of prehistoric man. These are some of the intellectual factors with which the Church in our age has to reckon. And the social and political forces are not less disturbing. The question of the relations between Church and State in England has awakened many animosities and started many alarms of late. It is only one phenomenon in the general disturbance, one gust in the hurricane, one eddy in the whirlwind which is sweeping over the length and breadth of Christendom. In Italy, in France, in Germany, the atmosphere is still more agitated. Even in conservative Russia the political barometer shows symptoms of a rising storm.

What then must be our attitude as members of Christ's Church at such a season? The experience of the past will inspire hope for the future. "In quietness and confidence shall be your strength." We shall not rush hastily to cut the political knot, because it will take us some time and much patience to untie it. We shall keep our eyes and our minds open to each fresh accession of knowledge, stubbornly rejecting no truth when it is attested, rashly accepting no inference because it is novel and attractive. As disciples of the Word incarnate, the same Eternal Word, who is, and has been from the beginning, in science as in history, in nature as in revelation, we shall rest assured that He has much yet to teach us; that a larger display of His manifold operations, however confusing now, must in the end carry with it a clearer knowledge of Himself; that for the Church of the future a far more glorious destiny is in store than ever attended the Church of the past. There is the whirlwind now, sweeping down from the rude tempestuous north; there is the gathering cloud now, dark and boding; but even now the keen eye of the faithful watcher detects the first rift in the gloom, the earliest darting ray which shall broaden and intensify, till it reveals the Chariot Throne of the Eternal Word framed in transcendent light. "This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the Lord: and when I saw it I fell upon my face."

To the Jewish philosopher the vision of Ezekiel was an inexhaustible theme of speculation. The chariot of God seemed to him to enfold in itself all the mysteries of creation. To the thoughtful Christian it will have a higher interest; for in the Church of Christ it receives its truest fulfilment.

The external imagery is borrowed in great measure from the sights which met the prophet's eye in his exile. The colossal sculptures of Assyria—those composite forms with the wings of a bird, and the body of a lion or a bull, and the head of a man, which our own age has unearthed from their tombs after the sleep of centuries—recall vividly the living creatures of the prophet's vision. But though the symbolism was drawn—at

least in part—from Assyria and Babylonia in the sixth century before Christ, the thing symbolised is of all times and all places. This is the very essence of the revelation. It taught the Jews to look beyond the local sanctuary, beyond the ritual forms, beyond the national revival, for a new covenant, for a spiritual restoration, for a limitless Church. Three ideas, closely connected with each other, are suggested by the imagery; mobility, spirituality, universality.

1. The idea of *mobility* is the foremost which the image involves. The vision of Ezekiel provokes a comparison with the vision of Isaiah. It is significant in its contrasts not less than in its coincidences. Isaiah saw the Lord enthroned on high, there above the mercy-seat, there between the cherubim, there in the same local sanctuary where for centuries He had received the adoration of an elect and special people. The awe of the vision is enhanced by its localisation. But with Ezekiel all this is changed. The vision is in a heathen land. The throne is a chariot now. It is placed on wheels arranged transversely, so that it can move easily to all the four quarters of the heavens. Its motion is direct, immediate, rapid, darting like the lightning flash, whithersoever it is sped.

Not indeed, that the element of fixity is lost. Though a chariot, it remains still a throne. It is supported by the four living creatures whose wings as they beat fill the air with their whirring, but whose feet are planted straight and firm. They have four faces looking four ways, but these are immovable. "They turned not when they went." What these four living creatures may represent it does not fall within my purpose to inquire. But however we may interpret them, they are the firm supports of the chariot, moving rapidly, yet never turning, unchangeable in themselves, yet capable of infinite adaptation in their processes.

2. The counterpart to the mobility in the larger dispensation of the future thus implied in the vision is its *spirituality*. It is mobile just because it is spiritual. The letter is fixed; the form is rigid and motionless as death. The spirit only is instinct with life. "Whither the spirit was to go they went." This is the reiterated description of the movement of the living creatures. "The spirit of the living creatures was in the wheels." "The Spirit lifted me up, and took me away." "The Spirit lifted me up between the earth and the heaven." In such language the prophet again and again describes his successive revelations. "I will put my spirit within you;" this is the repeated promise, announcing the national revival. "I have poured out my Spirit upon the house of Israel;" this is the climax of God's grace to His forgiven and restored people. Everywhere the presence of the Spirit is emphasised; and this emphatic reiteration is the more remarkable because it is found

in the midst of accurate dates, precise measurements, topographical descriptions, minute external details of all kinds.

3. But lastly, if spirituality characterises the motive power, if mobility is the leading feature in the intermediate energies and processes, *universality* is the final result. The chariot of God moves freely to all the four quarters of the heavens. The prophet sees it first in the plains of Babylonia. He is then carried in his vision to the Temple at Jerusalem. There he beholds the glory filling the holy place, the throne of God supported on the cherubim: and there, too—an unwonted surprise—are the four faces, the wings, the hands, the wheels full of eyes, just the same forms and the same motions which he had seen in the land of his exile. Aye, he understands it now. The living creatures of Babylonia are none other than the sacred cherubim of the sanctuary. Three times, as if he would re-assure himself or convince others by reiteration, he repeats the words, "The same which I saw by the river Chebar." So then, God works with power, God is enthroned in glory, not less in that far off heathen land than in His own cherished sanctuary among His own elect people. The very title, by which the prophet is addressed throughout, proclaims the same truth; not "son of Abraham," though Abraham's descendant he was; not "son of Aaron," though of priestly race he was; but "son of man." He is called to be the prophet, not of a special nation, not of a sacerdotal order, but of the whole human race.

I need not remind you to what extent this vision was illustrated by the Israelite Church of the Restoration; how the dispersion of the Jews sowed the truths of which they were the depositaries broadcast throughout the civilised world; how the synagogue worship grew up by the side of the temple worship, thus delocalising to a great extent the religious associations of the people; how the order of teachers and interpreters and students of the law rivalled and at length outstripped the hierarchy in public estimation, thus breaking up the monopoly of priestly influence; how the gradual influx of proselytes tended more and more to substitute a religious for a national bond of union; and thus, despite all the narrowness of sects and all the reactions of epochs, the tide set steadily in the direction of a larger, freer Church. I need not say how at length in the fulness of time the vision found its true antitype in the revelation of the Eternal Word incarnate—of Him who, being the Son of David, was also the Son of Man—interpreted as this revelation was forthwith by a striking comment in the entire destruction of the temple and the final dispersion of the race—the sweeping away of the old to make room for the new. The trickling brook, issuing from the hard rock of Judaism, had indeed swollen into a mighty stream, flowing onward and giving life and health to the nations. These things are plain. It remains for us to appropriate the lesson.

For the vision of Ezekiel is not a dead or a dying story which has served its turn and now may pass out of mind. It lives still as the very charter of the Church of the future. If in this nineteenth century we Englishmen would do any work for Christ's Church, which shall be real, shall be solid, shall be lasting, we must follow in the lines here marked out for us. Mobility, spirituality, universality: these three ideas must inspire our efforts. Other methods may seem more efficacious for the moment, but this only will resist the stress of time. Not to cling obstinately to the decayed anachronisms of the past, not to linger wistfully over the death-stricken forms of the past, not to narrow our intellectual horizon, not to stunt our moral sympathies; but to adapt and to enlarge, to absorb new truths, to gather new ideas, to develop new institutions, to follow always the teaching of the Spirit—the Spirit, which will not be bound and imprisoned—the Spirit, which is like the breath of wind—the Spirit whose very name speaks of elasticity and expansion, passing through every crevice, filling every interstice, conforming itself to every modification of size and shape; this is our duty as Christians, as Churchmen, as Anglicans, remembering meanwhile that there is one fixed centre from which all our thoughts must radiate and to which all our hopes must converge—Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and to-day and for ever.

And it is just because meetings like the present do, as we believe, with all their faults, conduce to this end, that they claim our sympathy and support. Since the time of that early assembly of bishops in the dim and remote past, when these islands were first represented in the deliberations of the Church, the Council of Arles, there have been numberless synods, convocations, ecclesiastical gatherings of different types and for various ends; but these Congresses have a character and a value of their own. It is surely no small gain that the members of our Church are found to muster year after year in ever increasing numbers—clergy and laity, representatives of all schools and types of thought, men of all positions in life—to exchange ideas, to understand others and to make themselves understood, to quicken their sympathies and enlarge their views and stimulate their energies by the contact of mind with mind and the communion of spirit with spirit. But the Congress of this year has a significance of its own. We meet to-day perhaps in larger numbers, certainly under a higher sanction, than heretofore. We are gathered together for the first time under the shadow of that great see which, even under papal domination, was regarded as second only to Rome in Latin Christendom, and which, liberated from that yoke, has certainly not lost in importance by the world-wide diffusion of the English race and language—a see which in its first beginnings was ennobled by an Augustine and a Theodore, and in after ages was graced by the saintly

scholar Anselm, by the patriot statesman Stephen Langton, by a long line of famous names which it would be difficult to match elsewhere. In this year's meeting the Congress may be said to have stormed the citadel of the English Church.

This being so, we are especially bound to take care that the temper of this meeting be not unworthy of the occasion. The dangers of ecclesiastical gatherings are notorious. From Julian to Gibbon the strifes of Churchmen have been a fertile theme of scorn to the enemies of the faith. They have neutralised the sufferings of many a martyr, and drowned the eloquence of many an apologist. On the battle-field of Christian souls, while the attacks of foes from without have slain their thousands, the quarrels of parties within have murdered their tens of thousands.

It is related by Bede that when the native British Bishops were about to hold a conference with St. Augustine, the Apostle of England, they consulted a certain anchorite famed for his sanctity and wisdom, whether they should abandon their own traditions and adopt the teaching of this foreign missionary. "The Lord," he replied, "has said: *Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly of heart.* If this Augustine therefore is meek and lowly of heart, ye may well believe that he himself beareth yoke of Christ, and presenteth it to you to bear; but if he is ungentle and proud, then plainly he is not of God, and we may not give heed to his word." "But how," they asked, "how are we to ascertain this?" "Arrange it so," he replied, "that he and his come first to the place of synod; and if, when you approach, he shall rise to greet you, know that he is a servant of God, and listen obediently to him: but if he shall spurn you and refuse to rise in your presence, though ye are more in number, then do ye also spurn him." The advice was taken. Augustine did not rise. And the British Church was hopelessly alienated. It was a simple, foolish test, you will say. Perhaps so; I know not; but is not this a type, an apologue, a parable of the disastrous spirit in which from age to age Churches have fostered animosities and created schisms by stiffness, by want of sympathy, by severity and unfairness to opponents; thus producing an exasperation which blinds the eyes to the real points at issue? As we read the history of the great Nestorian and Monophysite schisms for instance, must we not honestly say that no small share of the blame lies at the door of the orthodox party who triumphed at Ephesus and Chalcedon? By their bitterness and injustice—by the display of a temper which had nothing in common with Christ—they made the better cause appear as bad as the worse, and they forced their antagonists into a position where concession or retreat seemed impossible. And meanwhile, what is the impression made on those without by this unlovely spirit which, reversing the Apostle's language, resenteth all things, suspecteth

all things, feareth all things, imputeth all things? The condemnation of ecclesiastical synods by the illustrious Cappadocian father who himself presided at an Ecumenical Council, has passed into a proverb. These annual Church Congresses have done something to create a more favourable impression. Let this year's meeting be a brighter example than any. To hear patiently and to argue calmly, to strive to appreciate our opponents' views, to be willing to rectify our own, above all not to esteem others worse than ourselves, but to give them credit for the same sincerity and zeal for Christ of which we ourselves are conscious, this must be our first and paramount duty as members of a Church Congress.

In this spirit we would meet to-day. In this spirit let us strive now and always to labour and to wait, ever looking forward to the dawn of that great morning when a fuller revelation than Ezekiel's shall open before our eyes; when even "the glory filling the house of the Lord" shall fade away before a brighter, purer light, as the moon and stars retire before the rising sun; when the very temple itself—type and antitype—shall melt and vanish away; when the vision of the Prophet by the Chebar shall give place to the Apocalypse of the Seer in Patmos; when God shall be all in all. "I saw no temple therein; for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it. And the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it, for the glory of God did lighten it, and the Lamb is the light thereof."

SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

CHURCH CONGRESS,

HELD AT CROYDON, 1877.

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TUESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 9th, 1877.

The Right Hon. and Most Reverend the LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY took his seat as PRESIDENT at 2 P.M., and delivered the following

INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

MY right rev. and rev. brethren and my brethren of the laity—Suffer me to say a few words as to the importance of this meeting. This is the seventeenth of these Church Congresses, and now I suppose we have all made up our minds as to whether these Congresses are or are not good for the Church. At first, as was not unnatural, we (those in authority especially) thought it best to wait and to see what might be the result of these meetings. Now, we have had the experience of sixteen years, and it would be out of place to raise the question now whether a Church Congress is or is not a good thing for the Church. It must be a good thing to gather together in the House of God as we have done this day, to offer up with all the solemnity which our Church affords us, our praise and prayer to Almighty God, to hear God's truth enforced by one who stands foremost amongst the teachers of our rising clergy. It must be good for us, coming from distant dioceses and parishes, to look one another in the face and grasp one another by the hand, to bid one another God's speed in the name of the Lord, and to help and encourage one another in the difficult work which the Lord of the harvest has committed to us.

Some say that the great use of these Church Congresses is that they are a safety-valve; that men brooding over their own

speculations at home, or confined in their view of the needs of the Church to the narrow sphere of their daily life, are apt to exaggerate the importance of their own particular opinions: nay, that they scarcely formulate them aright when addressing merely those who listen to them day by day with submissive reverence: But when we gather together in such an assembly as this, and in the presence of the Church of God, men must think what the meaning of their opinions is, must take more care in the utterance of those opinions and thoughts, which, confined within a narrow sphere, and uttered to a limited audience, must be only a partial representation of the truth. When brought to the light of such an assembly as this, and uttered in the solemn presence of the Church of God and of God Himself, words are necessarily chastened by the circumstances under which they are uttered, and opinions which might have smouldered dangerously will evaporate in the clear, bright light and air of such a meeting as this.

But there are other good uses of Church Congresses. No one will doubt that such Congresses have, in one sense, no authority — no compulsory power that is to settle what the doctrines and discipline or the common order of our Church is to be; but authority in another sense they certainly have. Living in an age which glories in the free expression of opinion, when the influence of expressed opinion has much weight in all social and political questions, we cannot doubt that the expressed opinion of such gatherings as these on matters concerning our Church, though having no compulsory or binding authority, has authority with all thoughtful and good men. These assemblies, if they do nothing else, 1st, show life and motion: 2nd, they suggest, year after year, many improvements in the ordinary system of our Church life: 3rd, they show very often old truths in a new light, through the freedom of discussion which they encourage: 4th, they are also manifestations, no doubt, of that living voice of the Church—the expression of which many long for in the present day. Each of these four heads is worth thinking of, although each of them perhaps may also require a few suggestions lest we misunderstand what is meant.

To show life by sound and motion is a good thing: it distinguishes the dead from the living body; but we must remember, and it is a truth not unnecessary to call to mind in these days. that after all not sound but quiet work is what is required of the Church of Christ. Archbishop Whately was wont to say that we might learn a lesson from the steam engine—the louder the noise it makes the less the progress. It is well that we should remember that in quietness and confidence is our strength. The voice of the Church may not be heard in the streets, and yet it may be doing its work peacefully and well in the sight of Him who is its Lord.

Then, again, the suggestion of improvements is most valuable if these improvements are carried into effect; but it is quite possible that year after year we may review the deficiencies of our system, rejoice that we are so clear-sighted as to see where all these deficiencies are and point out the remedies for them; and yet the remedies may never be applied. A writer of fiction has introduced in the book which is called, I believe, "Great Expectations" two young men who, when they were hard pressed by their creditors, found a satisfaction in drawing up an accurate account of all they owed, adding up the sum, and then shutting the book and saying they had done a good day's work. It is quite possible that we in our assemblies may add up the sum of all we owe in the way of improvements to the Church, and yet that no improvements may follow, and that we may be as much debtors to the Church as before we began to cast up the account.

Again, it is said, that we must have these meetings because our brethren the philosophers have theirs, at which they gather together year after year and recount the discoveries, or supposed discoveries—which results sometimes contradict: and it is thought that we must not be behind, and that as our brethren of the Social Science gatherings are always noting every failure in the social system, so we ought also to note every failure in the system ecclesiastical, and good will undoubtedly result from gatherings which the experience of so many classes of men has pronounced to be so good. Our science, no doubt, is different from theirs—for it is based upon certain immutable truths which we have no intention of discussing, and no hope or idea that any experience of the world will ever change. Yet it is written, that the man who is a householder instructed unto the Kingdom of Heaven brings out of his treasure not only things old, but also things that are new; and the unchanging Gospel of our Lord and Master has this peculiarity, that it can adapt itself to every changing circumstance of the changing ages—and that great polity which we have received as our inheritance in the Church—adhering to its great first principles—can still, as the ages pass, adapt itself to all the varying wants of the human race, whatever be the age, whatever be the country. While immutable principles are preserved, external circumstances may change and be adapted to the wants of changing man. Therefore, holding fast that thought of the immutable nature of the principles which we profess, we still are, I think, right to desire that we should have our old truths shown to us, if it may be, in new lights—new, because the circumstances to which they are to be applied are new, and new also in the ever-varying and fresh illustrations which the lengthened experience of history and of criticism is able to pour upon the old records in which we find our unchanging truths.

And then, again, as to the utterances of the living voice of the Church of Christ; where is this voice to be found? I believe that the most valuable utterances of the voice of the Church are found in the earnest pleadings of spiritually-minded men urging those around them to love and reverence their Redeemer, and to set an example of holy living in the neighbourhood in which they are placed. The Church might be silent in its synods, it might be silent in those ordinary utterances of its literature which have ever characterised it in its best days; and yet it might be speaking with the true living voice of the Spirit of God—urging the conscience, searching the heart, advancing in the quietest way the cause of the Redeemer, while men outside, careless of spiritual life, thought little of its utterances.

But if there are reasons—four of them very weighty—why Church Congresses in the abstract should be most important gatherings; and if with these safeguards which I have ventured to bring before you under each head, it is true that such a gathering as ours may be of infinite use, it is time to pass from the abstract usefulness of such gatherings and to approach more nearly to the question of the particular gathering which has brought us together to-day.

On whom does it depend whether a Church Congress shall be a blessing to the Church of Christ or no? It depends greatly on the way in which it is conducted—not the way in which it is conducted by the chairman, though great must be his responsibility; but the way in which it is conducted by those who take part in its deliberations. No man has a right to attend a Church Congress who is not willing to give and to take. No man has a right to come to a Church Congress desirous to hear only one side of the questions in which he is deeply interested. You may say, "You are then urging a compromise, and this savours of indifferentism." A compromise may be a concealment, or repression of the truth, and for that I have not one word to say; but a compromise also may be an equitable recognition of the various phases of the one unchanging truth as it presents itself to various minds. Here is a remarkable text, or series of texts, which I shall take the liberty of reading to you. "Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law; to them that are without law as without law, being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ, that I might gain them that are without law; to the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak. I am made all things to all men that I might by all means save some. And this I do for the Gospel's sake that I might be a partaker thereof with you." Is this a compromise? If so, it has the sanction of the greatest

of the Apostles, and in the Apostolic College from the very first have we not distinct proof that the one truth might present itself in various aspects to men of various minds and of various training?

Brethren, we shall do well to be tolerant, to be kindly, to be honest; for true honesty in this matter will be kindly and also tolerant. The man who is contending not for victory, but for the truth of Christ, will have a full consideration for all the difficulties which present themselves to his brother who views the truth in a different light from himself. It is an old saying that when zealots get to heaven, if ever they get there, they will be surprised to find in that glorious company so many whom they have condemned on earth. It is when a man is waiting for death—when he feels himself in the eternal presence—that the truths of the Gospel of Christ appear in their true proportions; and he dwells then, not on this or that opinion in which he differs from his fellow-men, but on those great, vital, fundamental truths of the Gospel of Christ which are the comfort and solace of the soul as it passes into eternity. If this be the spirit in which we enter upon this Congress we shall depart from it knowing more of each other, more anxious to bear each other's burdens, to help each other in the thousand difficulties which, God knows, press upon us all. We shall not rend one another. These Christians, see how they love one another, how they help one another, how they feel for one another, how they desire in all things to be united in the Lord Jesus Christ.

It was, I suppose, from some such thought as this that friends whom I deeply reverence, encouraged me a few months ago to gather together at Lambeth as many of the clergy of various opinions as could conveniently be assembled from the neighbourhood of London, that we might have a devotional exercise together in a time when there was great diversity of opinion, hoping and believing that, thus standing in the presence of our one Lord, we should learn that our differences were not so great as had been supposed, and that we were capable of all uniting heart and hand to advance the cause of our Redeemer. It is, I suppose, for a similar reason that I am encouraged to gather together from all parts of the earth in the month of July next year representatives of the various Churches which are embraced within the Anglican communion. So long as we can thus in the presence of God, and in the spirit of devotion, resolve to compare with each other the various difficulties which stand in our several paths, so long is there great hope that we shall never think of rending the seamless coat of Christ.

This particular Congress has, of course, its difficulties, but it has also its helps; for I am perfectly assured that it has been a subject of much prayer: I know that throughout the kingdom

the faithful members of the Church have been instant at the throne of grace that this Congress may be a source of blessing to Christ's Church. I say it has its peculiar difficulties. The Church of England, like the Church of Christ throughout the world, has always had its varied phases of thought. Three of them are certainly very prominent: one class of earnest persons thinks most of the deepening of individual spiritual life; another, of fostering a reverent love for the corporate work of the body of Christ; another deals most with the intellectual problems of the age. And great names, famous in the Church of England and the Church of Christ, ennoble each school of thought—for the first, Hall; for the second, Andrewes; for the third, Butler. Men of God in each school have been ready to feel for those of the other. As long as all these schools were dead, and dulness had come upon each, and men cared little either for their own principles or for the cause of Christ, there was no difficulty in keeping the peace. When but one awoke, the others might occasionally express dissatisfaction at the disturbing of their own slumbers by the activity and vitality of that which was awake; yet still when it was only one that was awake there was little fear of collision. When two awoke the position became difficult, and when all three awoke, then of course, there was very great danger: men might mistake the maintenance of their own deep convictions of truth for truth itself; they might be tempted each to ignore the good in the others. Thank God we live in the days when all three are awake; thank God for it most heartily. There is no school of theologians in this country at the present moment that is not alive and awake and anxious to do its duty according to its own convictions. Then the more necessity for our insisting as we have done now upon these lessons of tolerance and forbearance.

One point which I will touch on is not so pleasant. It is a peculiarity of this nineteenth century, so apt to vaunt itself of the many excellencies that characterise it, that when a war breaks out the regular armies are attended by an undisciplined following of light skirmishers. Sometimes they are called Bashi-Bazouks—and sometimes they are called Cossacks—but in whichever form they exhibit themselves the civilised nations of the world are apt to say that it is an anachronism that such people should be found in the nineteenth century. Now I do not mean that we have an exact reproduction of such things in our theological warfare, but still it may be well to take warning. We do not wish to return to the sort of skirmishing or argument on theological subjects which was prevalent in the dark ages. I shall say no more on this point.

The work before us is great; the prospects of this Church of ours are not dark. Some think that I never speak without an

undue exaggeration of the brightness of the prospects of the Church over which I am called in God's providence to preside. But they are bright. Look abroad. What other country in the world would you change Churches with? Look at home; which of the denominations would you prefer? Look back What age are you prepared to say it would have been more satisfactory to have lived in? For my part, I thank God and take courage, and I hope that from this meeting you will go forth each of you to the sphere of your work encouraged by reflecting that there is much to thank God for. Many churches built, many schools endowed and rightly instructed, much zeal for the spread of religion in our land, and a great zeal also for the spread of the Gospel of Christ throughout the world. God knows the age has its difficulties, and those very difficulties will, I doubt not, make you more ready to unite more closely in the great work which Christ has committed to this Church of England—that grand old historical Church, happily preserved to us in its distinctive features as they have come to us from the fathers of the Reformation. It is the Church for which these men died. It is the Church of Jewel, of Hooker, of Jeremy Taylor, of Barrow, of Cudworth, of Warburton—the Church of John Keble, of Thomas Arnold, of Frederick Maurice, of Charles Simeon. The Church which was good enough for all these men is good enough for us. The Church which has been honoured by so many saints of God will, I believe, go on prospering in its Master's cause, waiting for the Lord's coming, and be found ready when He comes.

I now call upon this assembly of Churchmen to repeat after me the Apostles' Creed.

MOHAMMEDANISM IN RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY, AND THE PROSPECTS OF MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE TOWARDS IT.

PAPERS.

The Right Rev. Bishop Steere.

The Most Reverend the President—The first paper should have been read by Bishop Steere, but, although we regret he is not here, it is a satisfaction to know that he has sailed from these shores for the work which is so dear to his heart; his paper will therefore be read by the Hon. Secretary, the Rev. W. Wilks.

It is a sign of health and vigour that so much attention should be drawn in these days to Mohammedanism in itself as well as in its

relations to Christianity. I suppose it is a natural result of the enlarged character of our views of the world and of mankind. It is not enough to persuade ourselves that something is true; we want also to know what other men have thought and are thinking, and to find the proper place in the scheme of the universe for their ideas as well as for our own.

We all know the outlines of the history of Mohammedanism. How there had come to be amongst the Arabs a great deal of Judaism, and some broken knowledge of Christianity, so that the old idolatry was losing its power, when there arose among the people of Mecca a man, of good family but no wealth, honest and honourable according to the opinion of the time, not held to be remarkably clever or well taught, but with something unusual and romantic in his way of life, subject to strange fits of abstraction, and perhaps of epilepsy, who began to denounce vehemently the worship of idols, the murder of infant children, and a great number of superstitious and cruel practices, which had prevailed among his countrymen. Gradually his words took a poetic form, he claimed Divine authority for them, he gathered a band of followers, his system shaped itself into a creed, a worship, a code of laws, and at last into a sort of theocracy under a representative of the Divine Sovereignty, until, at the time of Mohammed's death, a great power had sprung into existence which was soon able to overwhelm Persia and to cripple the Byzantine empire. So from India to Spain, from Tartary in the north to Equatorial Africa in the south, there arose a great Arab Empire, which shone for a time with the light of the remnants of old pagan learning and of Jewish subtlety, but had no power to maintain either itself or the intellectual cultivation it had imported. Thus the nationalities soon began again to assert themselves. The theocracy became a tradition or a dream. The Persian renewed his perennial quarrel with the Arab, the Moor became the dominant race in Spain and Africa, the flicker of learning died out, and the Turk, the least intellectual of all the races who had accepted Mohammedanism, became its leading representative. Still the outline of theology, the system of worship, and the code of law have lived on, and at this moment the simplicity of Mohammedan theology, as seen from a distance, attracts many among ourselves, while the unhesitating clearness of its practical system, combined with a grand kind of Freemasonry, especially valuable to merchants and travellers, helps to win it acceptance with Africans and Malays. It is especially acceptable to many Easterns, as giving them a recognized civilization and a religion, which is quite compatible with a grand hatred of everything Western, European, and especially English. We English have, as a rule, known Mohammedans only as conquering races, and we have a natural sympathy with conquering races; we like manliness, we like truth and justice, they are specially the virtues of the strong, and the average Mohammedan and average Englishman have very nearly the same thorough contempt for everybody and everything outside themselves and their own connections.

I think the lowest explanation we can give of Mohammed's preaching is that he was a man possessed with a great zeal for God,

and a great hatred for idolatry and injustice. He was eminently an Arab, and it is of and to Arabs that he is always speaking. He may have persuaded himself that he was led of God; we know that he had strange sensations, whether we call them epileptic or not. It is not at all a hard thing for men possessed by a powerful impulse to persuade themselves that it is Divine. The moment he began to gather followers their enthusiasm would necessarily react upon his, and we may very well ascribe the littleness and unworthiness of some things in the Koran to the littleness and unworthiness of their thoughts and motives acting upon the mind of Mohammed himself, and helping him in a way, which all men are ready enough to go—the way of self-exaltation, of tyranny over the fallen, the glorification of mere success, the smoothing down of strict obligations, the putting of personal desires and hates among the class of Divine virtues. I do not think we need suppose any more conscious hypocrisy than the vague feeling that a character had to be supported, and that any strong impulse might be accepted as Divine.

There is another possible view of Mohammed's mission, which I should very gladly see treated by some competent theologian. It is that he had really a Divine commission to call back the Arabs to the faith of Abraham that they might be so prepared for the faith which is in Christ. There is no doubt that there was room for such a work, and to a certain extent it has been accomplished: the Arabs could hardly turn to anything else now except to Christianity. The Koran is so eminently Arab in itself, and claims so specially to be a special revelation in the language of the people themselves, it fits in so special a manner Arab customs, Arab climate, and Arab thought, that a wise instinct has prevented its translation, and wherever it has been accepted, the language of the country has become more Arabic, while old national characteristics have been more and more suppressed. All this shows a special local and national power, from which it may be possible to infer a Divine purpose.

The attacks upon Christianity in the Koran seem to me to show, either that the author was utterly ignorant, or more probably that he had in view some debased forms of Christian doctrine, which were real enough to himself and his contemporaries, though they have left only a few traces on general Church history. The Arabs have always been a nation apart; they have always been intensely proud of their own language; to this day, a thorough knowledge of Arabic is their chief idea of learning, and one may say that the rest of the world has been exceptionally ignorant about them, and about that language of theirs, which yet has been and is so rich in itself, and so powerful in its influence upon other tongues. There may have been forms of Arab Christianity, of which we know absolutely nothing. The Koran accepts a great many fables about Christ; of most of them we find traces in the Apocryphal Gospels and early heresies. The Koran denounces Christian doctrine; but it is manifestly not our doctrine which is denounced, as when the doctrine of the Holy Trinity is spoken against, it is not obscurely intimated that it was understood to mean the joining of our Lord and Saint Mary with God as objects of worship. The

orthodox doctrine of the Incarnation, the union of the Divine and human natures, the perfect God and perfect man, was as little before the mind of Mohammed and his Arabs as the Divine Unity which makes it impossible even for them to worship God, and not to worship the Word and the Holy Ghost. Indeed the idea of the Holy Ghost seems to be mixed up with the person of the angel Gabriel. Even that special assertion aimed at our faith, that God neither begets nor is begotten, manifestly meant to Mohammed, and still means to all his followers, what we ourselves should be as ready as they to assert—namely, that carnal generation is altogether repugnant to any true idea of the Divine nature. I was once asked by some Mohammedan doctors to give my sense of the saying that man was made in the image of God, and they were quite astonished to find that I did not attribute to God body, parts, and passions.

It has often been remarked that Arabs and Mohammedans generally are ludicrously ignorant of history and chronology. It has not so often been remarked that Christianity is the only faith under which there can be any rational history. Our theory of the world begins with its creation and ends with its extinction, and through all this there runs a thread of Divine purpose, developing itself slowly to our apprehensions, but probably rapidly to some other observers. One generation is not as the one before it; there is a Divine germ of life, evolving patriachs and saints of ever-growing and improving types. We have thus a work to do which must modify the spiritual life of the ages to come, and history is possible because God's work really progresses.

This is one great reproach of Mohammedanism. Instead of looking forward, it looks back. Instead of encouraging growth it petrifies. The faith of Abraham is its conception of perfection; Moses, the Psalmists, the Prophets, our Lord Himself, are recognized, but their work is ignored. The feeling it suggests is that the religion of the world was once perfect, but that innumerable efforts have been made in vain to bring it back to the patriarchal standard. How different from the tale told in the Bible of ever-increasing light, and continual falls, each one giving occasion to some distinct advance. On the Mohammedan theory history can be nothing but a weariness, and of this the history of Arabia itself is a very complete illustration.

The Mohammedan doctors have made a special difficulty against themselves, by teaching that the Koran was written from all eternity in heaven, whereas the Koran itself bears traces of growth, for there are contradictions in it, and the very men who say the whole book is eternal say also that what was first uttered by Mohammed was abrogated by a later revelation. Men may try to persuade themselves that the world stands still, but it moves on notwithstanding.

One cannot have anything to do with Mohammedans without being struck by their feeling of their own indubitable superiority to everybody else. We have heard a good deal about a Mohammedan's toleration: he tolerates other men much as we do the lower animals; they are at liberty to live and do what they please, so long as they make themselves useful in their places, or at least do not excite the

anger, or the cupidity, of the superior race. Beyond this toleration or contempt no thorough-going Mohammedan can ever get; that he or his should have anything in common with non-Mohammedans seems to him in the first place impossible, and, in the next, so utterly flagitious that it must be put down by a general massacre. Non-Mohammedans have no rights, but outside of Arabia they may be allowed to live if they pay a tax for permission to do so. A just man will be just even to an infidel. This is the sum of the doctrine of the Koran itself.

Part of this feeling arises, no doubt, from the idea that Christians and Jews are poor, silly beings, that go on blindly in the ways of their fathers, and shut their eyes to the new light; part of it is the old Arab clannishness developed into a creed. One can see in a moment what an immense social advantage it is to be admitted into such a community. A Mohammedan feels himself at once a man; the rest are either obstinate unbelievers, hated by God and on the high road to destruction, or, as the Zanzibar men say of the negroes, they are merely like sheep and oxen. But, once within the Mohammedan society, a man can only escape from it by death; if he shows any signs of renouncing it, it is the duty of every true believer to kill him.

Here is a difficulty English statesmen have to deal with in India. Mohammedans may be masters, they may be servants, *bonâ fide* equals they can never be.

Here, too, is a great reason why the Church has done little against Mohammedanism. A convert can only escape with his life through fear of some external power. The late Sultan of Zanzibar told one of the European consuls that if the Missions made any converts, there were many people in the town who would consider it a duty to cut their throats, and he could not protect them.

As things are now, any one under the special protection of any great European Power has very little to fear from open Mohammedan violence, but that very exemption makes Mission preaching more difficult; for converts cannot claim it, and all officials will direct their utmost energies to prevent the possibility of any disturbance, and therefore will stop all controversy with Mohammedans if they can. It is, too, a thought which may hold one back, that one is bidding another to endanger his life, while one's own is in perfect safety. The French in Algiers are setting us a good example in forming a special society of missionaries, to dress and live as Arabs, and to go amongst the tribes in the great desert. Their first party were all murdered by the Tuariks.

Still, here, as everywhere, the blood of the martyrs will surely be the seed of the Church, and one is nerved to greater effort by the sight of such a memorial as the cast of the body of Geronymo in the museum at Algiers, where he was built into the wall for professing Christianity, and now Mohammedanism, as a ruling power, is overthrown. We are too cautious and too self-regarding in all religious matters, but here in Mohammedanism we have an enemy who would speedily persecute us into heroism if he dared.

Like all similar powerful organisations, however, Mohammedanism

is in most danger from within. There are a great many in India and Turkey who have no real faith in their religion. It is simply impossible for a Mohammedan to go with the stream of modern education. Already in India they are falling behind the Hindoo, who is himself leaving his old religion far away, or sentimentalising it into a hazy deism. There is likely to be a growing laxity of opinion and practice among Mohammedans, until the stricter try to stir up a persecution against the lukewarm, or against, it may be, some under Christian influences, and find how few they really are. Something of this kind of reaction against indifference has appeared in Wahabeeism. It may be that, more or less openly, Mohammedanism may be reduced to what its European admirers dream of it as being—a simple system of colourless theism ; that the fables and superstitions of the Koran may be laid aside, and the grosser traditional stories openly derided. The Ramathan fast and the public devotions, which are the substance of practical Mohammedanism, may be etherealised as the prohibition of strong drink very frequently has been, until the whole fabric falls to pieces. It is just possible that the growing strength of Christian nations may convince the Eastern mind that the doctrines of Mohammed have not the Divine approval.

There is even now but little inner life in Mohammedanism. It satisfies the religious instinct, and its forms enable a man to feel as if he were serving God, but there is no *grace* in it. A man wants not only a good moral code, but he wants a new life, he wants an inner power stronger than himself. Do this and live, say philosophers and Mohammedans, but they cannot tell us by what power to do it. God is merciful, they say, and say it so often that it undermines their sense of justice. Sin and wrong seem to them things that can be wiped out by a word, and they must be very grievous indeed if an orthodox profession does not win them forgiveness. They have never learnt that all forgiveness implies sacrifice, that a debt when forgiven is paid in fact by the forgiver, that a dishonour borne with is really a dishonour voluntarily accepted from some stronger motive ; and, therefore, that if God forgives us our unpaid debts, He must take them upon Himself ; that if he forgives us our want of reverence, He must willingly accept disrespect. He must do, in fact, what the Gospel tells us was done in Christ. Without this doctrine justice becomes revenge, and mercy weakness or indifference.

The Church may operate in several ways against the great evil of Mohammedanism. First of all by direct preaching, and in this we shall probably find at once the most effective and most kindly way is to build upon the truths which are acknowledged in the Koran itself, and to encourage the study of the Bible, which must in the end make its superiority felt. For this purpose the Beyrout version, printed at Oxford for the Bible Society, the edition with vowel points, is valuable, and I should like to have it in separate books and large type. Arabs have not our conveniences for study, and thick, heavy books, or a type which requires good eyesight, are a sore trouble to them. There are a number of valuable tracts and books in existence,

but they are very inaccessible. We want a great many more in Turkish, Persian, the Indian languages, and above all in Arabic. We want a central depôt where all these could be found, and an organisation for their circulation, which will require bold and discreet agents, who will not fear some considerable personal risk. It would be a new light to many Mohammedans to hear that there could be any controversy at all about their faith, and if we drive their learned men to write books against us, we have opened a door for the truth. At home we must try to understand better what the controversy really is, and so to put an end at once to ignorant denunciation and sentimental admiration. We must press upon the European Governments that converts to Christianity must not be murdered, and we who have so many millions of Mohammedans whom we protect, ought to be the first to compel the Mohammedan Powers really to tolerate Christianity.

As a first step towards direct work I would suggest that the Christian Knowledge Society should open a special branch of their depôt, at which, or through which, any and every book and tract on the Mohammedan controversy should be procurable. I think some one might be found to whom it would be a labour of love to form a complete catalogue of such books and tracts—a catalogue which would be invaluable to any missionary living among Mohammedans. In the next place, the Propagation Society might open a special fund for Moslem Missions, and so collect the small and scattered offerings towards the cause which now are lost to it. In the last place, men (and women too) should be invited to offer themselves for the special work of study, and of direct intercourse with Mohammedans. Every special Moslem missionary should have a good knowledge of Arabic, as the Arabs themselves speak it and know it, and a fair acquaintance with what is customary and what is deemed propriety of manners among Mohammedan nations. I suppose in time there must be special departments for Turkey, for India, for Persia, and for Arabia and Egypt. But, at the first, it will be a question only of training a few, and if there is any difficulty in finding a place where pure Arabic can be learnt, and unmixed Mohammedanism studied, I can offer some a home in our house in Zanzibar. There we have Arab, and Indian, and Persian Mohammedans, and at least five distinct sects meeting in that one city. The people of the coast are orthodox Sunni, the Persian soldiers and settlers Shiayi, the ruling Arabs Ibathi, the Indian immigrants are, some Sunnis, of a different school from that of the coast people, and some Khojas, representing the ancient sect known to us as Assassins, and some Bohras, another sect of Indian origin. But wherever the work may be begun, it should be taken up speedily and systematically.

Professor E. H. Palmer.

The present war in the East is looked upon by a very large proportion even of educated Englishmen as a conflict between Christianity and Mohammedanism, and the savage butcheries of which the Turks

have from time to time been guilty, are regarded as the natural results of the cruel teaching of Islam. I do not wish to enter here upon the political or ethnological merits of the deplorable struggle now going on, but I do wish to remind my hearers that if they are to discuss the great question of the relation of Mohammedanism to Christianity with any hope of arriving at a good and practical result, they must divest themselves of all such prejudices and erroneous impressions, and be content to deal with Mohammedanism as a religious system capable of exercising good as well as evil influences, and not to treat it merely as the religion of cruelty and vice. No one who has regarded the matter even from a merely historical point of view, putting aside all higher and more sacred considerations, can deny the immeasurable superiority of our Christian faith over the Mohammedan creed as a civilizing medium; nor would the most advanced freethinker I imagine venture to assert that any comparison could fairly be instituted between the respective morality of the two systems. And yet it is a fact—a melancholy fact which I dare not ignore—that so far as the East is concerned, Christianity has effected less than Mohammedanism, both in the extent and nature of its influence over the native populations.

Nor have the efforts of our Missionary Societies, nor the earnestness and devotion of their agents, succeeded as well as might have been hoped or expected in bringing home to the Mohammedan peoples the truths of Christianity, or in making them appreciate its spiritual and temporal advantages, without which appreciation no true conversion can take place.

But, my lords and gentlemen, if these soldiers of the Church Militant have not as yet gained a great and decisive victory over the enemy, I for one have the firmest conviction of their power to conquer, and the surest hope that under God they will ultimately triumph.

Speaking before such an assembly as this, I feel the greatest diffidence in making even a suggestion; but as one who has had some experience of the habits and modes of thought of Mohammedan peoples, I venture to offer my humble opinion that the want of success is due strictly to an error—which in a soldier armed with such invincible weapons as Faith and the Gospel may well be pardoned—the error of despising the strength of the enemy.

With all the means of accurate information at hand, with all the immense strides that knowledge has made during the last few years, I venture to say that the general conception of Islam amongst even the learned, is as erroneous with regard to certain points of vital consequence as it was centuries ago.

We know the Mohammedan profession of faith, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the Prophet of God," and we are shocked at the presumption of the man who could assume such a title, and at the credulity of those who could accept him for what he assumed to be.

We know that the programme of the Mohammedan propaganda is "Death or the Coran;" that history has proved how sternly the alternative has always, where possible, been enforced—and we

wonder that any intelligent human being can hesitate between that and the proffered Gospel of Peace.

We know that Polygamy is one of the most prominent features of the system; that it lowers the status of woman; destroys the family tie, and brings with it a train of ignorance, degradation, and vice; and we marvel that any being can fail to see the vast advantage of the moral and intellectual purity, and the family life that result from the benign influence of the Christian code.

With these and other similar contrasts to propose; with a sufficient knowledge of the facts to disprove, historically at least, the pretensions of the false prophet; and with an earnest conviction of the truth of his own message, the Christian missionary fearlessly meets his Moslem antagonist and fails in most instances to convince him. Why is this? It is because these arguments, powerful as they are, and appreciable as well by an Eastern as a Western mind, fail to touch the real grounds of a Moslem's belief. His faith is not one of sentiment so much as tradition; it depends not so much upon the axiomatic nature of the propositions he believes as upon the minute ratiocination by which they are supported; and lastly, it is not the intrinsic merits of the system which he upholds so much as its compatibility with his ancestral habits, and its facility of assimilating itself with the ancient religion of his race.

Christianity is presented by most missionaries to the ordinary Moslem as comprising a few postulates, so obvious and so true, that they must at once and necessarily disprove those which constitute the basis of his own creed; but the Moslem entrenches himself in an entirely different position, and the shots fall harmless because aimed at an unoccupied fort. If we are to convert the Moslems to Christianity we must have properly qualified missionaries, and the great question is, what are the qualities required.

The qualifications for a missionary among Mohammedans are toleration, patience, and great learning. He must be acquainted intimately not only with the traditional law and lore of the Sunneh and Hadîth or "sayings of Mohammed," but with the mysticism of the Shiah sects, and with the doctrines of the Sufis and other Dervish schools. He must know not only the Coran of the Arabic Prophet but the Persian Coran—the voluminous collection of mystic stories and parables contained in the grand didactic poem of Maulana Jelaled din Rumi—the founder of that remarkable contemplative sect of Illuminati (the Mevleviyeh) whom we call ignorantly and irreverently the "Dancing Dervishes," but who have produced some of the most sublime and illustrious poets of the Eastern world. He must be able not only to quote and understand the Coran, but to feel the charm of its language, to the eloquence of which the Moslem appeals as an incontrovertible proof of its divine origin. He must learn to understand that it is not a mere made-up thing—not even the outpouring of the soul of an enthusiast—but he must recognise in it, what it really contains, a collection of the choicest specimens of Eastern eloquence aud of popular legends handed down from the remotest antiquity.

Every fresh discovery of archæology tends to prove the intimate

connection that exists between the religious legends of the ancient and modern world. To cite only one instance: Mr. Clement Ganneau, Professor of Biblical Archæology at the Sorbonne, has demonstrated in a recent monograph that the legends of Bel and the Dragon, of Perseus and Andromeda—Michel Reçef, of the Phenecian inscriptions,—and our own St. George and the Dragon, are identical with the Christian episode of the Archangel's triumph over the enemy of mankind. In the most extravagant legends of an ancient creed there lurks almost invariably some element of truth which gives it its hold on those who believe it. Is it not incumbent then upon those who would refute false doctrines to endeavour to trace and prove their real origin and meaning, rather than to dismiss them as silly and unworthy of discussion. Mohammedanism is a dogmatic religion, and its dogmas must be combatted step by step, and not ignored as unimportant or worthless.

All the traditional beliefs of the ancient world, Semitic as well as Aryan, are, so to speak, fossilized in Mohammedanism; and though these two elements divide Islam into two opposing factions of Sunni and Shiah, yet, as in the Christian Church, the sects are still united in one creed, and the Semitic monotheism of Arabia and Judæa finds shelter under the system of Islam, together with the Sabœanism of Persia—the religion of Abraham with the doctrine of Zoroaster. In dealing with a religion so eclectic in its doctrines, and appealing to such widely different national sympathies, is it likely that we can succeed if we practically ignore its origin and history?—if we treat it as a mere invention and a sham? As a recent writer on Mohammedanism has observed:—

"Islam ought not to be treated with a merely contemptuous or distant recognition, or to be inserted—*tanquam infamiæ causâ*—Jews, Turks, Infidels, and heretics, in a collect once a year, upon that day of all others upon which the universality of Christ's self-sacrifice is brought before us."

If Mohammedanism were a mere false system arbitrarily invented, it could never have held its own. It *has* a strong firm basis on fact, and even on morality, and before we can dislodge it for a truer creed and a purer morality we must prove step by step how and why the new faith we offer has a right to supersede it. Even in the case of the most notorious instance of a false and arbitrarily conceived creed, Mormonism, we find that the ordinary historical or moral argument fails to convince—because the basis of the system is not its religious doctrine, but the political principles of communism which it implies, and the vulgar sensuality which it permits.

I do not stand here as an apologist for Mohammed or his religion, and to you of all others I need not recapitulate the facts of Mohammed's life to prove that he was a great reformer and not a mere arrant impostor, and that the system he left was infinitely superior to that which he found. But I would insist strongly on the necessity for those who engage polemically with Mohammedans coming to the contest with large views, accurate information, and no prejudice. Is the disrespectful mention of the name which to a Moslem is next to God's, the most sacred he knows, likely to predispose him to listen; and is it wise to begin by casting obloquy

as an enemy of our Lord on that man who speaks of Him reverently as "the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, the word of God, and a Spirit from Him?" Apart from these considerations there is much even in the social problems afforded by Islam, which demands a different treatment to that which it generally receives.

Slavery, polygamy, and the carrying on of a holy war, are not institutions that one can readily excuse, still less defend. But because they are proved by the wisdom of centuries to be bad, that is no reason for Quixotically riding full tilt at them. If we treat a windmill as a giant, we must expect to get caught in the sails. These are institutions firmly rooted in the East, and their *raison d'être* is not merely the arbitrary wickedness of the Eastern peoples. We must remember that slavery is commended to the Easterns by the best of all examples—their Patriarchs, Prophets, and Kings—and it cannot be even urged against them that they have cruelly abused it as the Westerns have done. On the contrary, Mohammed vastly ameliorated the condition of the slave. Recognizing it in this light we may convince the Mohammedan that its day is properly gone by, and that it is become an evil rather than a good; but it is no argument to tell him that he is bad and his religion false, because he upholds slavery. The same may be said of polygamy, the best remedy for which is to lead him to appreciate the blessings resulting from its opposite. Polygamy will necessarily yield before more advanced knowledge of the principles of Political Economy; but it is no good to tell a Mohammedan that his religion is bad, *because* it permits it. I have said that the Christian missionary must by no means despise his adversary's strength, and this remark I do not apply merely to the strong points and intrinsic merits of the Mohammedan religion, but to the learning and research of Mohammedan Controversialists. Whilst I doubt whether we can point to a single polemical work addressed to Mohammedans which exhibits a profound knowledge of their system, I could name several by Mohammedan Mollahs which exhibit the profoundest knowledge not only of Christian doctrines generally, but of the subtleties of Christian theology. I had put into my hands some years ago a book entitled *Izhár el Hakk*, published in Arabic, and circulated by the authority of the Turkish Government, the first volume of which was taken up with a masterly review of the Canon of Scripture and the authorities for its authenticity,—the object being to show that our Scriptures have been altered and garbled. This work contained accurate extracts from Greek, Latin, and Hebrew books, as well as modern English and continental theological works, and that nothing should be wanting to its effect, it was revised by a very learned Syrian—Faris es Sludiac—who, some years back, was engaged by the Bible Society to translate the Scriptures into Arabic, and who, subsequently turned Muslim, and now edits the Arabic journal at Constantinople, *The Jawaïb*, and is a most bitter opponent of Christianity. A much more honest, but no less formidable, opponent to Christianity is Syed Ahmed Khan—one of the most learned Mohammedans of the Punjab—who has not only written many liberal treatises on the burning questions of Islam, but has

edited a complete commentary upon the Old and New Testament from a Mohammedan standpoint—a commentary in which a marvellous research into European sources of information is displayed.

Nor do energetic Mohammedans confine their attention to mere polemical disquisitions—their proselytizing and missionary efforts are as active as our own. In India Islam has made and is making rapid strides, and its peculiar facility for adapting itself to the requirements of peoples the most opposite in national characteristics is here most strikingly shewn. Indian Muslims are perhaps the most strict, not to say bigoted, in the world—for they engraft the Mohammedan idea of exclusiveness and religious superiority on the Hindoo notion of caste. In Africa the Mohammedan Church, if I may so call it, is peculiarly active, and as it deals in the most summary and trenchant manner with the vices—such as excessive drinking—to which the African negro is particularly prone, it has exercised a wonderful influence in that continent, and one which I should be very unwilling to say was not, comparatively speaking, a good one.

Hitherto I have spoken only of those countries where Mohammedanism exists hand-in-hand with a certain civilization. There is another field open to the missionary—almost virgin soil—where much less is wanted. I mean the simple Bedouin of Arabia. There any earnest man, with no more learning than a knowledge of vernacular Arabic, and a slight knowledge of medicine, may do an incalculable amount of good, and where he will find little or no fanaticism to overcome. But I have already approached the limits of the time allotted to me, and must conclude. All that I wish to urge upon those who have missionary enterprise among Mohammedans at heart is, that they should encourage such an intelligent study of Mohammedan theology as will enable missionaries not only to hold their own against their Moslem adversaries, but to approach discussion with them with enlarged and more truly Christian views. The recent movement in my own University, and the establishment of an Indian languages and Semitic tripos, is one in the right direction, and I trust that, by God's grace, the seed thus sewn will in time bear good fruit.

It is not, however, enough to send out learned Missionaries if we wish to Christianize the East. Those laymen whose sphere of action lies in the East, and who profess the Christian religion, must exhibit Christian virtues to their Mohammedan neighbours, and show in the purity of their lives what Christianity can do. So long as Christian merchants are given to "sharp practice" in business relations—and to sensual luxury in their every day life—so long as Christian officials are arrogant and overbearing, and treat the "nigger" as unworthy of common politeness—so long must we expect the Mohammedan to hesitate in believing in the superior humanizing influence of the Christian religion over his own. "By their fruits ye shall know them," is a maxim that comes from too high an authority to be disregarded.

Sir W. Muir, LL.D., K.C.S.I.

In the short period allotted, I propose to consider the precepts of Islâm in their form (rather than on their merits), as compared with the form in which the precepts of Christianity have been delivered to us. I wish to place before you the marvellous breadth and simplicity of the teachings of the Gospel, as brought out by contrast with the details that encumber this other which again is in many respects one of the simplest of religious systems. We shall see that while Islâm is cramped and hampered at every turn by its fixed and rigid code, Christianity, from the large and expansive nature of its principles, the application of which is left to the individual, or to the judgment of individuals associated together, is adapted to every phase of humanity and stage of spiritual progress; is equally suited for all nations and ages, and for mankind in whatever grade of society, or condition of religious development.

We shall look first to the religious rites divinely inculcated, and then at the ethical precepts enjoined by the two religions.

In Christianity the sole forms prescribed by divine authority are Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Keeping in memory their design, nothing can be conceived more simple than either ordinance. The application of water in the name of the Trinity upon a confession of faith, the partaking of bread and wine after the example of Jesus, are the sole conditions. Neither as to time or place is there any obligation whatever. So also for the purpose of divine worship, prayer and praise are enjoined, both in private and in the assembly; but here again the manner of service, as well as the time and place, are left entirely open, with simply this injunction that everything be done decently and in order.

Of Islâm, the distinguishing ordinance is the pilgrimage to the Káaba and the holy places at Mecca, and in connection therewith the slaying of victims on an appointed day in the vale of Minâ. These are duties prescribed in the Corân for all believers without respect of country; and we have detailed instructions revealed for their performance, and penalties for their neglect. Now, apart altogether from the merits and virtue of these ceremonies, it is obvious to remark that, being purely local, they are unsuited as religious observances for the world at large. Even in India, a country so close to Arabia, we see that pilgrimage to Mecca presses as an unreasonable obligation which the mass of the people are utterly unable to discharge; and in distant lands, probably not one out of a thousand is in a position to perform this the crowning act of Mussulman devotion.

So in regard to worship, the Moslem has the command to pray at five stated times every day. On none of these occasions can prayer be dispensed with, excepting for certain urgent causes, and even then an equivalent must ordinarily by way of penance be observed. The prayers are preceded by ceremonial ablutions, and consist of a prescribed number of prostrations and genuflexions with addresses to the Deity. These must be performed irrespective altogether of the worshippers' frame of mind. However unbefitting or improper the

occupations they happen to be engaged in as the fixed hour comes round, and however ungodly the enterprises they may have immediately in prospect, there is no escape from the immediate performance of the oft-recurring ritual; and under Mussulman rule the backward worshipper is not unfrequently impelled to the duty by the lash of the public censor. Need we wonder at such a form sinking into a barren and unspiritual rite, or that the "spirit of prayer" in Islâm is little known? In contrast, mark that, while the Christian is enjoined to be "instant in prayer," the manner, the time, and the frequency, instead of being laid down by command, are left to be determined by the circumstances of the day and the individual sense of need. And thus prayer comes to be regarded, not as it is with the Mahometans a work of merit, but as a channel of grace and of spiritual life.

A yearly fast is prescribed in the Corân, to be observed from dawn to sunset daily throughout the month of Ramzân, with a code of exemptions and penalties for every occasion on which it is broken. Amongst other restrictions, not a morsel of bread or drop of water must pass the lips during all these hours. The ordinance, imposed upon the whole world of every sex and age, operates with great inequality in different countries and under various climates. However applicable to lands near the equator in which the day varies little, the fast must be intolerable as one advances to the north or south, where it would often embrace the greater part of the twenty-four hours; and still closer to the Poles, with at times no night at all, or no day, throughout the whole month, its observance would be impossible. Again, with the divinely prescribed lunar year, in which each month performs in thirty-three years the circuit of the seasons, the incidence of the fast varies prodigiously in different terms of the cycle. When Ramzân falls in winter, the observance is comparatively easy; but it presses with the utmost severity as the month moves round again to the rigorous summer of the tropics. At the era of its institution, the second year of the Hégira, it was winter, and the effect of the change of season in the far future was probably not anticipated by Mahomet. Here then we have a powerful illustration of the earthly origin of circumstantial legislation in respect of religious observances meant for all times and races. Compare with this the teaching of our Saviour that the expediency of fasting depends upon the condition of the times. "The days will come when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then shall they fast." The "wine" must be adapted to the "bottles."

Alms-giving is prescribed as a duty in both religions. According to the teaching of Islâm, however, the amount is fixed; one-tenth of the increase (not, however, superseding voluntary alms) is to be given without regard to the means of the giver, as a work of merit to "purify" the remainder. The Christian, on the other hand, is to do according as he is disposed in his heart, not grudgingly or of necessity, for God loveth a cheerful giver; the only measure anywhere prescribed is to contribute "as the Lord hath prospered him." So covetousness and the love of money are equally prescribed by the Corân and by the Bible; but in the one case the precept is left to be

worked out by each individual for himself, whereas in the other usury is altogether prohibited. Once more, moderation and sobriety are obligations common to both; but in the Corân wine and certain meats, and whatsoever is strangled or dies of itself, or has not been killed "in the name of God," and all games of chance, are interdicted. According to the Gospel "all things are pure," and "every creature of God is good;" whether he eats or drinks, or whatsoever he does, the Christian is to do all to the glory of God. It is left to his conscience that everything shall be done for "edification," and in this view it is said that "whatsoever is not of faith is sin."

Turning now to the relations of conjugal life, there is laid down in Islâm a minute code determining the conditions of polygamy, divorce, and remarriage. Thus many things are made binding by specific command upon the Moslem, which are left to the Christian's sense of purity, propriety, and equity. A positive command needs commentary, construction, and illustration, in order to define with exactness the limitations on the freedom of the individual. And hence there has grown up around this most delicate and sacred of the relations of life, a heap of prurient casuistry which deals with subjects of which it is a shame even to speak, and the study of which, as incumbent on every theologian and lawyer, cannot fail of a contaminating effect. With all this contrast the command to "render due benevolence," and our Saviour's standard—"He which made them at the beginning made them male and female; . . what therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder." From these simple words the grand results of Monogamy, and the indissolubility of the marriage bond, have been developed; and Christianity is saved from the mass of impurities which of necessity surround the ethics of Islâm and cast so foul a stain upon the whole system.

Next, we have in the Corân detailed instructions to regulate social intercourse between the sexes, and the treatment of women. No one is to enter a house, even if it be empty, without leave being first asked; private apartments are not to be approached but on the same condition; for little children and slaves an exception is allowed, but at three stated periods (one of which is the mid-day siesta) even these must first obtain permission. A veil or mantle is prescribed for all women not past child-bearing—an ordinance which has led to the imposition of the *Boorka*, if not to the more rigid seclusion of the zenâna. Women are not to appear unveiled nor to show their ornaments to any one of the other sex above the age of puberty, saving before certain relations. You may be curious to hear the form in which this strange legislation is given; take the following as a specimen:—

> And speak unto the believing women that they restrain their eyes, and preserve their modesty, and discover not their ornaments, excepting what necessarily appeareth thereof, and let them throw their veils over their bosoms, and not show their ornaments, unless to their husbands, or their fathers, or their husbands' fathers, or their sons or their husbands' sons, or their brothers or their brothers' sons or their sisters' sons, or their women, or their slaves, or their aged attendants and eunuchs, or to children not adults.—*Sura*, xxiv. v. 32.

And again:—

> O true believers, let your slaves and those among you who shall not have attained

the age of puberty, ask leave of you before they come into your presence, three times a day—namely, before the morning prayer, and when ye lay aside your garments at noon, and after the evening prayer. These are the three times for you to be private; it shall be no crime in you or in them if they go in to you without asking permission after these times while ye are in frequent attendance the one of you on the other. Thus God declareth His signs unto you, for God is knowing and wise. And when your children attain the age of puberty, let them ask leave to come into your presence at all times, in the same manner as those who have attained that age before them ask leave. And to such women as are past child-bearing, who hope not to marry again, because of their advanced age, it shall be no crime in them if they lay aside their outer garments, not showing their ornaments; but if they abstain from this it will be better for them. And God both heareth and knoweth.—*Ibid.*, v. 59.

Now let us look at the corresponding instructions of Christianity. While the prohibition in the Seventh Commandment is peremptorily reiterated, the rest is left to propriety and decorum, guided by considerations of abiding and universal application. The body is God's temple to be kept undefiled; every one should know how "to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour." The degree of freedom with which the sexes may intermingle socially, is guarded by such catholic and infallible maxims as that men are to treat the "elder women as mothers; the younger as sisters, with all purity;" and women are to attire themselves in modest apparel with shamefacedness and sobriety—maxims which embrace the whole moral fitness of the relations involved, and are equally adapted for all ages and times, and for all habits and social customs.

And in point of fact, the attempt made by Mahomet closely to define the place of woman in society has resulted in her permanent degradation; for there can be no prospect of improvement in a position stereotyped by divine command, and admitting consequently neither cavil nor question. For example, if the husband apprehend disobedience from his consorts, he is expressly authorised by his revelation to "chastise" them and "confine them in separate apartments." Contrast with this the injunction to "give honour to the wife, as to the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life;" and such-like pregnant principles, which (notwithstanding the obedience enjoined as due to the husband) have eventuated in elevating the sex to the position of honour and equality which, in the development of Christian life, is now occupied by woman in the social scale.

To illustrate the hopeless conservatism of evil arising out of the precepts of the Corân, I quote the following sentence from one of the Constantinople correspondents of the day:—

There is some truth as well as humour in the saying that all the conferences and protocols and Constitutions which diplomatic ingenuity can devise would not do so much to reform Turkey as the abolition of the yashmak with which the Turkish lady now hides, or at least makes a decorous pretence of hiding, her face when she appears in public. The abolition of the yashmak would naturally be one of the results of giving to woman in Turkey the equality and freedom she receives in Europe.

Now, this same "yashmak" is no other than the "boorka," or veil prescribed by the Corân, and the veil must last as long as the religion lasts.

Let us now compare some of the injunctions of the Corân in legal

matters with the Gospel. We find in the Corân laws of inheritance and testamentary disposition; there are rules of evidence—four witnesses, for example, being required to substantiate the charge of adultery; and there are punishments prescribed for various crimes, according to which (among other evils) the barbarous penalty of mutilation has been perpetuated. Thus ordinances which (however suitable they may perhaps have appeared at the moment of their institution) are altogether incompatible with advancing civilisation, have been imposed on mankind for all time, to the grave detriment of the interests of humanity. In the Gospel we find not a single precept which could be held a drag upon the development of the highest civilisation; but instead such universal canons as these:—"Love is the fulfilling of the law;" governors are intended "for the punishment of evil-doers and for the praise of them that do well;" "Render therefore to all their dues, custom to whom custom, tribute to whom tribute;" "Do to others as ye would that they should do to you." It rests with each individual and each society to carry out these principles according to their individual case and circumstances. Observe also how simply and yet effectually the Gospel distinguishes the province of the secular from that of the spiritual:—"Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." In Islâm the relations of both are hopelessly confused, and the secular blended with the spiritual authority for all ages and every form of society and government.

It is quite true that Mahomet, having assumed the position of a temporal ruler, had occasion to wield the secular arm of the law, which neither our Saviour nor His Apostles ever had. But it is equally evident that he should have done this apart from his spiritual jurisdiction. Nor does the absence of temporal power detract from the wisdom which anticipated the evil of a combined authority by laying down the respective limits of the civil and spiritual provinces; perhaps it may be held rather to magnify that wisdom. It may also be urged that Mahomet had a precedent for detailed legislation in the theocratic system of the Mosaic law. This would, no doubt, be a valid argument if that system had professed to be of universal application; but it was avowedly intended for the Israelites alone, and bore the marks likewise of a merely temporary and provisional purpose.

We shall fetch but one more illustration of the manner in which the highest results have been worked out by the Gospel indirectly, but not the less thoroughly, in the freedom of the whole human race, while evil has been perpetuated in the opposite direction by the detailed ordinances of Islâm. Slavery being prevalent in Arabia was adopted into the code of Mahomet. The *status* of the slave purchased or taken in war is defined in the Corân, and liberty given to the believer to consort with his female slaves in addition to his four legitimate wives; and the subject has become painfully prolific in inferential legislation. Thus, not only are vast numbers of mankind, and their progeny, hopelessly depressed in the scale of humanity, but the stamp of a supposed divine approval makes it impossible for any Mahometan nation to impugn slavery, or for any body of

believers even to advocate its abolition. Now, slavery equally prevailed at the birth of Christianity. It is nowhere in so many words stigmatised in the Scriptures; it is even recognised as an existing institution, and the duty of obedience towards the master, and of mildness towards the slave, inculcated. But with all this, the germ is laid for the eventual emancipation of the enslaved. The Christian master is to treat his converted slave, "not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved." The seed has borne its proper fruit. In the slow progress of society, the equality of the human race, and the right of all without exception, as the sons of a common Father, to freedom of thought, and (within the limits of the law) to freedom of action, has gradually but triumphantly prevailed.

These illustrations will probably be held sufficient to establish the position with which I set out. I fear that the argument will carry little weight with the Mahometan, who, on the contrary, prides himself on the completeness of his ethical and religious code, and looks scornfully on the apparent poverty and rudeness of our own. Even a Hindoo, after listening to the argument, replied in triumph (though he loves Islâm even less than the Gospel)—"Why, the Corân has the better of you here, for the Churches both of the East and West have been forced to supply what was wanting in the Gospel, and establish fasts and pilgrimages, just as with the Moslems." He had missed, and could not be made to catch, the point of the argument. The haughty Moslem fortifies himself in the conviction that his system is in this, as in all other respects, the complement and perfection of our faulty faith. The few and scattered cases of conversion throughout the world are based not on arguments like these, but almost always, I should say, on a revulsion from the moral character of the Prophet, and the sense of the burden of sin finding no relief but in the sacrifice of Christ. Nevertheless, the line which I have sketched may perchance prove serviceable to the Christian advocate. Let me then say a word to wind it up.

Forms, as of divine authority, are incapable of change. When surrounded by details, also divinely enjoined, they want the faculty of accommodation to individual or national circumstance and habits, and it may be even to the physical requirements of time and place; and thus, *in proportion to their circumstantiality*, they check development. The form also acquires ritualistic associations as if, apart from the spirit, possessing a charm and virtue in itself, and thus tending to "the form of godliness without the power thereof." The dweller in Eastern lands sees evidence of this at every turn. What wisdom, then, in the simplicity of the two sole rites of Christianity!

So with religious duties and social obligations, divine injunction raises the accident into an essential; and, however suitable the accidental may have been for the society or the individual to whom it originally applied, it may not be equally applicable to other individuals or societies—possibly it may be entirely inapplicable. Moreover, if the routine of duty and devotion be laid down by revelation narrowly, it must straiten and lower the resolves and

aspirations which, according to the progress of the age and genius of the individual, would otherwise soar and expand beyond the trammels thus imposed upon them; and spiritual life will become stunted and depressed. All this we find painfully illustrated in the daily life of even good Mahometans. The crust of formality has shrouded itself around them; and, but when galvanised by a fitful fanaticism, life is not there. And herein, also (apart from the merits of the teaching itself), we see how right and fitting it is that in the Christian revelation broad lines and principles have alone been marked out, and the following them up left to the conscience of each person and sense of each community. Thus there remains ever a boundless sphere of elevation and advancement in whatever direction the circumstances of the day, the state of society, or the genius of the individual may demand.

How marvellous the difference between the human and divine; between the artificial patchwork of the one, the perfection and simplicity of the other! As in creation we find unity in variety—great types laid down and then left free to the influences of time, place, and selecting circumstance, and so resulting in infinite variety of detail and exuberance of effect—even so with the teaching of the New Testament. Its ethics are not only perfect in their substance, but the form of their embodiment is so simple and comprehensive as to admit of an infinite development and adaptation to every phase of national progress, and to the aspirations of every individual and of every Church. The God of Nature and of Revelation are one.

The marks of its terrestrial origin are inscribed unmistakably on the religious and ethical code of Mahomet. How are we to account for the marks of its celestial origin being inscribed so manifestly on the code promulgated by the simple fishermen of Judea? Whence the wisdom and foresight to steer clear of the Scylla and Charybdis from which none others have escaped? How else, but that they were guided by the Spirit of all wisdom. The same divine hand that moulded the forms of nature, moulded with like simplicity the forms in which eternal truth has been revealed; and we may conclude in the words of David—"For ever, O Lord, Thy Word is settled in Heaven. Thy Word is true from the beginning, and every one of Thy righteous judgments endureth for ever. Thy righteousness is an everlasting righteousness, and Thy law is the truth."

ADDRESSES.

Professor Monier Williams.

In my travels through India I repeatedly passed from Hindu to Musalman places of worship, and my spirit, troubled by the hideous idolatry witnessed in the temples of Vishnu and Siva, was instantly tranquillized by the severe anti-symbolism conspicuous in all the surroundings of Muhammadan mosques.

It is true that the transition was a little too abrupt. The atmosphere and aspect of the mosque seemed to strike me with a sudden chill; I

appeared to have jumped from tropical glare to Arctic ice. But when I beheld the earnest bearing of Muslims prostrating themselves in adoration on the cold stone, and apparently worshipping God in spirit, if not in truth, I felt that there was nothing in the outward appearance of either building or worshippers incompatible with the spirit of Christian prayer. Nay more—I felt as I watched the devout Muslims, that I also might have prayed in the same place in my own way, and even learnt from them to pray with more solemnity and reverence of manner than I had ever before practised.

On such occasions I frequently asked myself the question—How is it that the attitude of Islam towards Christianity is far more hopelessly hostile than that of the other two great false systems of the world, Brahmanism and Buddhism? Have we not read of hundreds and thousands of Hindus and Buddhists converted by Christian Missionaries? but where are the Muslims? Why is it that so few Muhammadans are found to give glory to God in the knowledge of Christ? We are verily guilty concerning forty-one millions of our Indian Brethren, and we are bound to search and try our ways, and see where our fault lies.

In the first place, how do we meet the present intolerant bearing of Islam towards other religions? Our Government is wisely neutral, but in our Missionary efforts are we not inclined to fight Islam with its own weapon? do we not sometimes oppose intolerance by intolerance?

There is, I admit, a false and a true tolerance. But do we bear with all that we can, and denounce as little as we can in a system whose founder, however fiercely intolerant an idolater, never denounced the Founder of our own religion?

In an excellent work by a faithful Missionary, recently published,* I find it advocated that the attitude of Christianity towards the religions of India, ought to be one of true intolerance. And what is his reason? 'Because' he says, 'there is none other name under heaven but one, given among men, whereby we must be saved.'

But need we give up one iota of this precious truth, because we welcome everything good in Muhammad's system, and because we hold that we can best overcome the uncompromising intolerance of modern Muslims by confronting it with the charity and forbearance of our Lord Himself, and the first Missionaries, His Apostles?

Let us not forget that however bitter the feelings of hostility now displayed by the followers of Muhammad towards the followers of Christ, the attitude of Muhammad himself towards Christ Himself and the Gospel, as exhibited in the Kuran, was not only tolerant but friendly and reverential.† Indeed, the more I have reflected on the present want of success in winning Musalmans to our own most holy faith, the more surprise have I

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* Robson's 'Hinduism, and its relation to Christianity,' p. 297.

† Sir William Muir (p. 157 of his excellent work, 'The life of Mahomet') shows that no expression regarding either the Jewish or Christian Scriptures ever escaped the lips of Muhammad other than that of implicit reverence. Both Jews and Christians, however, are repeatedly accused of having falsified certain texts (see Kuran, Sura II. 39, 134).

Islam was really an illegitimate child of Judaism, and Muhammad owed much of the sternness of his monotheism to the teaching of the Jews. Christians as well as Jews are styled in the Kuran 'people of the Book.' The Pentateuch, and sometimes the whole Old Testament, is called Taurat, and the New Testament Injil. All three—the Law, Gospel, and Kuran—are spoken of as the Word of God, and belief in them is enjoined on pain of hell, but the Kuran, according to Muhammad, was the latest revelation. See Kuran, Sura III. 2; V. 52. The miraculous birth of Christ is asserted in Sura III. 40—42.

felt that we do not oftener advance to meet them on the common ground which belongs to the Bible and the Kuran—that we do not oftener remind them that the Kuran itself exalts Christ above humanity and teaches a manifold connexion between Islam and the Gospel.

We ought to bear in mind that the people we call Muhammadans call themselves Muslims, that is, persons who were taught by Muhammad to believe that salvation consists in holding as cardinal doctrines the Unity of God, and resignation to His Will. Muhammad himself never claimed to be the originator of these doctrines, and never allowed them to be called by his name. He was, in his own view of his own mission, the latest of four prophets (the others being Moses, Elias, and Christ), who were all followers of Abraham, the true founder of the doctrine of Islam,* and were all Muslims, because all preached the Unity of God and submission to His Will.

O for more of the wisdom and courage of the great Apostle of the Gentiles! Were he at this moment unfolding before Muslims the unsearchable riches of Christ, would he not begin by saying, 'I also, like Abraham, am a Muslim, I believe as strongly as you do in the Unity of God. I resign myself as submissively as you do, to the will of God. Whatsoever things are good, are true, are lovely, are of good report in your system, I think on them, I accept them, I welcome them, nay more, I call on you to hold them fast'?

And ought not every Missionary to begin by meeting the Muslim on the ground of his own Kuran, for the very reason that he may more effectually combat its soul-destroying errors.

I fear that the present position of the Church Militant on earth is making cowards of us all. We shrink from Unitarian Islam as if we dreaded the infection of a disease easily communicated. We are living in the midst of malarious influences—some outside, some inside our camp. Every man suspects the soundness of his neighbour's religious opinions. What excites especial alarm in our Indian Mission-fields is the spread of theistic and pantheistic ideas amongst educated natives. Even the religious atmosphere of Europe is believed to be largely impregnated with the subtle germs of many forms of deistic and materialistic philosophy. In our dread of wandering unguardedly into the neighbourhood of these contagious errors we are doubtless rightly careful to take our stand firmly on the sure foundation of the divinity of God the Son. But ought we on that account to insist less forcibly on the doctrines of God's Fatherhood, and of Christ's humanity which equally lie at the very foundation of sound Christianity?

I trust I shall not be misunderstood if I venture as a layman deferentially to enquire why it is that nearly every sermon I have heard for many years, whether in India or England, has been eloquent of God the Son—few sermons of God the Father, and God the Holy Spirit. Why is Christ so constantly held up to believers and unbelievers as the one God—so rarely as the Man Mediator leading us by one Spirit unto the Father?

We cannot, indeed, wonder that deeply religious Christians should concentrate their affections on the Saviour of the world. Nor can they render to the world's Redeemer more love than is His due. Yet it seems to me that in combating Unitarianism in our Indian brethren we may possibly ourselves be fairly charged with lapsing into a subtle form of Unitarianism, if we habitually place the One Mediator in the position of the One God.

Let me not be mistaken. I trust no one believes more firmly than I do in the necessity for insisting on Christ's Divine nature. But I am

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* Muhammad always called Abraham the first of Muslims. Islam and Muslim are from the same Arabic root *salama* signifying 'to submit to God's will,' 'to trust in God.'

persuaded that if we would achieve more success in our Missionary dealings with the Muhammadans, our first care should be to convince them that Christianity alone satisfies the yearnings of the human heart for mediation and atonement, because Christianity alone presents us with the One perfect Mediator between God and men, the Man Christ Jesus.

For if Muslims admit that their own prophet believed himself to be an imperfect man who needed every day to pray for the pardon of his own sins,* they are on that very account more likely to be impressed with the contrast, when we set before them Christ as the One perfect Representative of our race,—the One divine Mediator whose atonement was efficient, because He was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin.

Depend upon it that in seeking to win Muslims to the true faith, we require to cultivate more of the wisdom of the serpent. We require to creep into their hearts by a frank admission of the Unity of the Godhead and of the excellence of Muhammad's teaching in regard to this and other doctrines. We may then perhaps induce them to meet us half-way—to relax a little of their stern monotheism—to concede that sinful man's necessity may have acted, like prism on light, to exhibit a triple manifestation of the One God; and so may cautiously, tenderly, gradually, lead them on to a full sense of the complex existence of the Almighty Being Who created us in His own Image, and to an unqualified acceptance of the great central dogma of our Church. But even when we have brought the need of an everliving Mediator and eternal Paraclete home to their hearts, we may wisely hesitate to force upon them, before they are able to bear it, the acceptance of merely ecclesiastical terms not found in our Bible.

I know that we members of the Church of England are rightly jealous for the term of Trinity. I know that half the Sundays of the ecclesiastical year remind us of our Trinitarian creed. I know too that we rightly fence round our great central doctrine with every possible ecclesiastical safeguard. But in our first efforts for the conversion of Muslims, we shall be equally right to bear in mind that the language of the Bible preceded the book of Common Prayer, that Christ Himself declared the first of the commandments to be, "The Lord our God is One Lord," that in the first Article of our Church, and in our Creeds, the Unity of the Godhead is asserted before the triple Personality.

Before I conclude let me express a doubt whether we Christians, who claim divine inspiration for the Bible, believed by us to be the only true Word of God, delivered through the minds of men, are quite as fair as we ought to be towards the book believed by Muhammadans to be a record of the actual words of the Almighty.

In travelling from Kasmir to Cape Comorin, I scarcely met a single Missionary who professed himself conversant with the language in which the Kuran is written. His chief knowledge of the book, held to be the the direct Word of God by forty-one millions of our Indian fellow-subjects, is derived from translations made by Christians who utterly disbelieve even its partial inspiration.

Moreover although innumerable commentaries on the Kuran have been written in Arabic by pious Muslims, not a single one is generally studied by our Missionaries, nor has a single one ever been translated into English,† nor do our Missionaries think of accepting any other interpretations of difficult passages than those given by unbelieving Christians.

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* See Kuran, Sura XLVIII. 2.

† The two Arabic Commentaries of highest repute, and indispensable for a right understanding of the Kuran are those of Zamakhshari and Baidhawi, the latter especially valuable for grammatical and historical explanations. There are excellent editions of these Commentaries by Lees and Fleischer, but no English translation. Two other well known Commentaries are by the two Jalalu'd-dins.

I ask then what should we think of Indian Musalmans if after organizing a mission to convert England to Islam, they were to send us Missionaries who judged of our Bible not from their own knowledge of the original text, or even of our English translation, but from translations into Indian languages made by unbelieving Muslims ?

Or again, if Musalman controversialists were to interpret all the difficulties of our sacred Scriptures, not from the point of view of such Christian writers as Butler, Pearson, or Hooker, but from that of hostile Muslim commentators ?

One reflection more. If the self-deluded but fervent-spirited Muhammad, whose whole soul was stirred within him when he saw his fellow-townsmen wholly given to idolatry, had been brought into association with the purer forms of Christianity—if he had ever listened to the true ring of the Gospel —if, from the examples which crossed his path he had formed a correct ideal of the religion of Christ, he might have died a martyr for the truth, Asia might have numbered her millions of Christians, and the name of a Saint Muhammad might have been recorded in the calendar of our book of Common Prayer.

As it was, alas ! the only Christianity presented to the Arab enthusiast, thirsting for the well of living water, was that adulteration of the truth prevalent in the seventh century, which he believed it was his mission to supplant by a purer system. It has somewhere been affirmed that the religion of Jesus, and the precepts of the Gospel may be found scattered piecemeal through the pages of the Kuran. What should rather be alleged is that the religion of a spurious Jesus, and the precepts of a spurious Gospel, may be extracted from such parts of Muhammad's pretended revelations as were communicated to him by the followers of a debased form of Christian doctrine.

Think then of the difference in the present condition of the Asiatic world, if the fire of Muhammad's eloquence had been kindled, and the force of his personal influence exerted on the side of veritable Christianity.

Ought not this thought to intensify the sense of responsibility in those of us who are living among Muhammadans ? What example are Christians setting in Muhammadan countries ? What ideal of Christianity are they presenting to millions of Muslims in our own Indian territories ?

If the pages of the Kuran are ever submitting to the pious Musalman, who yearns like ourselves for a perfect Mediator, the image of a counterfeit Christ and a counterfeit Gospel, the spuriousness of the copy will not be so clearly manifested by argument and controversy as by the exhibition of a true reflection of the Divine Original in the lives, acts, and words of Christian men.

Rev. Jani Alli.

A living writer, who has unhappily formed a most favourable estimate of Islam, says, writing on that religion, "the religion, which after Christianity comes nearest to satisfying the wants of man's spiritual nature, is really not its most deadly enemy, but its best ally." Again, "the only monopoly of good that Christianity, if it is of the spirit of its Founder, may claim, is the monopoly not of doing good, but of rejoicing at it, whenever it is done, and whoever does it."

From these sentences it is clear that the writer means that Mohammedanism or rather Islam is an ally and not an enemy to Christianity, because it satisfies the wants of man's spiritual nature, and so does good. Good certainly Islam has done to some extent. It may have raised some most degraded nations, delivered them from idolatry of the grossest kind, given them a knowledge of the only true God, taught them to reverence and

worship Him; but I venture to add, not to love Him. "Love begets love" is as true in religion as in daily life. Islam knows nothing of the love of God to our fallen world. Some may remember what happened when Henry Martyn's Moonshi came to translate 1. John iii, 1 and 2: how he could not say, "we are the sons of God;" he would rather say "servants" or "slaves," but never "sons;" this was simply because his religion had never taught him that "God loved the world;" so the followers of Islam are never taught to love God.

Yes, Christianity should rejoice when *good* is done, and it will and has rejoiced when *good* even of this kind has been accomplished. Had Islam stopped here and gone no farther, it could have claimed that respect and sympathy which would have been its due. But professing to be a distinct Revelation, given to supersede both Judaism and Christianity, it arrogates to itself arbitrary authority and absolute obedience; and these should unquestionably be given to it, if it really satisfies "the wants of man's spiritual nature," and thus confers on the human race a blessing.

Firstly, let us see how far Islam agrees with Christianity; secondly, in what points it differs from it; then in the third place, we shall be able to say whether Islam is an ally or an enemy to Christianity; and fourthly, whether it is potential to satisfy "the wants of man's spiritual nature."

1. Christianity and Islam agree in the *Unity of God*; as we all know, Moslems are strictly Monotheists, and are most jealous of it.

They also agree in His attributes, except the Fatherhood of God. He is revealed as the Almighty, All-wise, Omniscient, Omnipotent, Righteous, Judge, &c.; but never mentioned even once in the Koran as the Father of His creatures, though He is known as the most merciful.

Both religions agree as well in the denunciation of idolatry; Islam is most strong against the worship of images of every kind, so much so that their mosques have not even carvings, or sculpture of any kind, and stained glass is quite unknown.

Both the religions acknowledge the inspiration of the Old and New Testaments, though according to Islam, the Bible in its present form is a corrupted version, in which some truths are also suppressed knowingly and wilfully.

Islam acknowledges with Christianity not only the mission of the Old Testament prophets, but also that of Jesus; it also makes mention of many more, whose names are not found in the Old Testament. The Koran corroborates the account given in Genesis of the creation of the world, and of man; his fall with a slight difference. Thus sin is accounted for, but original or birth sin is never even alluded to.

I think these are the principal points, if not all, in which Islam agrees with Christianity, and so far good.

2. Let us consider the points of difference. Of these the first and most fundamental of all is the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Here the two religions diverge off into diametrically opposite directions. Take away the Divinity of Christ, Christianity becomes of no use whatever to sinful man; without that there is no way opened for his return to his justly offended God; no pardon of sin here, no hope of glory hereafter. The Divinity of Christ is not only denied in the Koran, but also more than once the Christians are denounced as infidels for calling Christ "God" and the "Son of God." They are to be excluded from Paradise and their habitation assigned in Hell-fire.

When His Divinity is denied, Christ's crucifixion and the whole work of atonement is equally denied. It is distinctly said that Christ was not crucified, but when the Jews laid a snare for His death, God delivered Him by a stratagem from their evil designs, and took Him into Heaven alive. So there was neither His death, His burial, nor His resurrection, but ascension in a different way. Thus the work of atonement is altogether ignored.

The next point is the justification of man, which is intimately connected with original sin.

I said there was no mention made of original sin in the Koran; hence there is not the necessity of the atonement made by Christ; the work of justification is not only made easy, but it is also wrought out in a manner pampering to man's pride, and pleasing to his natural mind. It is stated that when Adam fell, he "learnt words of prayer from the Almighty, and God turned unto him, for He is to be reconciled and merciful." Moreover God promised to give directions, and "whoever shall follow the directions, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved." Now it will be seen that *sin* was never regarded by Mohammed nor ever taught in the Koran as a moral offence against the Divine Majesty of God. When sin is not a moral offence against God, there *is* no need of a Divine atonement; this will at once account for the denial of Christ's Divinity and His crucifixion. And thus too the justification of man is made agreeable to his own feelings, and accords with the old precept, "This do and thou shalt live." And the direction, consisting as it does in outward ceremonial and not touching the heart at all, becomes easy for man to follow, and the rejection of it becomes the "unpardonable sin." Therefore no higher power is required to make man meet for the enjoyment of God's presence. Good works, such as prayers, fasting, almsgiving, pilgrimages are everything, no matter from what motive done; of course they are all selfish.

I shall confine myself to these principal points of difference, because these distinctly show how far Islam satisfies "the wants of man's spiritual nature;" and consequently how far it is an ally to Christianity.

Here I might be allowed to state that these points of agreement and disagreement have made Islam what it has been; have given it the wonderful power it posseses; and enabled it not only to take root in Arabia, the place of its birth, but also to spread over countries and continents, there to hold its ground and bring under its dominion the millions who profess it at the present day.

There is abundant evidence to prove from history that though the Arabs had at the time of Mohammad become gross idolators, yet they had a notion of some kind of a supreme Being, whom they designated "The Most High God," to distinguish Him from the subordinate deities, whom they worshipped as mediators between this most high God and themselves.

The most important mission of Mohammad therefore to put down idolatry and bring back the Arabs to the worship of the one true God, was nothing extraordinary, since the Arabs had a notion of the one supreme Deity already; and there had been some among them before his time, who were not satisfied with the then existing state of religion, but were groping in the dark to find Him whom their spirits were longing for, and had also made some abortive attempts at reformation. Judaism also, though Talmudic, was professed by many in Arabia, and there were Christian Churches also, though frightfully corrupt. So when Mohammad began to preach the worship of the one true God, and denounce idolatry, he knew full well he was doing only that which ought to commend itself equally to Arabs, Jews, and Christians; he touched the right chord, when he proclaimed that the faith he preached was nothing new, but it was only that professed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses and Jesus, and denounced the Jews for calling Ezra the "Son of God," and the Christians for not only making Jesus—the Son of Mary—"God," but also for worshipping "three Gods"—"God," "Jesus" and "Mary"—and for taking "their priests and their monks for their lords." Here he was building upon a foundation recognised by each of them; for all the Arabs, Jews, and Christians held Abraham in respect, and could not but accept his religion as the true one; but it also shows how degraded Judaism and Christianity had become, and

how necessary it was to reform these. Therefore all credit is due to Mohammad for his courage and greatness in seizing the opportunity, which dissensions both political and religious afforded him, and for facing all the opposition and dangers to bring about what he did, evidently meant for the good of the people. Mohammad was, no doubt, one of the greatest men that ever lived, and the reforms he aimed at were urgently needed. He had studied man and consequently adapted himself to him. True the *sword* was employed afterwards in spreading Islam; still I cannot but think that it could not have taken that hold upon its followers which it did, had it not contained those truths which everyone must acknowledge, though as to their satisfying or not the wants of man's spiritual nature is another question.

3. At once I answer the third question by saying that Islam is not an ally to Christianity. Though our Lord has distinctly said, "He that is not against us, is for us;" yet He has also said, "He that is not with me is against me." Not only is Islam not for Christianity, but also it is against it. By denying the divinity of Jesus, Mohammad has completely shorn Christ of His glory, and throughout denounces those who call Him "God," or the "Son of God," as infidels, and consigns them to hell. With statements such as these, how it could any longer be an ally is beyond my comprehension. With the New Testament in our hands, and believing it to be an inspired book, we cannot take Islam for an ally without implying that Jesus was an impostor for distinctly calling Himself God and the Son of God, and the New Testament a Book of Fables. Islam being an ally to Christianity is one friend calling another *a liar*.

Some may say that Islam is only so far an ally that it prepares a man to receive Christianity. Instead of preparing man for it, Islam keeps man back from Christianity, and makes him oppose it in every possible way; and this has been the experience of every Christian Missionary to Moslems.

Yes, Islam is an ally to an imaginary Christianity, but not to the actual and revealed one as it is professed.

4. Does Islam (as an ally to Christianity) satisfy the wants of man's spiritual nature? With the light of Revelation and the knowledge of the Word of God no one can say that it does.

Yes it does satisfy *his wants*, as I can from personal knowledge and experience testify, but not his *spiritual wants*. This is not so much a matter of theory as of practice. There are some here, who know what Islam is in practice in other Mohammedan countries, as well as in India, whereas my knowledge is confined to certain parts of India only. Though my knowledge is thus circumscribed, yet I may make bold to say that my knowledge is of a kind, very few, if any, can attain to—I mean the knowledge of Islam as seen in a family, which is the best place to test its reality. Here, I fear, many take quite the opposite view—some make it out to be nothing better than a dungeon of everything that is evil; others make it out to be the very *beau ideal* of what a family should be, and attribute this perfection to Islam. Both these views are incorrect. There is as much difference in Mohammedan families as there is in Christian. My experience of four-and-a-half years in England, quite confirms this opinion. During this time I have visited a good many families in this United Kingdom, and know from what I have seen that there is such a thing as nominal Christianity as there is genuine, just as I witnessed in India before my baptism a difference between an orthodox Islam family and one only professing that faith. I can testify to the fact that there is such a thing as morality and virtue not only in woman, but also in man among Mohammedans. The religious are conscientiously scrupulous lest they should do any thing contrary to their faith and convictions, and most punctilious in the performance of their religious duties. But how far the conscience is awakened, and they have a correct knowledge of God, sin,

&c., I am not prepared to state; but I know the greatest difference exists among even the religious Mohammedans. Some are perfectly satisfied with Islam, and consider it to be superior to every other religion; but the religion of such consists in mere externals. They have no sense of the moral guilt of sin, because they have never been taught it; so they think like the Pharisees of old, that if they strictly observe the moral law in deed only, and do what Islam requires of them, such as praying, almsgiving, footing and pilgrimage, they are sure to be saved; but when the conscience is once aroused, and the person begins to feel the sinfulness of sin as committed against a holy and just God, and that religion has to do more with the heart than with externals, then Islam does *not* satisfy the "wants of man's spiritual nature." The autobiography of Imad-ud-din is a sufficient evidence of this; it clearly shows how the conscience once awakened found no rest or peace in Islam, though he went through every requirement of that religion. Some may object to this as written by him after his conversion to Christianity. Still he ought to be credited with honesty. But further, I knew as a boy one of the most learned men in that part of India, where I was educated. This gentleman was looked up to by all his co-religionists as the most learned in Arabic, and respected by all as a religious Moslem. He in confidence more than once told me (I was his pupil) that Islam gave him no hope. He had also studied books like Paley and Butler, so he had compared his own religion with Christianity; he also told me that his own tutor, who was in his time one of the most learned men in Calcutta, had no faith in Islam. Here is the evidence of two learned Moslems. Besides this, those who have been in India will have witnessed all over the country devout Moslems forsaking the world, and all its pleasures, and retiring into solitary places for prayer, meditation, and penance. What does this show? Surely a knowledge of God as holy, of sin as against Him, of the alienation of the human soul from God, and its yearning to return to Him and be reconciled; and that Islam has not satisfied the wants of his spiritual nature, but he is trying to satisfy it in every possibly imaginable way. It also shows that the professors of Islam are not altogether what they are thought to be—the off-scouring of the world and polluters of the earth, but that there is sincerity and life in Islam.

This brings me to the second part—"The prospects of Missionary enterprise towards it."

Hitherto the prospects have not been very bright; and there have been reasons for it. The divisions among professing Christians have been a great obstacle. I don't mean to imply that Moslems are not divided among themselves. I know for certain their divisions, and have witnessed and experienced more than once the bitter effects of it in houses burnt down, property destroyed, and friends killed; one party publicly anathematising the other; but this much I may say that I have never yet known any one sect of Islam attack any part of the Koran, but every sect regards it as the most sacred Book and every word of it inspired; nor have I ever heard the authority of Mohammed questioned. Just as the corruptions in the sixth century were one of the causes of the rise and spread of Islam, so the unhappy divisions of the 19th century and modern scepticism are some of the barriers against the invasion of Islam by Christianity. Christian Missionaries should bury their differences, and present an unbroken front to the enemy.

Again, the Christian Missionary needs not only zeal and learning, but also faith and sympathy. I must repeat here what I said about two years ago at a conference, that a Missionary may have love, still without sympathy he will not succeed as he might with it; and I was very thankful that every Missionary who spoke after me on that occasion took up the note. The Christian Missionary needs the spirit of St. Paul on Mars' Hill, and not denounce Islam *in toto* as unfortunately it is done. Islam has kept

in subjection those countries it has conquered in a great measure by sympathy, not with the religions, but with the people—that is becoming one with them, raising their degraded people to their own standard, and making no difference whatever between themselves and the proselytes—having confidence in them, and placing them in posts of honour and responsibility. This the great and most successful apostle of the Gentiles did, and every Missionary will do well to imitate him.

The Missionary, moreover, to the Mohammedan, should be most spiritually minded; and exhibit in his daily life, and particularly in his public worship, (because the Moslem knows nothing of entering into his closet to pray to his God in secret)—and this should be done daily as far as it can—that the Christian worship is spiritual, as we are taught, "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth."

The grace of perseverance is much needed. When the Missionary has faith to believe that he is simply obeying his Master's last command, and that God's word, if faithfully preached, shall not return to Him void, he ought to persevere in the work of God, whether he sees God's blessing resting on it or not; but God has given encouragement to some of His faithful Missionaries. Witness such names as Moulvies Imad-ud-din and Safdar Alli, men of intellect and power, who are now champions for the faith which they once despised and tried to destroy. There are in India, scattered over the country, converts to Christianity from Islam. Though few, yet there they are, testifying to the power of the Gospel, and the conversions of some are most striking. There is my friend Sahib Uddin, a Subadar in the 11th Madras Native Infantry, serving faithfully his country and Empress, and maintaining his character as a Christian. These instances are enough to convince one that there is hope in Missionary enterprise towards Islam. Mr. French's paper in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for this month on, "Missionary efforts among Mohammedans," is full of hope. There is work going on among them, there is the spirit of inquiry, and of activity in their own religion, which are more or less the result of Missionary effort.

I shall conclude with quoting the words of that Christian philanthropist, the late General Lake, who loved the Mohammedans of India, and I doubt not was loved by many among them in return:—"The Mohammedan quarry, so to speak, contains materials which only require the touch of the Master Builder to form out of it pillars for that Temple, which is being raised to His glory in this earth."

Rev. J. Cave-Browne, Vicar of Detling, Kent.

At this late hour, and considering how many others here are anxious to speak on the subject, I only rise to state that there is one aspect of Mohamedanism which has scarcely been fairly developed. I mean the historical one; for there is no creed in the world which has such a history as Islam has. I do not speak of it as national, for as national it does not exist. It is a heterogeneous creed. A few Arabs formed its nucleus, and whether Arabs, or Turks, or Mongols, or Moors, all as they succumbed helped to form it: but that all these diverse and heterogeneous elements should have been fused in the furnace of Islam into one energising mass is indeed wonderful. We have seen what it took the Romans eight centuries to do, but in eight decades from the time that Mohamed preached his first *jehad* his religion overspread the East, stretching from the Pillars of Hercules to the Oxus, embracing the Persian Empire and absorbing even Spain. Such a history is not to be disregarded. The extreme difficulty of dealing with this creed

in India may be summed up in a few words. From the days of Timur the Tatar and Baber, the Mohamedan religion had prevailed in Hindostan. Conquerer after conquerer had built up, bit by bit, a vast empire, and formed in Delhi their great centre of religious and political power. All authority was derived from thence; and all the great semi-independent states such as Lucknow, Hyderabad, and Bengal, claimed connection with it; and all the princes and rulers, whether called the Vizier, Nizam, or the Nazim, bore such title of honour as reflecting the power and greatness of the Great Mogul at Delhi. That Christian England should have hurled to the ground this stupendous power, this mighty empire, is enough, and more than enough, to have gained for us their political and religious hatred. The greatest empire India had ever seen is now replaced by England, who, 270 years ago had not a foot of ground there, but whose Queen is now *Empress of India*. What wonder then that the Mohamedan, reft of power, should hate, with the intensity of a conquered and deposed race, the nation that has displaced him! Then there is another historical hindrance which the missionaries find it hard to deal with. The Mohamedans admit Jesus to be a prophet—they reckon among the chief prophets of God, Moses, Elijah, and Jesus—but they believe that Mohamed was the greater, and that to him a later and a fuller revelation was given. They therefore think it unreasonable to ask them to go back 600 years and give up that later revelation, the Koran for the New Testament. These are points which our missionaries must never lose sight of; and if they wish to win over to Christianity the 60 millions of Mohamedans which India contains, it must be, first of all, by recognising much which we have and they have in common. We must deal with them as men who like ourselves believe in *One God*, and not as idolatrous Hindoos, or the devil-worshippers of the aboriginal tribes. We have that one ground in common, and we should not forget that to this day they have the same abhorrence of idolatry which moved the spirit of Mohamed to begin his career. We must cease to alienate their minds by pronouncing an impostor the great reformer their prophet wished to be; of casting into their teeth the reproach that they are the followers of a mere impostor. Let us respect his motives, their traditions, their history, and even their fanaticism, and try to win them by Christian courtesy, Christian bearing, and above all by prayer. They are a people who recognise the value of prayer, and it will be well to set them an example of kindness and love becoming Christians, rather than leave on their minds the impression too commonly prevailing, that we think ourselves better than they are, and despise them.

The Rev. G. Greenwood.

We have heard a great deal of the weakness and the strength of the Mohammedan religion, but we have not heard which are the best means of attacking that weakness and turning aside that strength, we want to know what it is practical to do. We all feel throughout the Church of England that Christianity has not done its duty to the Mohammedan world. It seems to be taken for granted that it is almost impossible to make converts as that would endanger their lives, and we have hardly ventured to preach the Gospel to them. But we are British subjects—the subjects of a Christian power—and it is surely our duty to preach Christianity. There is a Mohammedan Missionary Society at the Cape of Good Hope, which, however, is doing a good work with very small funds. The fact is, if Christianity is to be preached with success to Mohammedans it must be where there is a stable government, and one powerful enough to prevent assassination and outrages upon those who become Christians. There is some hope that this dreadful war, as to which we all take different sides, will in the good Providence of God result in the

establishment of some sort of government in the Turkish provinces under which it may be possible for converts to live as Christians. Whatever sides we take we ought all to pray that the result may be some stable and strong and well ordered government which will protect from assassinations those who leave Mohammedanism and become Christians. There is good hope that the Turkish people generally—for the ordinary Turk is a kind man, an industrious man, and a temperate man—will, if Christianity has free scope, learn that it is the will of Allah that they should accept Christ. The time assuredly will come when they will change the formula of their faith, "God is one and Mohammed is his prophet"—when they will see that he was a prophet encompassed with human infirmity and that Jesus is something more than a prophet—the Son of God, blessed for ever more.

TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 9th.

The Lord Bishop of Dover took the Chair at 7.30 p.m.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND SCEPTICAL CULTURE IN THEIR RELATIVE BEARINGS ON PRACTICAL LIFE.

PAPERS.

Professor Pritchard, F.R.S.

In the biography of the poet Thomas Moore there is the record of a conversation between himself and the philosopher Schlegel, in which the latter puts the following question:—"If a man conscientiously and without any intentional levity published a book in England expressive of his disbelief in the Scriptures, and giving the reasons of his disbelief, how would such a book be received?" To this question the poet replied, "As to the book, I don't know; but I know how the man would be received, and I should not like to be in his place." And this is probably a fair representation of English public opinion among the educated classes of the last generation. But how changed is the sentiment of the present hour. I believe that I betray no secret, but am referring rather to a notorious fact, in the establishment of a society of gentlemen, counting among its members high dignitaries in the English and Roman churches, and others equal to them in rank and influence and moral worth, who periodically sit side by side with the most prominent and advanced sceptical writers of the day; calmly, and without anger, or the expression of surprise, discussing questions which a very few years ago would have been regarded as dangerous to public morals, if not socially disreputable. No doubt these philosophic, and for the most part highly cultured gentlemen, are anxious to hear the best and the worst that can be said of the foundations of their respective faiths; and in such respects, to be forewarned is to be forearmed. But the fact of the association still remains; and what is of far more importance, the question still remains as to the origin and the significance of this unexampled

mutual tolerance of antagonistic opinions on matters which affect the closest and dearest of human hopes, and the strongest motives of human actions.

Moreover we ourselves are all of us cognisant of another fact, parallel to the former and of cognate significance, whatever that significance may be. The periodical literature of the day bristles with discussions and attacks on our orthodox creeds, which a few years ago would have been resented as inconsistent with the secure existence of society: nevertheless, this literature lies in profusion on the tables of our clubs and drawing rooms, accessible alike to old and young, to the sons and daughters of our families, and to the visitors within our houses, unrebuked and unrestrained.

Now, what does this remarkable revulsion in the public sentiment imply or portend? Is it symptomatic of a widely diffused and growing indifference? Is it significant of ignorance as to the serious bearings of the points at issue? Does it originate in curiosity, or is it a happy consequence of the innate love of Englishmen for fair play? Is it in any degree the Nemesis on some extravagance of dogmatic assertion in the theology of years that are gone by—the Nemesis, that is, of exaggeration and disproportion? Or, lastly, is this discussion and unwonted tolerance of antagonistic opinions a fashion of the day, ephemeral and unreasoning?

Musing, though not without anxiety, as most thoughtful men are wont to muse, on this anomalous state of the public sentiment, two observations not alien to the subject before us have occurred to my mind, which in my hearing fell from the lips of that eminently honest and most accomplished philosopher, the late Sir John Herschel. "What a strange thing," said he, "is public opinion in England: it will *put up* almost anything; and if it finds in the long run that it won't do, it will quietly *put it down*." On another occasion, when this gifted man was observed to be in a state of considerable mental disquietude (it was in the earlier days of table-turning), upon being asked what it was that troubled him, replied: "Well! to think that after all that has been done and written on the subject, men have so little faith in the laws of motion!"

I, then, for one am inclined to think that society—public opinion—has for the moment "put up" scepticism: that is to say—and dropping the thin veil of the euphemistic disguise—it has "put up" a new form of practical atheism, making its advocates fashionable, and setting them in high places. But it may be that as soon as it is felt that the questions at issue are not confined to protoplasm, and the nebular hypothesis, and natural selection; so soon as it is clearly seen that these questions touch the deepest and most fondly cherished emotions of the human heart, and actuate the springs and motives of practical life—then I think that society—public opinion—will put down this moral dynamite, and remove this dangerous explosive from the neighbourhood of their families; but not, alas! before many a fine mind has been involved in darkness and desolation.

And, in no remote analogy with the other remark of the same philosopher, I also believe that so soon as society, as soon as any

individual member thereof, becomes truly cognisant of the laws of the Kingdom of God and of his Christ; so soon as he becomes personally and in his heart imbued with the Christian faith, and versed experimentally in the dynamics of the Christian life, he will, by sure and happy intuition, by spiritual insight, at once reject the ideological table-turning of the new philosophies. For you cannot by such philosophies, you cannot by any amount of materialistic palmistry, obliterate the life-long experience of a man's affections, and persuade him that the peace, the love, the joy, the moral strength that have possessed him, and have ripened into act, are the mere collocations of molecules and the evolutions of his own consciousness. If he knows anything, he knows that from within they have actuated his outer life, impelling it towards all that is reputed best and noblest among men, with a power far beyond any that he could call naturally his own. You cannot obstupefy such a man by the jugglery of a mathematical puzzle, telling him that all knowledge is uncertain, and that no man can be sure that, under some conditions, two and two may not be five. To such an one thus endued with a spiritual insight, thus panoplied in the faith of the world to come, you may as well offer a stone or a piece of chalk in return for the bread of his inner life, as try to persuade him (and here I quote from the written oracles of the new religion)— as try to persuade him "that the noblest and most human emotion is worship (for the most part of the silent sort) at the altar of the Unknown and the Unknowable." Such a man will hardly stop to unravel the enigma of these strange words; they will rather roll back his thoughts for two thousand years, and they will recall to him the vision of an aged man walking along the streets of Athens, hard by an historic altar nigh to the Areopagus; and in spirit he will thence follow the grand apostle to the dungeon and sword of Nero; in spirit hearing and in his own experience responding to the words, "*I know, I know* Whom I have trusted, and I am persuaded that He is able to guard that which I have committed to His keeping."

Further; the two terms which most accurately describe very much of—I was going to call it the new philosophies, but in fact they are but a *rechauffée* of the old—these two terms I say—viz., Atheism and Scepticism—are just the very terms which the authors and advocates of the new-old philosophies are most careful to reject or to explain away. As to Atheism, probably few or none of us have ever met with a man who avowed himself an atheist. Non-theism and anti-theism is not so unacceptable. I stop not now to ask the source of the repugnance, or to analyse the generic difference of the terms.

And as to the other term, scepticism, it is very instructive to observe the ingenuity of the attempts to remove the social sting from the word. The most recent suggestion is that the true sceptics are those who reject the new-old philosophy—theism, they tell us, is the true scepticism: be it so.

But what is still more remarkable is the new dogma that the sceptical spirit is the one actual source of all progress in knowledge.

In a well-known "lay sermon" (oh, shade of Coleridge for the term!) I read that "natural knowledge" or as it had perhaps better be called "nature-knowledge" "is in fact the only real knowledge"; and that every great advance in this natural knowledge has involved "the cherishing of the keenest scepticism." Now I do most emphatically deny, on ethical and historical grounds, that the progress of mankind in any one branch of knowledge or of morality has been furthered by a sceptical spirit. I affirm that all true knowledge of every kind has been born of faith, and has been nurtured by patience and hope. Scepticism is not the joyful mother of children: she is barren. Restlessness is her stepmother, hopelessness and misery dwell in her abode.

It was not in scepticism, but in faith, that Galileo persevered till he wrested from nature her secret of the laws of motion. It was not in scepticism, but in faith, that Kepler toiled and failed, failed and toiled, till he discovered the laws which he felt assured the Lord and Governor of the universe had impressed on the orbits of the planets.

Not in scepticism, but in faith, the elder Herschel, hour after hour walked his weary but observant rounds, fed by a sister's hands, and stopping not, till he had finished his mirrors, not doubting they would in due time unfold to him the construction of the material heavens. And in like spirit of a loving confidence his gifted son banished himself to the far south, till he had finished the work which his father had begun, and for all ages wrote "*cœlis exploratis*" upon the escutcheon of their fame.

Not in scepticism, but in a spirit of faith, Dalton, and Davy, and Faraday laid the foundations of that astonishing advance in the domain of physics, which we inherit in the arts, the conveniences, the embellishments, the intelligence of our daily lives.

But that which most astonishes me in this bold assertion of the Victory of Doubt, is that it was made while the example of the saintly Faraday was still within living memory. No man contributed more than he to the advance of human knowledge, but Faraday worked on, not because he doubted, but because his mind was full of the ardour of faith. Faith that nature was established in law; faith specially in Him Who gave the law. And I know few episodes in the annals of science more touching than what was communicated to me by a deacon in the Church of simple-minded Christians, to whom Faraday ministered the truths of Christ, according to the light in which he had learned to apprehend them. It was at Dundee, towards the close of his life, when his memory and his over-taxed brain began to fail him. He opened the Bible, and began his address; but he soon stopped, and in tones the memory of which still lingered for good on the ears of some of us, he begged his audience to forgive him if his quotations from the Scriptures were sometimes not exact. "My friends," said he, "you know it was not always so," and, my informant added, his face shone as an angel's.

The sum of the whole matter is, this: the great Father of the universe has ordained that in Nature as in Grace, the victory of the

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children of light shall be, not by keen scepticism, but by a loving faith.

If, however, for the words "keen scepticism" as the one source of the advancement of all knowledge, we could write "fair trial," or "honest experiment," or "personal research," then these philosophies and the New Testament would be so far at one. "Seek and ye shall find," is as applicable to the operations of nature, as it is to the promises of grace. Nay, further, we affirm that the true prevailing cause of the rejection of the faith of Christ is that it has not been personally tried. It is like the rejection of gravitation by a mind refusing to submit to mathematical culture. Those burning and eternal words, "Come unto Me," challenge a trial at the hands of all the weary ones, all the restless ones, all the bereaved ones, in this troublesome though beautiful world. The light that shines from Bethlehem and Calvary and Olivet claims for its prerogative that it will illuminate all the dark passages, and mitigate if not remove all the dreary puzzles of this mortal life. Nay, more than that, it promises to supply a motive and an inner strength leading to the development of the human spirit into its perfection, and to satisfy its illimitable aspirations.

But the failing sand warns me to conclude; and it shall be with another episode in that practical life which is referred to in the subject title of my address.

It has come to my knowledge, and to that of others, that not very long ago a preacher in the course of his office was addressing the members of an ancient University on that security of knowledge of the Divine grace which comes from the experience of a life-long trial. It is said that the preacher himself desponded—not wisely, perhaps, but desponded—of the result on the minds of the cultured audience to whom it was his duty to appeal. But in the course of the evening there was put into his hands a letter couched in the following terms:—"A Manchester man, steeped to the neck in cotton, from sheer curiosity strayed this afternoon into St. Mary's Church. He was in great mental distress at the time, and all things seemed to him as a blank, but he there heard words of comfort which he takes as a voice from the Heavenly Father, and they will remain in his memory as a strength to the end of his life." The "keenest scepticism" will not restore a man to his better self who is steeped in cotton, or despondency, or sin.

L'Envoi.

Religious men are apt to lay very much of the atheism of the present day to the charge of scientific men. It may conduce to a more accurate apprehension of the fact, whatever the value of the fact may be, if it be understood that not one among the scientific professors at either of our two ancient Universities has written antagonistically to the Christian faith. And I believe the same assertion may be made in relation to their eminent colleagues in Ireland and Scotland.

But the truth is, the exact sciences do not so much as touch on the question of the immortality of the soul, or on the existence of an

author and governor of nature. The true questions at issue are ethical and historical, not dynamical. For, between the human will, the Ego, and the molecular dynamics of the brain, a dark gulf of total ignorance is fixed, which not a ray from the light of science as yet has traversed. In one sense, indeed, the question and the evidence are experimental; but the experiments cannot be made in the laboratory or the dissecting-room: they lie amidst the hopes, the passions, the affections of the soul. Did Christ rise from the dead? Is the Gospel of the Apostle John substantially true? These, and such as these, are the vital questions. For nearly two thousand years, that which has been best and noblest in the intellect of mankind has responded "Yes;" and that which has been wisest and loveliest in its heart has confirmed and maintained the response.

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In discussing this subject it would seem necessary, if there is to be any room for argument, to put aside some considerations which, to the Christian, are completely decisive of the point at issue. We are to consider what are the relative bearings of Christian Faith and of Sceptical Culture upon Practical Life—that is to say, what is their relative value for the purpose of promoting morality. Now, one of the three great articles of the Christian faith is a belief in God the Holy Spirit, who, in answer to prayer, bestows upon us His supernatural guidance and assistance. Assuming this to be true, there remains no room for comparison between the two influences; and it seemed desirable to mention this at the outset, lest, in arguing upon other grounds, this momentous power in Christian Faith should appear to be overlooked. It is, indeed, impossible to avoid introducing into our field of view some of the supernatural elements in Christian Faith, and so far there must remain a complete disparity between the terms of the comparison. But our faith operates by natural influences as well as by supernatural; and even its supernatural truths and realities have in some respects a natural action upon us. Thus the person of our Lord Jesus Christ is divine, but it is also human; and He acts upon us not only by supernatural grace, but by natural personal relations. We may here perhaps find a fairly common ground for contrasting the operation of our faith with that of unbelieving culture. Let us mainly ask what is the natural effect on our minds of Christian Faith as contrasted with the natural effects of Sceptical Culture.

Such culture takes various forms in different schools of thought, such as that of the Positivists, or that of Mr. Herbert Spencer. But, in all, its essential idea is that of the gradual improvement of life by the operation of social forces; for physical forces may, for the purposes of argument, be regarded as involved in these. The mutual action of human beings upon each other, their relative wants, instincts, passions, and affections are regarded as exerting, on the

whole, a steady upward pressure upon individuals; and by a skilful use of the arts of education, organization, and government, life, it is urged, may be indefinitely elevated. By philosophers who look at the subject from the point of view of physical science, the process is regarded as analogous to the evolution supposed to prevail in the animal world, by which, under the pressure of the necessities of existence, higher qualities are progressively developed in the species. Now it is to be observed, in the first place, that there is nothing in the least inconsistent with Christian belief in attributing to the operation of these natural influences of organized human society an extremely high value. It may, indeed, as will be presently seen, well be doubted whether their ultimate effects could be relied on if Christianity were not, as it were, perpetually renewing the raw material of human nature on which they work. But that they are among the most potent means of human elevation is unquestionable. Christians, indeed, are the very last persons who should undervalue them; for the conviction of the unity of men, of the intimate dependence of every member of the human family upon the rest, and of human development depending upon the maintenance of that union —these convictions are so essentially Christian that the Gospel might well be maintained to be the real source of those modern ideas of social culture which would fain dispense with it. St. Paul's language might almost be that of a philosopher of the present day, when, in images drawn from the intimate union of the members of the human body, he describes the almost physical interdependence of the members of the Christian organism. Accordingly, as a matter of fact, the social influence of the Church as a whole upon its members, by means of that discipline of which the abeyance is lamented in our Commination Service, was in the early Church one of the most powerful influences for maintaining the standard of Christian life. The Church, in fact, whatever its other characteristics, was from the first eminently a society for the culture of all righteousness and graciousness among its members. That which first of all struck the impartial eye of the Roman statesman, who observed it in its early vigour, was that its members bound themselves by an oath and a mutual pledge to renounce all vices. To Pliny's eye, the Church was a society visibly stamped with the "seal" of St. Paul—"Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." The Church was the first example of an association for this mutual culture of its members in righteousness; and the existence of such a society constitutes, perhaps, the most vital distinction between the Christian and the pre-Christian world, even when contemplated from a purely natural point of view. If, therefore, in any degree, Christianity appears at a disadvantage at the present time in respect to its employment of social forces for the purposes of moral culture, this can only be due to the Church having fallen short of her ideal and of her earliest and purest form. How to recover that form and approach nearer to that ideal, amidst the complex forces of modern life, is a most difficult problem. But now, not less than at the time of our Reformers, such a restoration of primitive Christian culture is "much to be wished."

Our faith, therefore, is so far from disparaging those methods of social culture upon which non-Christian systems rely, that in principle it claims to be their parent, and it would fain receive them back into the Christian household. But there remains one point, at any rate, in which it would seem, to say the least, extremely desirable that the influence of any such form of social culture should be supplemented. For permanent moral ends, indeed, it may appear as we proceed that such a supplement is essential; but very simple considerations may suffice to indicate its immense importance. It would seem obvious that the social forces which a society, as a whole, can exert upon its members are the resultants of the forces contributed by the individual members themselves, and must therefore vary, both in their potency and in their direction, in proportion to the character and the vigour of the individuals. The process of evolution or development, in whatever degree it may operate, depends upon the acquirement of special excellences by individuals, and it is in the cumulative effect of these individual excellences that the elevation of the race consists. It is not of material importance to what these individual excellences may be due—whether they are mere modifications produced by the pressure of external circumstances, or, as would seem in some instances, the result of forces inherent in the stock, but previously latent. In any case, the improvement of the individual cannot fail to enhance the value of the social force he contributes to the community. Now, if this be the case, it would seem to follow that, under certain circumstances, social influences, without being either disparaged or neglected, may become of less practical importance than influences dealing in the first instance with individuals. Let it be granted, for the sake of argument, that in any human society, the influence of the whole body upon its members will gradually tend to improve them. Nevertheless, if we can directly improve the members individually, by raising them towards their ideal, we shall, in the first place, anticipate in great measure the effect of the social process, while we shall also enhance the efficacy of that process itself. Consequently, the first question which should be asked by an advocate of social culture is whether there exist means for raising individuals, by independent and immediate action, above the level already attained by them. Is it possible for him to sharpen and perfect his tools one by one, before he combines them in his great social machine?

Now, it is on this critical point that all systems of sceptical and purely social culture appear to fall short of the Christian faith. They fall short, moreover, of necessity, and by the very law of their existence. On their hypothesis, the individual is, and ought to be, the product of society. He is its child, determined by it, and to be judged primarily, if not solely, by the tests it supplies. To attempt, therefore, to raise an individual, by direct influence, above the level of the existing social standard, is, to say the least, to incur a great risk of misdirecting his development. It is impossible to be sure that he is being properly trained and developed unless that training and development are in harmony with the whole society of which he

is a part; and it would seem certainly safer to leave the society, as a whole, to determine what that harmony dictates than to attempt to anticipate its judgment by private experiment. The same consideration may be put in another form, by observing that it is in the nature of the case impossible that any system of purely social culture should recognize a fixed and definite standard of individual excellence. It is impossible, for the simple reason that the society is, by the hypothesis, engaged in working out this standard. The more true such a system is to its principle the more does the famous description of the Baconian method apply to it. It is a system "which never rests; its law is progress. A point which yesterday was invisible is its goal to-day, and will be its starting post to-morrow." Evolution, by its very nature, is evolution towards an unknown goal; and to attempt to fix that goal is to assume a prophetic vision. Various methods may, indeed, be laid down for determining the true path of progress—that of utility, for instance, or that of happiness; but they are only methods for determining the immediate direction of the path we are pursuing, and they cannot tell us whither it will ultimately lead. But it follows that if these systems of sceptical culture offer no absolute standard of individual excellence, it must be impracticable, or at least inconsistent, to attempt the immediate elevation of individuals to a high standard by individual influences. It would not even seem safe to inculcate on a man that he should aim at the standard actually recognized at a given time by the society to which he belongs; for, on the hypothesis, a deviation on his part might be a first step in a better direction, and the question whether it were or were not could only be decided by the experience of the society. In a word, conceive men, if possible, deprived of any guide to their actions but such as their nature supplies, and in theory, the whole of morals is, by virtue of the hypothesis, reduced to a state of flux; and individuals, instead of being moulded in accordance with a definite standard, must be left to be fashioned in accordance with the forces operating upon them from moment to moment.

Accordingly, the great philosopher who stemmed the tide of a similar moral flux in ancient Greece sought for visions of divine ideals as the only solid ground on which he could plant his feet. He felt after them, if haply he might find them; and they proved in many instances to be not very far from him. But the full revelation of that after which Plato groped is the cardinal truth of the Christian faith. In the person of our Lord Jesus Christ we recognize the ideal perfection of man—a perfection not less absolute and eternal than that divine nature which is indissolubly united with it. Here is a fixed and unalterable standard to the test of which every individual through all future ages may bring his conscience and his heart, and which may be applied to him, not merely through the influence of Christian social forces, but immediately and personally. It should be observed that such a revelation furnishes the only conceivable standard for personal beings. If there be a standard at all for different things of the same kind, it must be something of the same kind as the things themselves. By rules and laws we may, indeed, approximate indefinitely to the description of a perfect standard, but

the standard itself must be of the same nature as that of which it is to be the test. The only perfect standard of a horse would be a perfect horse. Perhaps in no living organism but man is there such a standard. If there be no fixity in species there certainly is none. But at all events the only conceivable standard for a person is a person, and the only possible standard for man must be a man. If such a man does not exist, or is not known, there is no fixed moral standard for the human race. There may be certain rules and laws, more or less fixed; but there can be no permanent ideal at which every one may aim. Moreover such a standard, though a fixed, is far from being a rigid one; for the character, revealed by the acts and words of a person, is by no means limited to circumstances similar to those within which such acts and words operated. It is discerned behind them, in infinite elasticity of application, and its impalpable spiritual influence can impress itself upon every moral nature. There is no influence which more steadily grows in delicacy and sureness of touch than that of sympathy with a person; and even if we had to rely upon the purely natural effect of the revelation of the Lord Jesus Christ, that revelation would mould into more and more sympathy with itself all characters which, with due reverence and affection, submitted themselves to its influence. But we have not to rely upon merely natural influences; and in order to do justice to our Faith, even in this single point of contrast between it and sceptical systems, it becomes necessary once more to pass for a moment into the shrine of the deeper verities of our creed. Mr. Mill has acknowledged the supreme excellence of this Divine Ideal, and has said that it would be no unsatisfactory guide for a man's life to endeavour always so to act that Christ might be supposed to approve his actions. What, then, should be the influence of such an ideal upon one who believes that he has to act, not merely so that Christ would approve his actions, if He saw them, but that he is living now in the presence of Christ, that he will hereafter stand face to face with Him, and that upon his direct personal relation towards that Person the whole of his destiny depends? Professor Tyndall, in no friendly spirit to our creed, said the other day that—"Facts rather than dogmas have been the ministers of the power that has moulded us—hunger and thirst, heat and cold, pleasure and pain, sympathy, shame, pride, love, hate, terror, awe—such were the forces" which wove the web of man's physical, intellectual, and moral nature. It is precisely such forces as these that the direct relation of the human soul to one who is perfect man and perfect God is fitted to evoke, and to evcke in a strength compared with which all other forms of the same forces are insignificant. The Christian dogmas, which are often treated as something abstract and apart from life, had their origin, and have now their essential importance, in the fact that they are the necessary conditions of an intelligent faith in this permanent relation of a personal soul with the person of the Lord Jesus Christ. Their value consists in the fact that they alone enable us rationally to believe that in Him, perfect God and perfect Man, we possess the eternal Lord and Master and Ideal of men, whom it is possible for reasonable human beings to love and to follow, "with

all the heart, with all the soul, with all the mind, and with all the strength."

Such, then, in a few essential points, appear to be some of the relative bearings of Christian Faith and Sceptical Culture. They may be summed up by saying that Christian faith, even when regarded without reference to some of its supernatural and most characteristic powers, contains within itself all the good influences which sceptical culture offers; but that it supplies a cardinal necessity in which they are deficient. It recognizes in the highest degree the importance of social influences. It believes that only by keeping the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, only by the union of the various gifts bestowed upon various men, can we "all come to a perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." But it also believes, and the history of the Church abundantly confirms the belief, that by the direct personal influence of our Lord Jesus Christ, individuals can be directly and immediately endowed with a new spiritual life, and can thus be perpetually contributing new spiritual forces to the social action of Christians upon each other. In a word, the Church provides that supreme ideal which no other religion and no other philosophy has been able to furnish; she brings individual souls into union with it; and she is thus perpetually regenerating the primary and constituent forces of human life.

Charles Elam, M.D.

In the subject assigned to me for a few remarks this evening, there is indicated an antagonism between Christian Faith and Sceptical Culture, as bearing upon life, its duties and its responsibilities.

This antagonism is real, precise and irreconcilable. If the latest utterances of what is called the philosophy of to-day be in reality the final and justifiable verdict of *science*, then indeed is our faith vain, and we are of all men not only the most miserable, but the weakest, most foolish and most deluded. For the time has gone by when it was competent to us to say "We believe,—and science has nothing to do with our belief." Science, *i.e.* knowledge, claims, and justly claims, to give its verdict on *everything* that can become an object of thought, and I for one would fearlessly and earnestly urge that the claims of science be frankly admitted. Virchow says that "science and faith mutually exclude each other." Alas for faith if it be so! Should the time ever arrive—and it has not yet come—when there appears any irreconcilable difference between faith (as we understand it) and science—*true* science—knowledge—then faith must inevitably give way, as twilight must give place to the full light of the sun. Up to the present time there is no such difference; there is abundant warfare between our faith and the modern frothy philosophy which claims to be science—but this claim has not yet been substantiated.

In these latter and evil days, when floods of words seem to render ideas unnecessary, we hear much of such subjects as the Scepticism of Faith, the Credulity of Unbelief, and a hundred other antithetical and paradoxical phrases, the amplification of which tends in most cases only to mystify the readers as to the absolute position of any party to the controversy.

I therefore propose to devote the short time at my disposal this evening to an endeavour to extricate one phase of modern thought from this chaos—to indicate its relation to human life and conduct—and to enquire, necessarily with great brevity, what is its bearing with regard to science.

Underlying all forms of religion, properly so called, there are three fundamental ideas, without any one of which we cannot conceive of a religion as existing. I need not define the word "religion" in this assembly—suffice it to say that under this term I do not include the various forms of godless religions so much in favour with a certain school, such as the "religion of humanity"—"morality tinged with emotion," and the like.

The three ideas referred to are these:—God—a future life—and human responsibility. That is, we believe in a Supreme Author and Governor of the Universe—a personal God, and not a mystic symbol of blind universal mechanical force. We believe in a future life of the soul of man—a *personal* continuance into another state of existence of a conscious individuality that does not perish with the death of the body. And we believe in man's responsibility—that he is not a mere machine, the product of the soulless tyranny of matter and force, and the sport and plaything of cosmical influences—but that under certain limitations he is endowed with freedom and spontaneity of action, and has the power of selection between good and evil independently of his physical *organisation*, and of the medium in which he exists. From these three elementary ideas, the more complex conception of *morals* originates.

Dominating all minor differences, there are three ideas that emerge prominently from the materialistic teaching of the present age. On all positive points there is but scant agreement. One school upholds that all is matter—another that all is force—a third that it is no matter what it is—but all are agreed in these three negations—

There is no God.

There is no future life.

There is no responsibility.

The first two propositions are broadly and loudly stated in the most precise and intelligible language; the third is, for the most part, more obscurely formulated, out of a lingering respect for the aggregate common sense of mankind, but is none the less a logical and inevitable consequence of the monistic or mechanical doctrines of life held by this school. Every man acts in accordance with his physical constitution as related to the medium in which he exists. All such action is governed by physical or mechanical laws, and must therefore be mechanical in its nature; and as a mere matter of necessity, responsibility becomes a term as unmeaning, as if we spoke of a malignant steam-engine or a vicious galvanic battery.

Never in the history of thought have doctrines been promulgated with stronger claims to consideration than these. It is not now the fool, as this world accounts folly, that hath said in his heart "There is no God;"—it is the man of science of many essays and addresses—of much knowledge of atoms and ether and cosmical forces—who speaks from high places and chairs of learning.

There is no whispering or suggesting or hinting here. Lalande in past times said "I have searched the heavens, but have nowhere found the traces of a God." And Laplace, when asked by Napoleon why there was no mention of God in his *Mechanique Celeste*, replied "Sire, I had no need of such an hypothesis." Our modern philosophers are bolder and more confident than this. *They* have searched the universe and have exhausted its possibilities. They *know* that there *is*—that there *can be*—no God. There is no room for Him. "The physical universe consists of atoms and ether, and there is no room for ghosts," says Professor Clifford, under which term "ghosts" the context would appear to imply God, the soul, virtue, responsibility, will, and all such unconsidered trifles as these. Perhaps the most elementary acquaintance with modern physical science would have checked this most preposterous utterance.

Until late years the belief in a God was considered to be, even if a delusion, at least an innocent one, and aspiration after a future life was accounted as at most nothing worse than a weak superstition. All this is now changed. These are the sickly dreams of hysterical women and half-starved men. All faith in anything but matter and ether is "blasphemy and unspeakable profanity," on which the "sleepless vengeance of fire" is invoked.

The learned and modest Dr. Buchner, whose mission it is to "deliver his fellow-men from obsolete and pernicious prejudices," calls all believers in anything but matter and force, "howlers, yelping curs, and speculative idiots."

Some others are more politely contemptuous, and merely consider us as students of lunar politics, unless we venture actively to dissent from their conclusions, in which case we are "drummers."

All are agreed that the idea of a personal Creator of the Universe is not only untenable and impossible, but that it is so supremely irrational, that it can only have arisen in what did duty for the minds of men during those inconceivably dark ages when they were slowly howling their dismal way upwards from their ancestral apes into something resembling humanity. Finally it was reserved for Professor Clifford to make the noteworthy discovery, that if there be anything to be accounted immoral (which appears doubtful) it is the doctrine of a destiny or "Providence outside of us, overruling the the efforts of men." With regard to a future life, the latest of the prophets unhesitatingly pronounces the wish for personal continuance to be "gross, indolent, selfish, ludicrous and repulsive." All of which leaves but one thing certain—that whatever may be the lack of science in these writers, there can be no doubt of their genius—for scolding.

The proofs of man's automatism and consequent irresponsibility are derived from considerations connected with his origin and history.

Naturalists *prove* (says Buchner) that there are no forces in the universe but the mechanical and chemical—marvellous naturalists! Haeckel, upholding the monistic hypothesis, says that all the forces of the universe are *mechanical*, and that man is the direct product of these forces, without any external (say creative) intervention. "All living creatures (he says), even the highest organisms, including man himself, have been gradually developed from one primary simple form (the monera)—which was not *created*, but *evolved* from inorganic matter, by the influence of the ordinary physical forces." He proceeds to add that *without any doubt* man is a lineal descendant of the catarhine apes, in accordance with the doctrine of natural selection. The history, briefly, is something like this.

Our earth was once a vast expanse of cosmic gas, which subsequently assumed the aspect of a "fiery cloud," in which we are told by those who profess to know everything, that all our intellect, emotions and will—all our poetry, philosophy and science, were latent and potential. Then ensued a long process of cooling, condensation and differentiation—as the general result of which the earth was prepared for the appearance of life, which is first recognised under the form of sea slime, or mucus. Then appears the *monera*—afterwards other low forms of life—and from these, through countless ages of struggle for existence, natural selection and survival of the fittest, all the varied forms of animal and vegetable life were developed. Finally, man himself appeared, not direct from the hand of a Creator, but a lineal descendant of a catarhine ape—and all this, to quote the words of a distinguished naturalist, "without the intervention of any but what are called secondary causes."

What are we to say to all this? If it be true—as those who profess to speak in the name of science say it is—then the three negations already mentioned are demonstrated.

There is assuredly no room for a God in a world thus formed—or at best what Mr. Carlyle calls "an absentee God, sitting idle ever since the first Sabbath, at the outside of His universe, seeing it go on"—unable, even if willing, to interfere. There is no possibility of a future (*personal conscious*) life—for our life depends but upon the compounding of atoms and physical force, and must necessarily end with the decomposition of these. There can be no responsibility, for what we have called the soul is hereby shown to be merely the mechanical result of the interactions of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen; existing only by virtue of the combinations of these elements; ceasing to be when such combinations are resolved. Virtue, under such conditions, has no possible meaning. Every action of life and mind being absolutely determined and limited by physical laws, can only be mechanical in its nature; and its relation to morality, either as virtue or vice, is as unreal as the morality itself.

Man is simply an automaton—"the cunningest of nature's clocks"—and therefore absolutely irresponsible; for I believe that there is only one of our modern prophets who has so misty a conception of the relations of words to ideas, as to believe in an

"automaton endowed with free will;" and he pleads his advanced age as a reason why he cannot be troubled with such trivial matters as facts and arguments. He prefers to throw stones and run away.

In this question of irresponsibility, however, we are not left to inference merely, but we are told in language so plain as to prevent any possibility of misapprehension, that we have no such thing as *volition*. Professor Huxley states that "there is no proof that any state of consciousness is the cause of change in the matter of the organism," and that "the feeling we call *volition* is *not* the cause of a voluntary act, but the symbol of that state of the brain which *is* the immediate cause of that act." In like manner Professor Tyndall says, "I have no power of imagining states of consciousness interposed between the molecules of the brain, and influencing the transference of motion among the molecules," these states of consciousness being further described as merely "*by-products* which are not essential to the physical process going on in the brain."

All which translated into the vernacular amounts to this. A speaker in an assembly, or a discord in a concert, disturbs me, and to escape the unpleasant sensation, I leave the room, and I think I do so of my own free will.

"No (says the modern philosopher) you are quite mistaken. You *say* you have a sensation, and I cannot absolutely deny it, but this sensation has nothing whatever to do with your action—neither has what you *think* with your volition. The brain acts automatically in causing you to leave the room, and what you are pleased to call your sensation and volition are only *by-products* that have no influence on the action.

I can but reply—"Many thanks for the information, but I *know* by daily and hourly experience that of several courses open to me, I *can* select one and reject the others, and I offer to submit this faculty to any test you can suggest. He discovers only, *who* PROVES;—and unless you can prove the evidence of my senses and of my fundamental intentions to be a perpetual lie, I must decline to accept the conclusion. Permit me to ask if common sense is finally and for ever excluded from the domain of Philosophy?"

The bearing of these doctrines on practical life and conduct is obvious and direct. They must and do tend to produce contempt for human life, and disbelief in all virtue, as such. "Why do you talk to me about duty? What *is* duty? Why should I resist temptation? What *is* temptation, and how *can* I *resist* it? I am an automaton, and can only act in accordance with the mechanical relations of my molecules. Feed me well, and give me everything I want, and I shall, perhaps, be fairly orderly. Deprive me of what I want, and I shall take it—injure me, and by reflex action I shall injure you—how can I help it, and how can you blame me?" Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall be carbonic acid, ammonia, and water.

Not long after the appearance of a certain well known paper on "Protoplasm, or the Physical Basis of Life," I had occasion in the course of a professional conversation to mention the subject of death. My friend at once answered, "What does it signify—it will

all be at an end—we go out like an exhausted lamp; does not Professor Huxley say so?" And very shortly after this, I heard another illustration of the contempt for life—(but in this case it was *infant* life)—justified on the same grounds, in a manner of which I dare not venture to give the details.

Nevertheless an all-important enquiry remains. These doctrines, however unnatural and repulsive, are the rigidly-logical deductions from those physical theories of life and human development that are propounded in the name of science, and as its latest and most certain demonstrations.

It is impossible to over-estimate the necessity for the most careful consideration of this subject. Never, in any age, was so tremendous an assault made upon the very foundations of all religious belief. It is in vain that we would say "Our faith is not founded on scientific considerations, and shall not be shaken by them." Everything that concerns the nature and history of man is within the domain of science, and she will claim, with justice, to give her verdict upon it. And there is no possibility of compromise. This is not a question that can be dismissed with the remark that "There is much to be said on both sides." One or other must be absolutely true or absolutely false. If what is alleged by these philosophers in the name of science be true, then it follows necessarily, and without dispute, that there is *no* God, *no* soul, *no* future life, *no* responsibility, nothing but fate, force, and blank darkness.

Is it all true?—What can I say in the fragment of time at my disposal, how in a few brief moments reply to allegations derived from the whole domain of science? The strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest link. Let us take the *strongest* link in *this* chain, and enquire whether it is not weaker than charred packthread.

The proposition upon which the entire doctrine rests is this, that the ordinary forces of nature are competent of themselves to produce *life* in non-living matter.

1. Is this true? Modern philosophers say "Yes," *all* science says without doubt or hesitation, "No."

Professor Huxley, the great exponent of modern materialism, gives *this* account of the origin of living matter—"Carbonic acid, water, and ammonia are lifeless bodies, but when they are brought together, under certain conditions, they give rise to the still more complex body, protoplasm; and this protoplasm exhibits the phenomena of life."

There are certain propositions that it is a waste of reason to treat seriously. If I were to tell you that five sovereigns, twelve florins, and ten shillings, when brought together, under certain conditions, formed the sum of half-a-crown, and that this half crown paid off the national debt, my arithmetic and finance would be sober sense compared with this account of the origin of life. Carbonic acid, water and ammonia, are *not* the constituents of protoplasm, they cannot under *any conditions whatever* combine to form protoplasm, and this protoplasm does *not* exhibit the phenomena of life.

Such is the simple answer to this most marvellous statement, no

matter of opinion, but one of the plainest and most elementary facts in science. I have elsewhere demonstrated this, and this demonstration elicited the reply, that I am "not only uneducated in this matter, but not sufficiently emerged from a state of ignorance to know that such an education is necessary."

The answer is neat and incisive—perhaps the very best that could be given—but has this defect, that it leaves the question of a gross scientific error exactly where it was.

2. Are the higher forms of life developed from the lower, by natural selection, or any other operative principle? Modern philosophers say yes; all science, all observation, all experiment, say *no*. In the whole range of Natural History and Palæontology there is not one solitary fact in support of the doctrine. It is a mere "figment of the imagination."

3. Is man a lineal descendant of an ape? Verily and emphatically *no*. By general consent even of the most enthusiastic evolutionists there is a "vast chasm," an "impassable gulf," a "practically infinite divergence" between the highest ape and the lowest man, an abyss bridged over by no transition forms. It is true that such transition forms are described in some detail by Haeckel; but on examination it appears that no one ever saw them, or any remains of them, or any evidence that they ever existed; but, he says, with the most innocent naiveté, "they *must have* existed, because they are required by the hypothesis." Admirably exact science!

The only plausible argument for such a descent is the very strong resemblance in anatomical details—a resemblance which I recognise to the very fullest extent. I pray you to mark this well, and to remember that words have *some* meaning, facts *some* significance, and logic *some* cogency, with us as with our opponents. Bearing this in mind, if we consider this exceeding close anatomical resemblance, together with the "INFINITE DIVERGENCE" in nature, what more absolutely conclusive demonstration can be given that man's nature is *not* defined and limited by his physical organisation—that he is neither *of* nor *from* the brute—but that he bears the seal and impress of his special and divine origin, in a nature upon which neither scientific nor unscientific biology has any word to say?

In an eloquent and learned address, delivered a few days ago, at Birmingham, Professor Tyndall said that the world "has for the most part settled down into the belief that Mr. Darwin's book simply reflects the truth of nature." Permit me to dissent from this—*most emphatically*. It is true that in England Mr. Darwin's views of what has been tersely styled the "essential bestiality of man" have been accepted by many, both of those who think, and those (a *far greater number*) who allow others to think for them. But the number of those who are qualified to form any judgment whatever on such a point is exceedingly limited, and certainly many of the most distinguished authorities by no means accept these views. Where in England is there a more accomplished naturalist than Mr. Mivart? and his verdict is well known and remembered both by friend and foe—that it is a "puerile hypothesis." Is it supported by the great name of Von Baer on the continent, or by the philosophic Ulrici?

But why enumerate individuals? The height of a crowd is the height of the tallest man in the crowd. Amongst naturalists the name of the late Professor Agassiz stands easily with the very first in all lands. A few weeks ago I had a letter from his widow in America, sending me the last sheets to which he put his corrections, in which these theories are held up to the most pitiless ridicule.

Finally, on the whole question of authority, hear what is said by one whose voice must command attention wherever philosophy is discussed—Professor Tait. After alluding to the errors of those who exclude science from even physical questions, he continues:—

"On the other hand there is a numerous group, not in the slightest degree entitled to rank as physicists (though in general they assume the proud title of philosophers) who assert that not merely life, but even volition and consciousness are merely physical manifestations. These opposite errors, into neither of which is it possible for a genuine scientific man to fall *-so long at least as he retains his reason*—are easily seen to be very closely allied. They are both to be attributed to that credulity which is characteristic alike of ignorance and of incapacity, whether it shows itself in the comparatively harmless folly of the spiritualist, or in the pernicious nonsense of the materialist." (*p.* 25.)

My time is gone, and I must hasten to the end. May I add one word of personal testimony? I have been for more than the length of a generation a student and lover of all science. With such ability as has been given to me I have watched its progress and weighed its revelations. I have never met with one single fact that has thrown any difficulty in the way of the belief in an All-wise and All-powerful Creator and sustainer of the universe. I have never met with one single phenomenon that could be *explained* without this belief. All science, taken alone, is truncated and incomplete without the recognition of that hypothesis which Laplace did not need—as incomplete as a train of complicated mechanism without a first mover.

To me the heavens declare not alone the harmony of dynamics but the glory of Him who hath weighed them as in a balance; and the firmament sheweth forth not only the play of molecular forces but the handiwork of Him of whose will these forces are but the expression.

I see the *law*, the order, the beauty of the living garment of this our earth; but beyond and beneath all this I see the law-*giver*—the fountain of light, and life, and intelligence—the bright presence of the High and Holy One that inhabiteth eternity—the "Universal Here," the "Everlasting Now,"

> That changed thro' all, and yet in all the same,
> Great in the earth, as in the aetherial frame;
> Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,
> Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees;
> Lives through all life, extends through all extent;
> Spreads undivided, operates unspent.
>
> To Him, no high, no low, no great, no small;
> He fills, He bounds, connects, and equals all.

Archdeacon Hannah, Vicar of Brighton.

In dealing as concisely as I can with this great subject, I must begin with a definition; and, if I may take so great a liberty, with a slight criticism of the wording of the proposition before us, "Christian Faith and Sceptical Culture in their relative bearings on practical life." We require a definition of what we mean by practical utility, for, unless we are agreed on what makes a thing practically useful, we cannot measure the relative bearing of the contrasted methods on practical life. And by way of criticism I venture to point out, that the antithesis in our proposition lies solely in the epithets, Christian and sceptical, and not in the two substantives, faith and culture. No contradiction exists between faith and culture. There need not be the slightest discord between them. Both may co-exist in the same man, as they often have co-existed, in the highest perfection; nor, in fact, can they be separated without loss. The contrast lies entirely between Christianity and scepticism, and the question relates to the bearing of these two things respectively on practical life.

What is it, then, that gives practical efficiency to any system of moral discipline or training? I think that such efficiency consists in these three things—completeness, proportion, and power. The main test of the practical usefulness of a method is the *completeness* with which it does its work, throughout the whole of its prescribed sphere. But its utility further depends upon the *power* which it possesses, to call forth all our faculties in their full strength and just *proportions;* to remove the difficulties which may hinder their healthy development; to regulate the whole of our conduct with the view of perfecting our own individual character; and to promote the fulfilment of the end for which we exist, whether we describe that end as our own happiness, or the benefit of our fellow creatures, or the glory of God; or all of these combined, or arranged in any order of subordination. If you will accept this account of what we mean by practical utility, we can grapple with our subject without further preliminaries.

1. First, then, let us ask whether Christianity or scepticism can exercise the more complete, proportionate, and powerful influence on human conduct. There is no doubt here about the claims of Christianity, or the manner in which they are fulfilled. Christianity lays claim to deal alike with every capacity and faculty in all our compound nature. Not one single item in the whole of our complex constitution is omitted, in so far as we believe that Christianity at once ennobles and satisfies the intellect, controls the will, and draws forth every emotion of the heart. The faith of Christ supplies at once a power to move, a discipline to guide, an end to aim at. Christianity takes man in his completest fulness, with all his needs, capacities, and hopes; and enables him to unfold his character in just proportion, for the better discharge of duty in time, and the preparation to exercise still nobler energies in eternity. Can scepticism prefer an equal claim? Does any sceptical system even profess to have the command of any all-pervading motive power? On the contrary, its method confines its constructive work (if it has any) to the intellect and imagination. It only paralyses the will. It only chills the heart. It makes its appeal to the narrowest form of reason, forbidding the mind to reach forth beyond the strictest proof of scientific demonstration; repressing the imagination from the daring effort to wing its flight into the unknown; and laying a heavy hand of doubt and denial on the impulses of emotion, the homage of the will, the bounding aspirations of the hopeful heart. Whatever may be the benefits of sceptical culture, it is undoubtedly deficient both in completeness and in power. It is utterly barren in the advantages which Christianity derives from the magisterial sovereignty of conscience, from the assurance of faith, from the motive power of love. It fails quite as decidedly if we apply to it the test of proportion. It fails to develop the

entire nature in its fulness, because it breaks the mainspring of that development by destroying all faith in a personal God. It destroys the fixed proportion borne in God's design, by conscience and reason, as His ministers and representatives, to appetite, passion, and emotion, as their servants; and by all these varied gifts alike, through will, to conduct.

2. In the next place, let us apply the test of the removal of difficulties. In working out our own perfection, we are all conscious that there are difficulties to encounter. There is the strength of passions, which claim more than their proportionate share of influence; of emotions which must be regulated and controlled, or they will throw the moral system into a state of anarchy. We are not now dealing with the *causes* of these difficulties, nor with the explanation which the Bible gives us of this intrusion of disturbance in the work of God. The *facts* are all that we are now concerned with; the plain sad facts of temptation and sin, which are proved too conclusively by every one's experience, and felt so painfully by every heart. Where, then, shall we find a power that is strong enough to bridle the passions, to withstand sensual claims in the very torrent of their vehemence, to calm down the turbulence of an ungovernable appetite? Not, I fear, in any mere culture, whether sceptical or otherwise; not in the refinement of literature, the cultivation of art, the mental discipline of science; least of all when these gifts are divorced from a sense of the super-natural, and from faith in God. There is no such power in selfish calculation, or in theories of social benefit which do not recognise society as itself the work and ordinance of God. Culture may connect itself with faith, but is powerless in its absence. It may co-operate with Christianity, but in that alliance it is incomparably the greater gainer of the two. It may make its appeal to some few refined natures, which are untroubled by the stronger emotions, though it can give no satisfaction to the higher aspirations even of the calmest and least enthusiastic temper. But it can build no bulwark against the rising tide of passion, nor can it strengthen those who are sorely tempted in the struggle to abstain from sin. What method, indeed, will best enable us to subdue and reclaim the "wild beast" in human nature? Some will say it must be done by *fear*. Others will answer that the work can only be accomplished by *love*. Christianity will tell us *both* by fear and love, and will add that, though the loving fear of God will be eternal, yet, so far as "fear hath torment," "perfect love casteth out fear." But what answer can the sceptic give, as he can offer *neither* fear nor love? Shall he rely on the argument that virtue is more graceful and comely than vice? Shall he appeal to social considerations? —to prudential calculations?—to dreams of human perfectibility which are totally unsupported by the means of working out perfection? But all these motives have been found in practice to be compatible with the habitual exercise of heinous sin. We do not root out vice by lessening its grossness; and a prudential regard for social position, or for personal health, wealth, and worldly prosperity, has too often led men only to conceal their self-indulgences, and to sacrifice the very souls and bodies of their fellow creatures to their own selfish appetites. But here we must guard against one possible misapprehension. We do not for a moment deny that there are men who have unhappily cast off their faith, and who yet appear to lead pure, disinterested lives and to shun self-indulgence. But you must bear in mind that all these have been brought up under the shadow of Christianity. They cannot blind themselves to the beauty of its purity and holiness, even if they declare themselves dissatisfied with the evidence for the truth of its doctrines in regard to the soul, and God, and eternity. To obtain a practical proof of the moral working of scepticism, we must clearly isolate our instances more carefully. We must seek cases over which Christianity cannot possibly have exercised its healing influence, or where its authority has been undermined and denied through the sins of many generations.

3. The historical argument, then, is one of the strongest. We haye a right to make our appeal to history, to find out whether Christianity or scepticism can bring the most conclusive proof of its success. But this is a subject on which I have not time to dwell, except in the briefest and most condensed summary. What, then, was the state of civilised antiquity whenever it possessed no firm and living faith in the unseen? Whence came the tolerance for sin that tarnished even the highest teaching of the noblest minds? How can you account for the stains which sometimes blot the pages of the best ancient philosophy? How for the deep corruption of the Roman Empire, and for the failure of the philosophic emperors to make more than a transient impression on the mass of its impurity? What is the state of morality among these Eastern nations, which still keep up an ancient but stagnant civilization which is sanctified by no knowledge of the living God? In some cases, no doubt, it has been found that a false and corrupt theology has been mischievous from the very power which it shares, to some extent, with a purer religion. But "by their fruits ye shall know them." We are not now dealing with the case of false religions. But what shall we say of the fruits that were borne by the scepticism of Rome, the scepticism of mediæval Italy, the scepticism of France in the last century? There are faults and imperfections of the most grievous magnitude in every Christian nation, and too frequently even in the Christian heart. We were taught to expect this by the warnings of Christ. But if scepticism would make out a case for its practical utility, let it not first borrow its very life-blood from Christianity, and then deny the debt. Let it point, if it can, to such practical results as the amelioration of the hard lot of the captive, the prisoner, and the slave; as the increased regard for human life; the stigma now fixed on abortion and infanticide; the abolition of the bloody trade of the gladiator; the loftier estimate of social and domestic virtue; the public scorn and loathing for the viler sins. Let it show that its Gospel can be preached to the poor. Let it point to triumphs like those which Christian charity has wrought, when it has hedged round all our towns with institutions for the alleviation of human distress.

Till scepticism can prove its practical utility by such results as these, we must, I fear, continue to believe that it is as deficient in sound moral influence as it boasts to be in Christian faith. We must continue to believe that there is no power that can heal our sins and purify our hearts and ennoble our purpose, but the certainty of faith which conquers doubt—a faith, which is strengthened by experience, in the living force of Christ's atonement, the persuasive influence of Christ's example, and the saving energy of Christian love.

Rev. Dr. Irons.

The ambiguity which has been pointed out in the theme chosen for us this evening at least gives an advantage to those speakers who come after others who have, from different points of view, dealt seriously, and in some degree completely, with the topic suggested. I would ask you now to take a somewhat different view of the subject. While endorsing to the best of my power what has been read and said by others, I must acknowledge that the subject, as proposed to us, did not present itself to me quite in the same light as to the mind of my predecessors. I did not think that we were called upon to discuss the first principles of Scepticism, nor the Science which is supposed to be so intimately allied with scepticism. I considered that we were really asked to determine, whether the aggressive movement of atheism—not "scepticism" merely—of which we have signs in all our

civilization at the present time, is to be met by any other means than Christians are now using? In such an enquiry, we are bound to compare Christianity with the Sceptical, or Atheistic, advance of the age, as intended still to affect our entire civilization. And, in order now to glance at all satisfactorily at this problem, do let us bear in mind that it is no speculative matter we are here entering upon. We are discussing the same subject which I do not hesitate to say is occupying the literary mind of Europe, and, practically, our own country also at the present time. Christianity, as a civilizing power, is in fact on its defence; but it is a Christianity which has considerably shifted its position, and now speaks with somewhat bated breath in the presence of its enemy. And the Scepticism with which we have to deal is no longer the mocking scepticism of the 18th century; it is calm, defiant, and as if assured of its ultimate success. Its tone is such as we have not been used to, thus far. The aim of the Atheistic party throughout Europe is to establish society upon an atheistic basis; and the debates between the two sides will not be very satisfactorily carried on, if we are to have a thoroughly attenuated Christianity on the one side, and a quiet and gentle scientific agnosticism on the other. At the present time we are not accustomed *e. g.* to hear the great doctrine of the Incarnation spoken of in the unmistakable terms in which it has been set before you to-night as Christianity; but we hear of a kind of abstract Christianity, something in which everybody who bears the Christian name may be supposed to agree. This is what is defended by too many of those who must yet be supposed to be on the side of Religion. Now, I am confident that the battle will go hard against all those who have nothing but an abstract Christianity to defend. Society has never yet stood upon abstract grounds and will not in the future. The imperial paganism of Rome gave way to an actual system, a Christian Church which worked itself into the laws of the Empire. The canons of Councils first became part of the laws of Theodosius; and then, later on, of Justinian in the 6th century. In the 9th, Christian teaching lay at the very foundation of the legislation of Charlemagne; and thenceforth it has become what is familiarly called "part and parcel of the law of Europe." But now, that ground of civilization is undoubtedly being changed, and we must face the fact. One by one the truths, and even the ethical basis, of Christianity in detail have been withdrawn in many parts of Europe, and at least are threatened among ourselves. People are here misled: they satisfy themselves with the idea that because the work of the Spirit of God, which Professor Wace so wisely withdrew from this discussion, has unity and strength in the regenerate soul, therefore they need not care to think of difficulties, and doubts, and differences of doctrine, and so on. That is a most dangerous practical error. The world at large will not be influenced by fancies or feelings, or even by sincere conversions: it will be influenced by institutes and public laws. Now the Christian Religion has given outline to the laws of Christendom from the time of Constantine, more or less, until now. It has wrought itself into each successive phase of all the varying civilizations which have been created in Europe; and if the public polity is all to be changed, as our atheistic opponents resolve that it shall be, if there are to be no principles, of what we call an Established Church, penetrating a nation and its laws, then there will be a blank which science is not competent to supply, and which atheism does not care or even attempt to supply, as yet. It is a noticeable fact that the destructives keep back anything like a constructive system; they only wish to destroy. If they succeed in uprooting the Christian civilization of England, they will be content to take their chance hereafter of forming something else upon a basis not yet announced. Do not imagine for a moment that I here present a dreamy picture. Look at all our literature—our public journalism especially. It is not more than half-a-dozen years ago since Strauss in Germany put the question plainly, "Are we really

Christians?—Is it right to call ourselves so, when none of us believe throughout the articles even of the Apostles' Creed?" and "How then shall we direct our lives?" The *Revue des deux Mondes* accepts the statement; they say it is quite true, but add, why part with the name of Christianity? it is a tower of strength. Deny Christianity in detail if you will, but call yourselves Christians and you are more likely to succeed for the present. Such was the state of the problem of future civilization five or six years ago. Then it was a new idea comparatively in England, which existed only in narrow circles. But the mischief had been arising long before—the mischief began before the time when that celebrated Syllabus was put forth in Rome, in order to check the principles of the Revolution, then desolating France and Spain and beginning to ruin Italy. We ought to have been ready with a better Syllabus than that; and yet even that much abused document has been little read, I think, in England, for a great part of it if literally translated and read in this Hall would this night be accepted by you with acclamation. But I say we ought to have what I may call a Syllabus—I mean by that, we ought now to announce the distinct principles upon which we are prepared to take our stand as Christian men, in working for the future civilization of the countries committed to us. If we in England were unprepared for it then, this present cloud may have overtaken us in consequence very greatly of our own neglect. If we had been more definite in our Creed—if we had taught fully and faithfully that which had been committed to us, and avowed our principles, I am persuaded we should have kept back much that is now advancing with a terrible power against our whole civilization. For a thin Christianity will never do. Look at "*The Nineteenth Century*." "*The Nineteenth Century*" is a journal started last March, and every number since then has contained an article virtually on the topic which we are now debating in this room. The first article was one by Mr. Gladstone, in which he carefully discussed Sir Cornwall Lewis' celebrated but too little read book concerning the influence of authority in matters of religion. It was felt, in the first place, that people at large must believe on something very much less than mere personal investigation of the reasons. Few people could believe on those terms. And as to belief on "evidences," it is but reason, and belief on "probabilities" is but calculation. Then they rejected the notion of tradition as something unworthy of our age. Well, as men sow so must they reap. The proposition put forth by Sir Cornwall Lewis in lieu of what we should call the grand Christian tradition of 1500 years was this—that the general consent of mankind is ground enough for the belief in the being of a God and of a future life. Mr. Gladstone felt that this also implied that the general belief in Christianity is sufficient to justify a kind of faith which may be clung to by the majority. But that was at once controverted by Sir James Stephens, who thought that it was far more than Sir Cornwall Lewis had intended. Article after article by celebrated writers has appeared as to the basis of future civilization, which it were easy to occupy you for an hour in analysing, but time will not permit. I can but warn Christian men here present that the struggle is for the Church of God, and not for an abstract Christianity. An eminent dissenting minister, Mr. Dale, of Birmingham, when he was told that they should have in their Board Schools a certain amount of teaching of abstract Religion, replied, "If you take away everything upon which all different sects vary in opinion you come at last to Unitarianism;" and our experience has told us more—viz., that not only is it Unitarianism, but a criticised and reduced Unitarianism—Unitarianism such as that of the earnest and well-known Dr. Martineau, which seems to some of us very closely akin to the Comteism of that wonderful writer, Frederick Harrison.—In one last word, if you will have anything but definite Churchmanship you will soon land this nation in Atheism.

Prebendary Row.

If I understand rightly the nature of the subject which has been propounded for our discussion this evening, it is as follows :—The contrast between the means which are relied upon by Christianity for the regeneration and elevation of mankind, and those recommended by certain well-known schools of modern atheistic and pantheistic philosophy, whose views have been widely spread in cultivated society ; the efficacy of the one to effect the end intended, and the inefficacy of the other. I need hardly say that this subject involves some of the most important questions raised by modern thought ; including numerous points not only of the highest philosophical interest, but having a most important bearing on the essence of the Christian faith. It will, therefore, be impossible for me, within the space of fifteen minutes, to treat such a subject in a manner which I consider adequate. All I can do is to offer a few remarks on it ; and if any one of my hearers is desirous of a more systematic handling of the great points at issue on my part, I must refer him to my second and third Bampton Lectures of the present year, in which this subject is treated from a somewhat different point of view.

It will be first my more pleasing duty to bring before you one or two striking points of agreement between Christianity and the schools of modern philosophic thought. Both of them start with the assumption that the present condition of man is eminently unsatisfactory, and that it is the duty of every good man to labour for his improvement and elevation. Of this, the views which are propounded by Mr. Mill, in his posthumous essays, as to the miserable and degraded condition of man as a simple product of nature, form a remarkable illustration. With the exception that Mr. Mill assigns to him a power of self-improvement, I think that his statements on this point will be accepted by the most extreme school of Calvinistic theology as drawn in sufficiently dark colours. Nor can I see that the numerous schools of atheistic and pantheistic thought, who affirm that the moral and spiritual nature of man is nothing but the mere outcome of the action of a number of purely physical forces, take a brighter view of his condition. No school of modern thinkers is satisfied with his present state, even in the highest stage of civilisation to which he has attained. What, then, must be in the condition of those hundreds of millions of our race, who are still in a state of the deepest degradation ? Christians, therefore, and all thoughtful unbelievers are agreed that the present moral condition of man is extremely unsatisfactory ; and that it is the duty of all to labour for its elevation. The point where disagreement begins is as to what are the means by which this result can be effected. To enable us to form a judgment on the question before us, it is absolutely necessary that I should briefly enumerate the chief means by which each system seeks to effectuate this common end ; and, first, those which are relied on by modern sceptical culture.

1. It affirms the sufficiency of those forces which energise in man, without any aid from the religious principles which can be made to act on his moral and spiritual being, to effect the regeneration both of the individual and the race. It even goes further, and asserts that those influences, which I shall designate the action on him of the supernatural, are not only not conductive to, but are detrimental to, his moral elevation. As, moreover, the most prominent forms of modern sceptical culture are either atheistic or pantheistic, they presuppose that the forces which act on man's moral being, are equally subject to necessary laws as those which dominate in the material universe. This being so, it follows that he is a kind of moral machine, which cannot help being impelled to action by the most powerful motive ; and consequently that the idea that he possesses a power of self-determination is no better than an old wife's fable. From this it follows that we are each of us the result of a bundle of habits which have been

gradually accumulated by our ancestors, and transmitted to ourselves, by which process we have slowly attained our present elevation above the ancestral brute out of whom we have been developed, and by which the race will be further improved in the ages of the future. Such principles form the foundation on which the entire method by which modern unbelieving philosophy would deal with man, both individually and socially, is practically based. Hence it follows that the only means which are available for his regeneration are an improvement in his environment, under which term I include the entire circumstances of his outward condition, whether they be physical, moral, or intellectual. By the action of this on the individual and the race, not by appealing to the conscience and the heart—for according to this philosophy there is no conscience to appeal to, but only enlightened self-love—new habits will be formed, which will gradually become elevated principles of action. Thus an enlightened course of education is affirmed to be the one thing necessary to make the principle of self-love, which forms the dominant one in all the lower forms of human nature, to grow into that of altruism, or the sacrifice of self for the good of others. In this point of view the contrast between the methods by which modern sceptical philosophy and Christianity seek to regenerate human nature is vast, and may be briefly stated thus. Jesus Christ teaches—first make clean that which is within, and outward things will become clean also. Modern sceptical philosophy teaches—first make clean that which is without, and the inner nature of man will become clean in consequence.

2. But while this system makes free use of all the usual common-places, by which men have been exhorted to virtue, but which the past experience of mankind have proved to be inadequate to effect man's moral regeneration, its chief hopes are placed in the attempt to create an external coercive power, by which men may be trained to its practice. The great aspiration of every ancient philosophic system was the creation of an ideal republic in which philosophers should form the governing power, and, if necessary, should coerce the citizens to the practice of it. Their modern successors pursue a more practical course; and instead of creating an ideal state, propound the reform of existing social institutions as the great instrument of human regeneration. Of these views, the following position laid down by Mr. Mill will form a striking illustration. If, says he, a Spartan, under the influence of a careful system of training, could be led freely to sacrifice his life for the glory of Sparta, there is no reason why a similar training should not induce mankind to sacrifice self to the idea of humanity; or, in other words, accept altruism instead of self-love as the guiding principle of life. I need hardly say that one very serious objection besets both these ancient and modern speculations, that during the long period of upwards of 2,000 years they have never succeeded in emerging in the form of realities. Such are the leading principles of our modern philosophical systems, as far as I can state them in the brief space allotted to me. One thing respecting them demands our particular attention that, from the nature of the instrumentality employed, the work of human regeneration must be a painfully slow process; and whatever effect may be exerted by it in the distant æons of the future, when the gradual decrease of solar heat shall have rendered this world not a very desirable habitation, in bringing about a millennium, all we can do at present is to bear our condition as we best may, in the firmness of believing faith—a faith which this philosophy refuses to accept as valid—that a perfect state of humanity will at length emerge, when all consciousness of our individual selves shall have passed into the regions of eternal silence.

The contrast of the means by which Christianity attempts to effect the regeneration of the individual and the race may be briefly stated under three heads:—

1. While Christianity, rightly understood, accepts the aid of every principle which is invoked by modern unbelieving philosophy as conducive

to the improvement of mankind in its proper place, and in subordination to its great principles, it concentrates all its highest powers on the regeneration of the individual as a moral and spiritual being by bringing to bear on his heart and conscience the entire force of the religious principle in man. This was wholly ignored by all the ancient philosophers as a moral power; and their modern successors have followed their example, with this difference, that while the ancient ones were unacquainted with a religion which could exert a powerful, and at the same time, a beneficial influence, our modern ones are acquainted with one which can, but they reject its aid. Yet surely, if Christianity can employ all the instrumentality invoked by our modern unbelieving philosophy with equal efficacy as itself (which I have elsewhere proved that it can); and in addition to this can bring to bear on the mind of man all the mighty influences which can be exerted on it by a sense of man's relation to God, and by the prospect of an undying individual existence beyond the grave, it requires no logic to prove that to this extent it must be capable of exerting a mightier influence on the regeneration of the individual and the race, than any system of sceptical culture by which these forces are ignored. The contrast may be very briefly stated thus—philosophy appeals to the visible realities of this world alone, Christianity to these, and in addition, to the unseen realities of the invisible world. In this exact proportion, therefore, its influence must be mightier.

2. Christianity presents to the heart and the conscience of the individual a mighty moral and spiritual power, which has for upwards of eighteen centuries exerted a more powerful influence for good than that of all other powers united. Briefly stated, this power consists in the influence of the principle of faith in all the unseen realities of man's condition; but especially in the mighty influence which is capable of being exerted by the person, the actions, the teaching, the death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, to produce conviction of sin, and to attract each individual man to holiness and sacrifice of self to Christ in return for His self-sacrificing love for him. It is in vain to deny the mighty influence for good which has been exerted by the person of Jesus Christ our Lord in the regeneration and elevation of man, for it is indelibly written in the history of the last eighteen centuries. Yet this power this system is compelled to ignore. It is, therefore, weaker as a regenerating power by the amount of the mighty influence in question, which, during eighteen centuries, in the words of Mr. Lecky, "has done more to soften and regenerate mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and all the exhortations of moralists."

3. As we have seen, philosophy desiderates the creation of a society capable of exerting a powerful educational influence, by means of which the race may be trained to virtue, and its moral principles may, by the gradual accumulation of habits, attain a greater elevation. Without this it is powerless. Now whatever may be the power which can be exerted by the instrumentality in question, it is clear that as yet it exists only in idea. But such a great educational society has been actually founded by Christianity—the Catholic Church of Jesus Christ. It cannot be denied that this society has exerted a mighty influence for good during the ages of the past; and that its constitution fits it for exerting a still mightier influence during the ages of the future. While the philosophic republic is as yet only an ideal one, the Church of Jesus Christ is an actually existing fact. By so much, therefore, the influence which Christianity must be capable of exerting must transcend that which can be exerted by any system of sceptical culture, as that great organisation, the Christian Church, transcends in might the only one which philosophy has succeeded in creating, the Church of the religion of humanity, whose God is an impersonal Cosmos, whose sole object of worship is the aggregate of all mankind, who have existed in the past, who exist in the present, or who will exist hereafter, and whose brightest prospect for the future is the swallowing up of an individual personality, in that unconscious universe, out of

which we have emerged, and in which the most virtuous man and the greatest sinner shall equally repose in an eternal sleep.

But time forbids that I should pursue the contrast further. I will only add, in conclusion: While at the summons of Jesus Christ an army of self-sacrificers has been gathered together, in every country where the Christian faith has been professed, who, according to the light which was in them, influenced by love to Him, have devoted themselves to the amelioration of mankind; modern sceptical culture, while professing to place its principle of action in the duty of the sacrifice of self for the good of others, vainly stamps with its foot, but no army of self-sacrificers appears at its bidding. At present they exist only on paper, and the utmost that sceptical culture can do is to draw indefinite cheques on the bank of hope. Why is this? Because Christianity possesses a mighty moral and spiritual power in the person and work of its founder, and systems of moral teaching, founded on nothing but sceptical culture, are destitute of any moral or spiritual force wherewith to reach the heart and the conscience of man.

DISCUSSION.

The Ven. Dr. Reichel, Archdeacon of Meath.

After the able papers which have been read, I had really not intended as I first thought to say anything to-night, but I am over-ruled by the wish of our president. I will therefore only add my testimony, feeble as it is, to the results which have been so admirably stated by Professor Wace, by Prebendary Row, by Archdeacon Hannah, and Professor Pritchard, whose four papers I think are master-pieces which ought to be in the hands of all. Two of those gentlemen have in my humble opinion contributed perhaps more than any two individuals in England during the last 50 years to the great subject of Christian apologetics; and I may take this opportunity of recording my thankfulness to them for their efforts which have in a great measure tended to the benefit, to the satisfaction, and to the confirmation of men of my own faith.

With regard to the general question of the results produced respectively by sceptical philosophy and true Christian faith, the question is always embarrassed by the difficulty of ascertaining exactly what is true Christian faith? For unfortunately during the course of the last 1,800 years the faith which was once for all delivered to the Saints has become, as any student of ecclesiastical history who has gone at all below the surface must confess, so corrupted in many parts that the wonder is that Christianity itself has survived its corruption. I am reminded of the celebrated tale with which Bocaccio begins his licentious series, in which he writes of a Jew converted to Christianity by the spectacle of the enormous vice of the Papal court, when he sees the Holy Father and all his Cardinals with one consent doing everything they could in antagonism to the religion of which they were the chief teachers, endeavouring with might and main to uproot it from the mind and conscience of men; finding, as he says, that this religion was gaining ground day by day I was forced to confess it was divine. Some such feeling the student may have as regards Christianity, and this embarrasses the question because those persons who speak of the good influence of sceptical culture are fond of alluding to those times which some call the dark ages and some now prefer to call the ages of faith, as exhibiting results which according to the view of most persons are by no means favourable to the character of Christianity or to its beneficial influence

over the minds of men. But if we take this great question, what has sceptical culture done on the minds of those persons who are its highest exponents, its chief examples, I think we may come then and by that means, without much comparison of Christianity with it, to some decision upon the subject. Now what do we find? It is always unpleasant to allude to names, and there is a proverb that any living jackass can kick a dead lion, but still names belong to history and we have a right to criticise them. There was then in Germany not so very many years ago a man whose genius seems to have been altogether of the highest order, second only perhaps to the genius of Shakspeare. This man when not far advanced in youth became a student and ultimately a convert to the doctrine of Spinosa. Spinosa is now being rehabilitated amongst us—a statue has been dedicated to him at the Hague, and one of our greatest ecclesiastical authorities speaks of him as a man of surpassing piety and a man who was literally intoxicated with Divinity, and who saw God in everything. True, Spinosa saw God in everything, because to him there was nothing else than God: but this God of Spinosa was a God of necessary and mechanical evolution only, not merely in whom all things have their being, as S. Paul declares, but of whom all things are but modes or parts. If that be so, there is no longer any such thing as vice, no longer any such thing as virtue, no longer any such thing as moral responsibility: nay, even, no longer any such thing as intellect; for this God of Spinosa, he expressly says, thinks, but does not understand; *cogitat sed non intelligit*. To be intoxicated with the idea of a merely mechanical God like that, does not appear to me likely to elevate any man in the scale of creation. And there are other consequences of his doctrines, which directly affect morality, as we now conceive it. Thus Spinosa expressly says, that we have no duties towards the inferior animals, and may, therefore, put them to any use we please. If so, legislation against cruelty to animals is wrong, and the Society for preventing it is unnecessary and impertinent. Accordingly, the great poet, and I may also call him the great thinker, I have alluded to, came under the influence of the wonderful genius of Spinosa; and in what kind of way did he develop himself? He developed himself into a man whose natural emotions and aspirations gradually passed over into a calm, quiescent, intellectual survey of human nature, in which analysis superseded passion, principle, and patriotism—in which last respect he coincided with the ultramontane school, ridiculing, as it does, patriotism. Now, what influenced this man for life, and what made him, with all the admiration which his countrymen naturally feel for him, still one alien to themselves? for no German heart beats high at the name of Goethe. One such instance, I think, may be enough. Surely when we find a man of transcendent powers, well brought up, carefully and religiously taught, and then, in consequence of coming under the peculiar influence, so warped, so denuded of the highest qualities, of all feelings except those of satisfaction in the tranquil enjoyment and contemplation of the present, it may well make us pause and ask what will it come to, when this kind of teaching becomes impressed on minds of altogether inferior stamp, minds which are hardly to be called minds, because they are hardly emerging from the slough of sensuality or even of brutality? When our lower classes, especially in great towns, little educated, little formed, but acute enough, God knows, to catch up what is mischievous for them, shall become embruited, if I may so say, with that atheistic or Spinosistic doctrine, which is now being preached as the gospel of this nineteenth century, what will happen? If such a Congress as this have no other object, it ought at all events to have this object, to bring before us vigorously those great facts of historic Christianity which no mere flights of fancy will ever supply the place of. To construct our religion out of our emotions, to say that we must weave an airy religion out of nothing, "give local habitation and a name" to the mere dictates of our fancies, as Professor Tyndall recommends us to do, is to build our house indeed on sand, and the first

rush of calamity, the first shock of doubt, will most surely overthrow it. If we want something we can really trust we must find it in the solid groundwork of appeal to the actual facts of history, studied carefully and without bias, in order to ascertain its facts; an appeal which many who call themselves scientific men seem at present prepared to ignore or even altogether to deny.

Rev. R. W. Hoare.

I have no doubt whatever, and no one who knows me can think I have any doubt about the relative value of Christian faith and sceptical culture in their bearing upon the practical life of the present age, but I should have been sorry had this meeting passed to its end without the expression of some regret that the tone of the speeches on the whole has been so greatly wanting in sympathy with the truth which lies on the side of scientific investigation. I am afraid that when this debate comes to be read by those whom I am sure we wish to influence for good, they will be repelled rather than attracted by much that has fallen from the lips of the speakers to-night. I say *much*, but not all—God forbid. There has been very much which has cheered and gladdened our hearts, especially in that grand paper of Professor Wace's, but we should remember this, that in a calm grave subject such as this which we are discussing we should abstain from culling short bitter statements from the writings or speeches of scientific men, we should speak rather of their facts and try to meet their arguments, and so should learn to gain their respect and at the same time to enlarge the breadth of our own views. We must remember that while the faith of the Church of Jesus Christ can never be shaken, and while the verities of the old Book in which we find that faith can never be traversed, yet there have been interpretations put upon that Book in the past which have been found to fail the test of time, and that some of those theories which we now, it may be in our short-sightedness, think are alien to the spirit of the Christian faith, may be found, as the ages flow on, to be after all truths which have lain in embryo in the Word of God, and which it was left to these latter ages to bring forth into the light of day. I wish to say no more. I cannot argue on this subject from a scientific point of view, but I just wished to say this which I have said to-night because I think had I been a scientific man I should like to have heard it said.

Rev. W. J. Stobart.

I think one important point has been lost sight of to-night which is this—we seem to speak of scepticism as if it was something to be abused and something to be found fault with. I believe a very large part of the scepticism prevalent in this land of ours is no *fault* but the direst misfortune to those who hold it. There are multitudes of men in this country who would believe if they could, and who would be only too glad to lay hold of the facts of Christianity. But the course of sceptical thought, facts which have come under their notice, difficulties of belief, mysteries of God's providence, and facts and theories of thought of different kinds, so becloud their minds, that they cannot believe when they would do so. I cannot but think that the hard language which is used towards unbelief and scepticism may very likely do more to turn men away from the faith than it may do to bring them to it, for there are great difficulties. A man studies the Bible, and he cannot but see certain things which must appear contradictions, however they may be explained. He

reads the current literature of the day, he cannot help every now and then getting into his mind the seeds of sceptical thought which perhaps find a genial soil and soon spring up until the deadly tree of unbelief overshadows his mind. Then perhaps as he goes on, that man tries to believe and that man tries to pray and perhaps prays, and the fact of unanswered prayer may perhaps help to turn him back from his faith, for we all know that as there are answered prayers so there are unanswered prayers, and there are many things which constantly come across a man's mind so that when he would believe he cannot believe, and I think we as Christians ought to take that into consideration, and ought to have great sympathy for the vast mass of our fellow countrymen who cannot believe although they gladly would believe. Some perhaps who have grown up, perhaps all their lives, in the simple faith in which they have been reared from their childhood, some, whose minds are naturally prone to the Christian faith and who have never been shaken in the least degree in their belief, may think that what I am saying is simple nonsense, but at the same time I am sure there are others who have thought and who have doubted, who have been perplexed and troubled in their minds, and who will say, that this is true; that there is much difficulty in believing. Then what is the best course for those who are troubled in this way? I believe there are only two sure methods they can pursue, one is to look into their own lives and see what the course of God's Providence has done for them—to see how their lives have been guided and how they can trace here and there, step by step, a hand, a guidance of wisdom far above them, working in the course of their lives. Then the other resource is simply to fall back upon the old faith of the Catholic Church of Jesus Christ which has existed one and undivided from the time of our Lord and his Apostles—on the consciousness of God in our own lives, on the evidence of God in the Catholic Church—those are the surest safeguards and resources for those who are troubled by sceptical unbelief.

Rev. C. Lloyd Engström.

As a voluntary speaker, I purpose keeping strictly to the subject before us, and shall endeavour also so to speak as to give no needless offence were the Hall full of sceptics.

With regard to the contrast named in the title of the subject, I must, however, contend that it is really rather courteous than true to conjoin the negative word "sceptical" with the positive word "culture."

Doubt, however useful it may be in expanding or reducing an existing object, can never by itself bring anything into existence.

Hence it is in human life, only what an adverb is in grammar, very useful in its place; but we cannot make sentences out of adverbs, or life out of scepticism.

And again, if the proverb which is the expression of universal experience be true, that to succeed you must aim at a high standard, then scepticism, which aims at an intellectual Nirvana, stands self-condemned as a practical instrument, except to what I have ventured to call an *adverbial* extent.

But as we must give some positive meaning to the contrast named in the title of our subject, I imagine that what is by courtesy called *sceptical* culture, means, in the minds of most, *scientific* culture, and I think it may be affirmed that it is only when seated on the bough of scientific and positive truth, which, on principle, he should begin sawing off, that the sceptic airs his theories as suitable for practical life.

Well, then, let us set side by side the latest and most beautiful of scientific

discoveries, and the great dogma of Christian faith, and compare their relative bearings on practical life—I mean spectrum analysis, and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, between which, if I am not mistaken, there is the most exquisite correspondence, the one in the domain of the material universe, the other in the very essence of God's being; the one being (in proportion to the high mathematical probability involved in this complicated and extraordinarily exact correspondence) an incidental proof of the truth of the other.

Beginning with the scientific discovery, which I will explain as simply as possible. A bar of iron, when gradually heated, begins by throwing out certain rays which may be felt but not seen, and which we call *heat;* on being further heated till it becomes incandescent, it emits other rays, which may be seen, and which produce in us the impression of *light;* and when heated to the highest degree, emits still other rays, which can be neither felt nor seen, but which produce the potent effects of *chemical action.* These three sets of rays issue together, but can be parted by a prism, so that they may be treated and used separately.

And now as to the doctrine referred to, Christianity tells us that in the Unity of the Godhead there are those persons who, in the order of their appearance in the scheme of redemption, and in the application of salvation to each believing soul, were and are by the prism of Revelation made known separately to man.

That divine person dimly worshipped by all mankind, whom the heathen *feel* after without seeing, is the Father; the Second Person of the Trinity, who came to manifest the Godhead, and who is emphatically called in Scripture the *Light* of the World, is the Son; the Third Person, who succeeded the Second, and whose operations can be neither seen nor felt, except in the marvellous results of conversion and change (exactly symbolised by the chemical action of the third set of rays), is the Holy Spirit.

And now, giving all prominence to the exquisite beauty of the scientific discovery of spectrum analysis, adding to it all other scientific discoveries, remembering the training of the mind which their investigation and contemplation evoke, and not forgetting their manifold material results which have enriched human life, yet can you compare them, in their practical results on the happiness and perfection of humanity, with a real loving living faith in the Holy Trinity—*i.e.*, Christianity? or, to bring forward a kindred contrast—which evokes and satisfies best the yearnings and aspirations of the whole man, the intellectual life of the University professor, or the devoted work of the country parson in some secluded village?

In conclusion, to revert to scepticism in its true meaning, do I condemn it altogether? God forbid! for if to painfully test the foundations and superstructure of faith, to give candid consideration to every attack on Christianity, be to be a sceptic, then have I been such for twenty years. I speak from a very bitter experience when I affirm that doubt does tend to widen one's path and to secure one's foundations by exposing those which are insecure, but I also affirm that it is Christian faith alone that sets us moving along the path, or furnishes us with any foundation at all.

And as regards others who have not been able to test their faith and yet hold fast to Christ, I believe the effect of scepticism is sometimes to lead to belief: the downward hopeless course to Nirvana, by its utter failure in practical life, leads as it has led the noblest sceptics to the upward hopeful path.

I would fain hope that the noble and pure spirit of John Stuart Mill, which even in this life had, thank God! turned the corner, and was emerging into light, has now learnt to know and love that Jesus whom, like Saul of Tarsus, he once persecuted.

And to what an eloquent assertion of the "ascent of man," and of the duty and privilege of dwelling on our spiritual aspirations and future hopes has Goldwin Smith been driven by the constant reiteration of that degrading theory of the

descent of man, which gives him as his ancestor an ape, or protoplasm, or a fiery cloud!

The law by its failure led to the Gospel, and scepticism by its failure may lead to Christ.

Like a hardy sailor, the intellect, drawing its supports from the land of belief, may set forth on the ocean of doubt, and may be even braced and invigorated by the salt breezes of every wind of doctrine, but it cannot live on these, and is at last glad to return to *terra firma*, the abode of all higher life, and when shipwrecked it clings with the grasp of a drowning man to the "Rock of Ages."

Section Room.

TUESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 9th.

The Lord Bishop of Oxford took the Chair at 7.30 P.M.

THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO TRADES' UNIONS AND AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS' UNIONS.

PAPERS.

The Chairman.

I am desired by His Grace the President to say that at future meetings he will be willing to receive the cards of those who wish to speak as the meeting goes on, and deal with them as he best can. Of course what the President does those who are in his place will do.

Rev. J. Oakley.

Twenty minutes to open up a subject which has roots in several wide fields!—political economy—social and political philosophy—the history and morals of trade and commerce—the idea and ground plan of the Christian Society itself—and the whole field of the Christian Ethics in general.

The subject owes its commanding interest and its right to a place in the deliberations of a Church Congress, not to its having been taken up by these or those individuals, or to any of its real or supposed bearings on current questions of general or ecclesiastical policy, but to the urgent and increasing importance of the questions which it directly involves. What is to be the bearing and tone of the great society, founded by Jesus Christ, towards these organizations of modern working men? What has that immortal and universal community of redeemed workers and thinkers got to say now-a-days to the class amongst whom Jesus Christ chiefly lived, for whom He thought, and spoke, and laboured, of whom (*ἀνθρώπινον λέγω*) He Himself was one.

I merely aim at starting a practical discussion, and could not,

therefore, even if I had the needful knowledge, be either historical, philosophical, or scientific. I leave these aspects of the question on one side, with the less sense of loss either to my audience or to the case, from knowing that the history of Trade Unions, and the general principles on which they rest, as well as the points at which they come in contact (I will not say conflict) with certain dogmas of political economy, are likely to receive adequate treatment at the far fitter hands of those who are to follow me.

But a single observation on this part of the case seems called for from the first minister of Christ who speaks. Labour—human labour—with all the outgoing of bodily, mental, and spiritual force which it involves, is not a "commodity"—such as corn, coal, or cotton; and science, which assumes it to be so, or even permits its professors to talk loosely as if it were, is for Christians "science which is falsely so-called."

My endeavour will be to set before you what Trade Unions are, stated as far as possible in the words of their members, what they have done, and are doing, of a kind to command the sympathy of Christians, to shew that our sympathy can and should take an active and practical shape, and to point out what the clergy in particular may properly and usefully do.

There is by this time a whole literature on the subject, to which I cannot even refer. Let me, however, at once name, as sources of authentic information, in an easily accessible shape, the strikingly able and candid articles by Mr. Howell, in the *Contemporary Review* for September and October of the present year, on Trade Unions, with especial reference to alleged intimidation, and to picketing, to the limitation of apprentices, and to technical education; and also to a most interesting series of short papers in the *Industrial Review*,* by Mr. Lloyd Jones, which have appeared between the 1st of July, 1877, and the present date, in reply to some letters of enquiry from clergymen, very happily started by a member of our committee. I must also refer by name to two papers, from which I should gladly quote at length, but which will, I hope, be procured by many who hear me: a "Paper on Trade Unions and the Church," read at one of the Burlington Monthly Conferences by Mr. J. C. Cox, of Belper, a staunch Churchman, and a country clergyman's son; and another on "Coercion as used by Trade Unions," by the Rev. S. D. Headlam, the energetic Secretary of our Committee, both of which will be found in the *Women's Union Journal* for April and June, 1877.† The forthcoming official report of the recent Trade Unionists' Conference at Leicester, will no doubt contain much interesting and profitable reading. It might be thought necessary to refer to some recent correspondence in the *Times* newspaper; but those who have gone at all into the matter feel no fear lest Messrs. Potter and Howell, and Lloyd Jones should prove to be quite able to take care of themselves, even if this were the time and place to thrash again already thrice-thrashed straw. Some again

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* Edited by George Potter, and published by him at 14, Fetter Lane, E.C.
† Published at 21, Little Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn.

might expect notice to be taken of the important and instructive trade conflicts now in progress in London and at Bolton—not to mention the so-called labour-war, but really mob-outburst, in America.* But it would demand both time and knowledge which are not at my command, and as far as I can see, the general considerations which I wish to urge are unaffected by the details of any of these cases.†

Let me proceed with the account of Trade Unions by Trade Unionists. I do not, of course, fail to see that the current is once more setting against the Unions, and that many probably think it an unfortunate moment to undertake their defence. I cannot be deterred by this from the endeavour to set forth the manifest and positive good arising from them, leaving that to be its own apologist, and my hearers to draw their own inferences as to the preponderance of benefit or harm. I quote first Mr. J. T. Dunning, formerly Secretary to the London Society of Bookbinders, whose full and exhaustive pamphlet, with the rather ambitious title, "Trades Unions and Strikes: their philosophy and intention,"‡ has a certain authority beyond the author's own ability and candour, from its having been written by desire of the society, and, when written, adopted by them "as a faithful representation of their views on the subject, and, as they believe, those of their trade generally," and as being the generally received version of the workmen's views.§

Premising that "it is not intended to defend all that has been done by trades unions any more than an advocate of religion would attempt to defend all that has been done in its name by religious professors," Mr Dunning lays down the *raison d'être* of unions. "In this position, as bargainers for the sale and purchase of labour, stand the employer and unemployed. Singly the employer can stand out longer in the bargain than the journeyman; and as he who can stand out longest in the bargain will be sure to command his own terms, the workmen *combine* to put themselves on something like an equality in the bargain for the sale of their labour with

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* On this subject see the article, as interesting as it is brief and vigorous, in the *Contemporary Review* for September, by Mr. Goldwin Smith, on "The Labour-war in the United States."

† I will only say that demands for a "little more leisure" and a "little more pay" do not, even now, seems so very monstrous at first sight, to those who have ceased to regard the "workmen" as beings of a separate order, created with a natural capacity for working so many hours a-day, and with no natural right to a voice in the duration or remuneration of their labour.

‡ Published at the house of the Society of Bookbinders, 36, Brook Street, Holborn.

§ It is instructive to notice the complaint of Mr. Dunning of the difficulty he had in finding a publisher. It would be easy to find corroboration of his complaint in similar quarters, in some form or other; it is part of a great grievance. I refer to it for the sake of observing that it needs but little knowledge of what is going on amongst the classes chiefly concerned in the subject of this paper, to become aware that "the people"—the coming force in general politics, the arbiter of the future fate of many popular idols—have a grave quarrel with the newspaper press, as at present conducted, and with the whole literary class; which it insists on identifying—not altogether unjustly—with the mercantile classes and the middle-class generally, and charges it with general hostility to the interests of all but the monied classes. The fact has its importance for the students of public opinion.

their employer. This is the rational view of trade societies." So much for the end. Now for the means. "The object intended is carried out by *providing a fund* for the support of its members when out of employ, for a certain number of weeks in the year. This is the usual and regular way in which the labour of the members of a trade society is protected, that the man's present necessities may not compel him to take less than the wages which the demand and supply of labour in the trade have previously adjusted; *strikes* being only resorted to on extraordinary, and, generally speaking, most unusual occasions." The right of combination is conceded. The question is wholly of the use to which it is put. Passing over his answer to various objections, we find the great bugbear of the unions 'strikes' thus defined: "When a body of men stand out for a price which their employers refuse to give, while their dispute is pending, the position of the workmen is that of a strike." Whatever be the conditions, a strike is the refusal of workmen to work, except on conditions imposed by themselves. These may be truisms. But it is quite fair to insist that the case *is* reducible to these simple terms, and that consequently the men have a right to be believed when they urge that the mischiefs which have arisen, alongside of, if not through, or out of the unions, cannot be fairly charged on the essential nature of unionism, but are really referable to accidental causes—causes which are as likely to operate outside the unions as inside them, and which the unions, by promoting self-respect amongst the men and mutual respect between the masters and men, have a direct tendency to counteract. I can only refer you to Mr. Dunning's detailed examination of some instances of strikes, and the questions involved in them, and leave the point as it is left by our author in words which most men would think it natural to read in the pages of some really dispassionate and large-minded politician, but which are in fact the language of the accredited mouthpiece of the men themselves. "As strikes are the last resort, as they are always expensive, and as they engender mutual ill-feeling, they should never be entered into without duly calculating the probabilities of success, nor until all means of amicably settling the difference have failed. It often happens that workmen have no alternative but either to submit to a reduction tyrannically enforced, without any reasoning on the matter being allowed, or to cease from labour. Often has a strike been thus precipitated, and ruin inflicted on employer and employed, which might have been averted by a little calm reasoning on the matter. It is the same when a rise in wages is asked by the men. Both parties are apt to view each other as enemies, and in this jaundiced view, which prevails equally on both sides, aggravated by the unconciliatory tone which is sure to result from such a state of feeling, reasoning on the subject is rendered impossible. . . . But if there be one thing more than another, which, in their turn, both parties in these circumstances often, to all appearance, agree in throwing aside, it is the conciliatory spirit." I add his last words on strikes. "But while strikes are *always to be deprecated*, because they are for a time a state of moral warfare, and, like all states of hostility, productive of mutual bitterness—and

because they are carried on at a loss to both parties—we are, notwithstanding, clearly of opinion, from long experience of their results to journeymen, both of success and defeat, that there is no proper alternative, in certain cases, but to *strike*." We should find, did time permit, not only strikes thus deprecated, but the principle of arbitration warmly welcomed by the spokesmen of the unions.

I believe I am dealing most fairly and respectfully with the Congress by thus allowing the men to speak for themselves; and that nothing can better justify the general statements of our committee, that we avow and claim sympathy for the workmen, because we justify their right to combine for self-protection and self-advancement, and approve, in the main, their practical exercise of the right, and that we regard it as a needful protection, and a desirable force in the dealings of masters and men.* The reader will also find in this pamphlet, from which I should gladly quote more had I time, the liability to error, and the actual errors of the men most freely admitted and their case most modestly stated; and, I may add to this, that at our last Conference in the Chapter House of St. Paul's, nearly all, if not all, the spokesmen of the unions amply admitted the errors of the men in the strike at Messrs. Doultons'.† And he will find the case of the masters (allowing for some natural and pardonable warmth of feeling and expression here and there) candidly represented, and temperately argued and answered, and, indeed, a rare willingness to abstain from recrimination and petty triumphing strikingly manifested; as this touching deprecation sufficiently shows, which follows a most telling quotation from *The Times*, making against the masters—"We do not cite this or mention anything else belonging to capitalists as a *tu quoque*, or as a set-off against any misdeeds of which the working-classes may have been guilty, still less to draw attention to the vices of the masters; for it is written—"There is none that doeth good; no, not one." I frankly doubt if an equally good example of genuine humility and charity can be produced from the literature of the other side. There may be such, and if any one will call my attention to one, I undertake to produce it at the next Conference with unionists I may have the honour of attending.

I think it worth while to show that my estimate of this pamphlet is not partial nor singular by quoting the following note from the Fifth Edition of Mr. John Stuart Mill's "Political Economy,"‡—the

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* See a paper prepared for circulation at the Congress by the Committee responsible for the recent conferences between clergymen and members of trades unions, which may be had of either of the honorary secretaries, Rev. D. Headlam, St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green; or Rev. T. Hill, St. Mary's, Newington. I may add here, that I was only deterred from referring in my paper to the noble effort of the so-called Christian Socialists, under the leadership of Mr. Kingsley and Mr. Maurice, in 1848-51, by the absolute impossibility of doing justice to it in the time and space at my command, and the fear of doing injustice to my own sense of its importance by an inadequate passing allusion. Never were the words truer than of us later labourers in the cause: "Other men laboured, and we have entered into their labours."

† See also Mr. Howell's dealing with this case, *Contemporary Review* for September, p. 620.

‡ Vol. ii. (8vo. ed.) Bk. 5, cap. 12, sec. 5, p. 542.

weight of whose literary compliments is enhanced by their rarity as well as by their author's reputation :—"Whoever desires," he says, "to understand the question of trade combinations, as seen from the point of view of the working people, should make himself acquainted with a pamphlet"—(and he names Mr. Dunning's). After qualifying his agreement with the writer, he adds, "Readers of other classes will find with surprise not only how great a portion of truth the unions have on their side, but how much less flagrant and condemnable even their errors appear when seen under the aspect it is only natural the working classes should themselves regard them."

II. Let me turn to my second point, and show you briefly what the unions have done, which cannot be wrong, and which must have the approval and sympathy of all good men. You will remember the definition from which we start. A trade union exists to enable men by combination to acquire strength which no individuals of small means can possibly have. To this end they save money, which makes them corporately independent of sickness, slackness of trade, or want of work from any other cause. Want of work is not the only, nor even the chief, drain upon their funds. The cause of that want of work is not always strikes. "Indeed," as Mr. Guile told us in a Paper read at our first Conference, "societies merely formed for the purpose of getting up what are called Strike Funds can never permanently succeed; they may increase the price of labour in good times, but to return a fair price for the article in times of depression is the secret . . . they may be and are able to raise as much as will create strikes; but what is wanted is a sufficient amount of cash in hand to keep our men when trade is bad, without seeking aid from outside bodies, *and thus hinder strikes*."† Keep in mind this authoritative assertion of the men through one of their most trusted and experienced leaders, and then see how the following facts and figures bear out their assertion. I am indebted for them to Mr. Guile's Paper already referred to, and to some interesting particulars given in the Iron Founders' Monthly Report. They relate to the four following societies, selected by Mr. Guile "because their modes of allowing benefits and paying contributions are nearly all on the same basis"—viz., "The Amalgamated Engineers, the Boiler-Makers and Iron Ship Builders, the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners, and the Iron Founders, of whom Mr. Guile is secretary. By Mr. Guile's kindness I now give them as covering the whole ten years ending with December, 1876. In those ten years these societies have paid away *out of their own savings*, the following sums :—

	£	s.	d.
Weekly pay to unemployed	620,005	1	3
Weekly pay to Sick	363,298	6	9
Superannuation allowance to aged members ...	125,603	19	1
Paid for funerals of members and their wives ...	102,660	19	2
Paid to members disabled by accident over which they had no control...	33,723	3	1
Total for the ten years	£1,245,291	9	4

* See the 200th Monthly Report of the Friendly Society of Ironfounders for January, 1877, which contains Mr. Guile's Paper (p. 3).

Can we grudge Mr. Guile his natural reflection? "Thus it will be perceived that these four societies have paid within the period named above" close upon "a million and a quarter sterling of good, hard-earned money, in assisting their fellow-members, and have saved many a home sorrow and suffering, which can be better conceived than expressed, and yet amidst it all trades unions amongst some classes are looked upon as something hideous—something too foul to live—and some men are even prepared to blot them out of existence, if they could." I would add that the figures both of income and expenditure are steadily progressive. Thus the expenditure upon the foregoing objects by the four societies for the last three years stands thus:—1874, £105,553 4s. 0d.; 1875, £132,545 0s. 4½d.; 1876, £168,454 6s. Thus it will be seen that the power of the societies for good, or for evil, if so be, is on the increase. The payments seem to average a little over 1s. 6d. per member per week. This is a sensible deduction from weekly wages, as a fixed and continued payment, and it is, perhaps, even more significant than the total sum which it produced of the habits of saving and forethought, and systematic economy which these unions foster. I have it in writing from Mr. Guile that "the above amounts have nothing whatever to do with strikes, lock-outs, or disputes with employers." The inference is clear, that the organized savings of the men themselves sufficed to maintain many thousands of their brethren when unavoidably out of work, and that to the same extent they relieved the Poor Rates, and reduced the miserable tale of out-door relief, and obviated the many risks which attend the exercise of private charity. I think all fair minds would be favourably impressed by many details of the system incidentally disclosed—the visit to the sick member, the habitual use of the words "brother" and "brethren," the sense of the value of money and time, and the sound sense generally which breathes throughout the documents. I am indebted for them to Mr. Guile, and I will quote the final words of one of his own reports, written only for the men's eyes:—

> We shall now, brother members, leave these figures, fully assured they will accomplish the work they are designed to do—viz., to establish us all firmer in the conviction that to carry on a good, useful society, is beneficial to all, and if we have only benefitted our own members by our labours we shall be satisfied; but if we have been the means of causing members of other organisations to see the necessity of providing good funds in the time of prosperity against the time of adversity, we shall be doubly blessed; and to our old members we would only say, in conclusion, be not weary in well doing, and to our young men we say continue to walk in your fathers' footsteps, as far as union is concerned, and you will assist in your day and generation to work out to a clear and definite solution the great problem of the present day—viz., the true positions of capital and labour, and that without any violent changes or physical revolutions.

With that account of a trade union I, for one, avow myself entirely content, and fully convinced of its *bona fides*.

I should have been exceedingly glad if I could have taken a similar course in reference to the Agricultural Labourers' Union, and have set before you some authoritative account of its action in the same direction; but I was not able to obtain any corresponding information. Indeed it was twice withheld; and I was twice told that my advocacy was not needed or desired, in terms it would do no good

to cite. But I wish to make two remarks upon the circumstance. No sort of wrong can be done to anyone by saying that the excellent Mr. Arch represents in its strongest form antipathy to the Church of England and its clergy; that this prejudice is apparently invincible; that after some fluctuations, and an apparent effort on the part of some of the managers of the union, and its organ, the *Chronicle*, to be fair, and candid, and to welcome help and friendly counsel from all quarters—even from the Church of England—the pendulum has swung heavily again in the opposite direction; that the old management of the *Chronicle*, never exactly devoted to the side of the Church, was not long ago deliberately superseded, with a view to get rid of all hesitation about attacking her in season and out of season; and that the Labourers' Union and its organ in the press is being almost avowedly *worked* as an engine of what is called the Liberation Society—by no means, to my knowledge, to the satisfaction of all the friends, or even all the members of the union itself.

I deeply regret and deplore the fact, but my second observation must be that I cannot very greatly wonder at it. I have little or no knowledge of the early influences and antecedents of the really good and true, and even great man in his way, who, with the energy of a warm heart and a strong brain, has lifted himself to the front as the leader and spokesman of the agricultural labourers. If he has not shaken himself free from all his early prejudices, I do not know that we clergy of the Church of England, as a body, are the men in whose mouths it lies to reproach him. But I do know something of his treatment as soon as he appeared upon the scene as a reformer.* It is useless to recur to it. I am far too strongly bent on effecting a better understanding in future to have any heart for reproaches on either side. The men, with Mr. Arch at their head, have, I doubt not, been wrong-headed, intemperate, impracticable, from time to time. Have the clergy invariably shown the opposite virtues?† Certainly there is nothing much harder to bear than to have our consciousness of good will and even some useful action ignored or rudely denied. And this has been and is the hard lot of many and many a devoted and large-hearted country clergyman. And the temptation is strong to hold aloof from a body of men who may seem to us capable of habitual injustice and ingratitude. But I submit to you that this is neither the most high-minded nor even the most prudent course. There are one or two things which we may reasonably consider. First, we are often expiating

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* Let anyone read the series of articles which appeared in the *Examiner* newspaper four years ago, written, as I know, by a Churchman, recording the first experiences of the movement, and wonder, if he can, at the bitterness which still survives.

† Let me illustrate my question. Not long ago a well-known London leader of the workmen (who sometimes comes to our Church, and who told me the story himself), went with a leader of the agricultural labourers as a deputation to a country meeting to be held on a Monday. They went on a Saturday. On Sunday, like the two good honest fellows they were, they went to Church, unconscious of offence. The sermon was on this text: "Evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived!" They sat it out, held their meeting next day, and took no notice whatever of the parson, or his attack!

the faults of others. "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." But we must not shelter ourselves too freely under this plea of the possible errors of other people. It is more to the point to look round for some explanation of the fact that the charges which are made, and which justly seem to us so monstrous, can be made at all, much less believed. No amount of denial or argument will get rid of the fact that, in the main, the Church of England, as represented by her clergy, has been the Church of the men—of mind if you will—perhaps so; but also, and chiefly, the Church of the men of *money*. I must run the risks of a general statement; but there seems to me no escaping from the conclusion that we are paying the penalty in a time of much upheaval and self-assertion, of having been, for generations, a Church *for* the people, no doubt, up to a certain point—and as such beneficent and useful—but not a Church *of* the people; a Church which has been administered fairly well no doubt in the best instances, *by* the rich *for* the poor; *by* the learned *for* the ignorant; by the few for the many. But what is asked of us is to be, in larger measure than at present, the Church *of* the people—composed of them, adapted to them, managed by them for themselves—not of course to the exclusion of other classes—no one is so mad; but in full proportion to their numerical majority; their great, perhaps their special need of moral discipline and spiritual consolation; their growing intelligence; and their rapidly rising influence in public affairs.

And, in any case—be the causes what they may—so long as *the fact* in any degree subsists, as it surely undoubtedly does, that the people do thus associate us, in their own minds, with the rich and powerful, and distrust on that account, in spite of any amount of personal kindness (which they call condesension, and a good deal of which they reckon against us, rather than in our favour)—so long as this is so, it is, surely, reason the *more*, *not less*, for all reasonable and honest effort to remove the false appearances which make this possible, and to set ourselves before the people in our true light, as His ministers, "Who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister."

Subject however to this failure of authentic details, I take it that evidence is not lacking, that in spite of local and personal wrong-doing and wrong-speaking, the Labourers' Union has wrought general good, for which no good man can fail to thank God. Is there any room for doubt about the facts of the case when the Union began? Read the Report of the Royal Commission on the employment of women and children in agriculture. The rate of wages in many places spoke and speaks for itself. But this is how an assistant Commissioner, not unmeasured in his words, speaks of the cottage accommodation in many parishes of Norfolk, Essex, Surrey, Gloucester, and parts of Sussex, which he visited:—it was "miserable, deplorable, detestable, and a disgrace to a Christian community." I do not say it is fair to charge this upon us; I do not say there is *no* answer; but I do say that what the people mean when they complain of the clergy for having neglected their duty in not throwing their weight on the side of social reform, whether in town

or country, is something like this :—"For two or three hundred years you have had the ear of the wealthy and the powerful; for two or three hundred years—and a good while longer, too—your Bishops have had a place in the Legislature, and have voted for, or have seen passed into law, Act after Act which made rich men richer, and too often poor men poorer; and—saving noble and not unfrequent individual exceptions—the main burden of your song, when you have condescended to touch human affairs at all, has been the *sacredness of property*, rather than of life, and health, and human happiness." Once more, I protest that I do not, without qualification, admit the justice of this strain of strong reproach against us; but if it has *some* foundation, and if we admit *that*, we shall surely be ready to take our share of possibly exaggerated blame. We shall bear ourselves patiently towards the accusers. While *firmly maintaining* (and I pray God I may never fail in my small share of the duty of maintaining it) that "the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost," we may yet declare that righteousness is difficult where discontent and envy remain inevitable; that peace is impossible while life is clouded with the petty but grinding cares of hopeless poverty or preventible ill-health; and that even the joy of the Holy Ghost is but the crowning grace of that true "godliness" "which hath promise of the life which now is, as well as of that which is to come."

And starting from this admitted need of some reform, they have raised wages, they have compelled attention to the sanitary conditions of the cottages of the country poor, they have shortened the hours of labour, or raised the age at which the young may be employed, and have obtained safeguards on the employment of women and girls. At least, these good things are *post* if not *propter hoc*, and if the union has had nothing to do with them, their close coincidence is remarkable. But the movement is not only against the Church but against religion altogether it is said. I know the wicked eagerness of the spirit of the more aggressive modern secularism to seize on every occasion for urging the claims of the body, and for disparaging the needs of the spirit of men; and I know the proneness of our nature to fall into the trap, and say sullenly or scornfully, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." But I see no reason for any such assertion. Many of the meetings of these poor men have opened with Prayer and closed with the Doxology. Mr. Arch himself is not only a God-fearing man and an earnest Christian, but an old Wesleyan Local Preacher. Speaking of what I know, the only branch union—that for Kent and Sussex*—of which I have seen anything, has been holding monthly special services, or Church Parades, at one of which a London clergyman, whom they asked to preach, found 500 or 600 of them, filling a fine church in the weald of Kent, to which many of them had walked

* I have since learnt that this union is wholly independent of Mr. Arch's union, and I am sincerely glad to see such signs of local energy and independence as this society represents.

long distances. And they have been making a great point of keeping up this service regularly.

And the rules of this Branch, the only ones I have, contain this not very irreligious or un-Christian provision, which does not fall far short of St. James's definition of pure and undefiled religion: "Every six months the brothers of the sick fund of each branch shall elect a fellow free brother, to act as father to the branch. . . . His duties shall be to visit the sick, at least once a week. . . . Any brother refusing to stand for election as father, shall be fined 3d. . . Brothers falling sick shall send a qualified practitioner's certificate to the secretary, who shall send word to the father, who shall visit the brother within three days." With these spontaneous regulations and usages I own myself ready to believe this likely to be a case in which the words will be made good: "He that doeth my will, shall know of the Doctrine." I might multiply illustrations, but I leave off with the words of an active clergyman of this diocese, who has supported the union quietly, and who lately joined us: "I am persuaded that a better feeling exists between me and my labourers now than did before the union came here."

And I fail utterly to see why we are to withhold our sympathy, or refrain from openly expressing it, because the objects of it do not always pick and choose their words, and because the worthy man who leads them cannot forget the lifelong associations of a rival religious system, and if he has a favourite aversion, almost admits it to be a popular Church of England clergyman! The more they fail in reasonable respect for the Church, and consideration for our small selves, the nearer we shall surely rise to the height of our calling, if we quietly persist in making ourselves felt to be their true and reasonable friends. "Though they curse, yet bless thou." Then will the world be far more likely to see that this movement is "God's hand," and that the "Lord hath done it," than if we were borne on a loud stunning tide of popular applause; and God's true "servants" will, in the end, far more fully and securely "rejoice." (See Ps. cix. 27. 28.)

The case is wholly different again with the third main division of the trade unions: I mean the still infant, but promising and most deeply-needed branch, of *women's unions*. Here, happily, the literature of the subject is as abundant and accessible as it is interesting and encouraging. And the Women's Protective and Provident League, which is the nucleus of all their unions, has the further benefit of being ruled with the happiest possible combination of gentleness and vigour in the person of its honorary secretary. I should be nearly satisfied with the effect of my observations to-night, if I should succeed in sending Churchmen and Churchwomen to call upon her, at the office of the League, 21, Little Queen-street, Holborn, and to offer her some form of help and sympathy. Here, again, the difficulty is to choose the facts, and I shall, perhaps, best avoid tediousness and secure *point*, if I first mention that the last Census gave the following figures for the number of women employed in London in the following trades:—

Milliners and Dressmakers	58,460
Shirt Makers and Seamstresses	26,875
Tailoresses	14,870
Machine Workers and Machinists	10,724
Bookbinders	5,272
Shoemakers, Bootmakers	4,699
Artificial Florists	4,360
Box Makers...	3,718
Upholstresses	2,858
Stay Makers	2,244
Trimming Makers...	2,011
Hat Manufacturers	8,575
Furriers, Skinners	1,650
Brush and Broom Makers	1,580
Envelope Makers	1,212
Umbrella Makers	1,147
	143,341

and then set down not facts unknown to me, from published statements, but the result of two enquiries made of two of the most respectable members of my own congregation, made as opportunity offered, under my own roof, within a week. They relate to the two trades named in the list as dressmakers and machine-workers. This is how "costumes"—according to the fashion—were made two or three years ago, for the colonial market, by a company which has since failed. I will not waste words: but they had panniers, and goffered trimming for skirts and bodices, and they had to be made up, except the bodices—the workers finding thread. *They were paid* 6*s. a dozen, or* 6*d. a whole dress!* And a mother and three daughters made four dozen of these precious rags of finery in a day of 14 hours; and on one occasion six dozen in a day of 20 continuous hours' work. Fifty dozen, the whole order, were turned out in a fortnight by four women, with three machines, and one boy to help in the goffering. But they sat up two whole nights. This was in a slack season. Hence the hardness of the bargain, but they were glad to get it; and the time was of course part of the bargain. I asked what my informant thought of the prospect of success for a union, which might help to raise such wages, and shorten such hours. Her reply was a melancholy one. We are too many. It would take years of strikes to surmount the underbidding. Women can, and do, and will, underbid each other, much worse than men. "Why?" I enquired. Both because some of them can and do live on next to nothing, and have got used to it; and because some merely want to work and make a purse. This she explained as follows: Not long ago a young clerk's wife, formerly a machinist, wanting more pocket-money, offered a dealer, whom she knew, to make for 10d. some skirts that he was paying his regular hands 14d. for. He did not give her the work, but he did better. He went to all his hands and said to them "I can get what you are doing done for 10d. You'll be good enough to do it henceforth for a shilling." A clearer case for a strike could hardly be. Again, this is how young men's ties, sold at 1s. and 1s. 6d. are made. It takes ten or twelve pair of hands to turn out a made-up tie. Last night I asked a superior girl how she was getting on. "Pretty well, sir, but it's very hard work." I should think it was!

Twelve hours every day, eight to eight, one of 12 in a room 10ft. by 12ft. by 8ft. high, in the basement of a six-roomed house, making ties, at 8d. 9d. and 10d. a dozen, to be divided between the 12, *i.e.*, at ¾d. or ½d., or at most five farthings the dozen to the *individual worker*, for her share in the twelvefold process. And this goes on every day and all day, and all the year round! The average wages at this rate, are about 12s. a week, rising in busy times to 18s. a week, but never touching £1. There are limits even to the endurance and patience of young Englishwomen. And this is the case of young women of the sort which supplies us with the best Sunday School Teachers! If after this, any one can doubt the need of some organisation for the protection for women, for the rescuing of women's work out of conditions, which it is trifling to call *akin* to slavery, for they are a white slavery themselves, I do not think any abstract arguments could be of use.

I may perhaps conveniently mention here that an important trade of men (and not by any means the only one), that of the journeymen bakers, is still without any adequate organisation, but is now supplying the defect, and is already planning a strike which is fixed for February or March, 1878. A word to the wise!

III. What then can the clergy do? Much of the answer has already been implied, and I must leave much to suggest itself.† But I venture, very simply and confidently, to say to my brethren, in conclusion—Range yourselves firmly on the side of these organisations which have arisen to counteract the mechanical tendencies of civilisation, to recover the full rights of personality for the otherwise helpless victims of highly organised labour, who tend to become "hands," whereof twelve pairs are needed to make a neck tie! to find for them the means of asserting their individual rights as men and women against the crushing despotism of a craft, or the unqualified power of the purse: to encourage them in habits of thrift and forethought, widening the range of their minds till it grasps interests farther off than the next week's work, or the next Sunday's outing; giving them that sense of fellowship with one another, by membership of a body larger and higher than self, and evoking and employing all the energies (which it is sometimes said that only enlightened selfishness can call forth, or direct) of which humanity is capable at its best; and in so doing really helping, however indirectly, to conform the daily life of men to the mind of Christ, and to realise the aspiration of an early Christian worker and thinker, who wrought at his craft for his bread; that "we being many" should be "one body in Christ, and every one members one of another."

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† A very trifling and easy form of assistance may be mentioned. Lend them schoolrooms or other convenient places of meeting. Women, especially, have great difficulty in finding accommodation, and I know a case in which a branch Agricultural Labourers' Union was permanently conciliated by the spontaneous offer of the village schoolroom for their meetings.

Mr. Rupert Kettle.

Public opinion condemns trades unions. It asserts that they are under all circumstances and for all purposes absolutely and irretrievably bad.

I believe that public opinion on this subject is not based upon accurate knowledge; that it has been formed hastily, under the influence of irritation; that it is superficial and unsound. I believe, moreover, that the persistent maintenance of this opinion without further consideration, and the frequent utterance of positive and sometimes angry condemnation of all action by combinations of workmen create one of the greatest impediments to the resumption of good will and friendly dealing between our hand-labouring population and their employers.

Holding the belief I have just expressed, you can well understand with what thankfulness and hope I regarded the advances of a body of our Metropolitan clergy towards the working classes. By appropriating one of its sittings to the consideration of trades unions, the managers of our Church Congress have taken another and a very important step in the same wisely directed course. I trust our deliberations to-night may afford the clergy a further means of judging how they can best use their pastoral influence to appease the personal wrath and mitigate the class strifes which arise out of contests between capital and labour.

If it can be shown that modern trades unions are one of the natural and necessary consequences of the altered conditions under which in recent times capital and labour are compelled to work together for the production of wealth, and that they are not, as is popularly believed, devised by cunning and mischievous men, then the clergy will not hesitate to accept the new responsibilities which an altered position in the relation of master and servant appears to impose upon them. I believe the most acceptable assistance I can render to our discussion is to address myself to the preliminary question: How did trades unions come into existence?

These formidable combinations are of comparatively recent origin. Our ancient guilds were succeeded by trade clubs, and craft benefit societies; but we have no connected history of how these merged into modern trades unions. Within two generations—a period not too long for the state of things in a workman's household to be handed down by family tradition to the present day—almost all trade work was executed by manual labour and handicraft skill. Artisans then worked as journeymen, if not with, under the eye of, their employer. From the youngest apprentice to the man who was so proud to see his name upon the sign-board over the door, there was a common life, a unity of interest, and an unbroken chain of personal sympathy. At that period water power was used in some manufacturing processes. Isolated mills were built upon spots chosen from local circumstances: workmen were in such instances congregated in larger groups than their fellows employed in more domestic industry; but they lived in cottages round about the mill, and their

employer lived in the midst of them. The small community all felt a direct interest in each other, and in their common prosperity.

There were trade societies then; but they were very different from the trades unions of our day. There were trade benefit clubs, including, with the ordinary sick and burial benefit, the rules of their trade; they had allowances for members out of employment, tramp tickets, houses of call, and shop levies. As the laws against combination were very severe, these societies often pretended to secrecy—had signs and pass words—and a very fussy mode of transacting their simple business.

Since the time when science put heat into harness and subdued its expansive power to human service, all this has changed. The steam-engine is not merely a new factor in our economic calculations—it is, indeed, a new power; a power so tremendous that it has disturbed to its very base the whole organisation of modern society.

The great millowner, the ironmaster, the colliery proprietor, does not—he cannot—transact his business in direct personal intercourse with his workpeople. In many instances he does not know them even by sight; he seldom knows where their homes are, or whether they are married or single. The employer may be the very personification of brotherly love, and active in works of mercy. As a class large employers of labour do not require individual testimony to their Christian benevolence. The institutions they have founded in our manufacturing districts abundantly attest the munificence of their charity. Still, as men of business, and in their trade, they must go with the times. They cannot do otherwise than treat their hands not sympathetically, but arithmetically. They must contemplate their servants in statistics, and deal with them through the result of their aggregate labour, and communicate with them in groups, through managers and foremen. The employer retains his full power to compel obedience; but he has no opportunity of showing in daily personal intercourse that kindly sympathy which kindles allegiance.

The practical necessities of their position oblige employers, whether as separate individuals or as joint-stock companies, to negotiate bargains with their workpeople in large bodies together. These cannot shout replies in chorus: necessity on their side also compels negotiation through representatives. Before a large body of men can transact the business of bargain-making by deputy, they must meet together and come to one mind as to their collective interests. Then, and not until then, can they instruct a delegate. All this requires meetings and discussions; and, for the artisan, the old club-house was the ordinary place for this. The whole of the hands in one vast establishment, probably did not belong to the same club. The clubs must either amalgamate, or so relax the rules of membership, as to include all the men engaged in the different branches of the same manufacture. As they found their trade interest affected by the dealings in other great establishments, or other towns, the enlarged clubs would meet and confer and afterwards join together, and so, by steps, erect themselves into the modern trades unions. These unions retain sufficient of the minor follies of the old clubs to prove their identity. They survive in what,

in a Darwinian sense, I may call rudiments, continued through connecting links down to the new species.

If this is, as I believe it to be, a true account of the circumstances under which trades unions originated, I do not think there is anything in their origin which disentitles them to the sympathy of the clergy. Before anyone utters a general condemnation of the system he should consider the alternative proposition: that of continuing in their ancient rigour our combination and conspiracy laws, under which workmen could be punished, even to the extent of transportation, for doing that which by a consensus of opinion reasonable men now agree they had a moral right to do.

Thus far as to the origin of trades unions. Touching their extension, need I say more than that the spirit of unionism is contagious: there is now not a town, scarcely a rural parish in England, where unions are unknown.

The effects of these societies may, for the purposes of to-night, be divided into (1) their material and (2) their moral effects. The material effects of trades unions belong to the science of political economy. Political economy has relation to one only of the duties of mankind. It does not in the most remote degree relate to our faith, to our affections, or to our spiritual or moral perception of ourselves. Indeed, it not infrequently happens that the rules of political economy appear to be in direct opposition to the doctrines of Christian charity. They can be reconciled, but it requires a comprehensive knowledge of the whole subject in all its bearings,—a knowledge such as Archbishop Whateley displays in his second lecture,—to reconcile them. I think, then, clergymen should concentrate their attention upon the moral effects of trades unions, and leave to secular teachers, and the results of experience, to inculcate the knowledge of trading under new conditions.

These new conditions have entirely changed the spirit of dealing between employers and workmen. No doubt there were sins and immoralities committed under the old system of allegiance, with its reciprocal duty of protection; under the new organisation the obligations of the dominant and servient position have been repudiated on both sides and new temptations arise. Instead of master and servant they have now become ordinary buyers and sellers of labour as a commodity; with all the proneness to unholy avarice which comes of such traffic. "As the nail sticketh fast between the joinings of the stones, so doth sin stick close between buying and selling." Not only is this proverb in its ordinary force in the case we are considering, but we have that distribution of responsibility which intensifies whilst it conceals the sin of covetousness. In trades unions as in all other associations for action there is an inclination rightly or wrongly to follow a strong lead. The individual is, by the accumulated zeal which comes of association, led to adopt the conventional belief that that which he inwardly doubts to be good in his own case becomes absolutely right if it appears to be for the benefit of the association of which he is a member. In fact he sacrifices that which he feels to be his private, to that which for the time he believes to be his corporate duty.

There are confederations for the purpose of accumulating power established amongst the buyers as there are unions amongst the sellers of labour. Organised opposition to their existence binds the men's unions more firmly together, and stimulates the enthusiasm to make sacrifice of opinion in furtherance of their common object. Now, although I assert not only that men have a right to combine, but that the new conditions of trade render it expedient that they should so combine for the purpose of dealing upon equal terms with the capitalist, I am well aware that combinations for this purpose are from their very nature dangerous. They are apt to lead men to do personal wrong that class good may come of it. On the other hand it appears to be equally necessary for employers to join for the purpose of carrying out a common trade policy. They too have in their dealings with trades unions their temptations to disregard personal consciousness of right, which under less irritating circumstances would control them, and prevent the adoption of a policy of resentment. No one can desire a clergyman from time to time to thrust himself between a mass of excited workmen and small but powerful groups of capitalists, and there proclaim authoritatively the rights and wrongs of their contention. I believe, however, it is possible for our clergy, by exerting the influence of their ministerial office, to keep well, and as constantly as occasions arise, before the minds of both parties the paramount necessity of maintaining throughout all the excitement of these distressing trade contests an assiduous check on the tendency to disregard primary personal duties. Let me take an example from each side to illustrate what I mean. When a man joins a trades union he takes upon himself new duties of a corporate and secondary character; but this does not discharge him from the performance of those duties which are primary and personal. The duty he has already undertaken to his wife and family stands before and above his new duty to his shopmates. On the other hand, if a capitalist congregates together large bodies of workmen, to use them for his own profit, his primary obligation is to continue the state of things upon which he has made them and their families dependent; the obligation to provide his workpeople the means of subsistence in return for their labour ranks before and above any secondary duty he may have undertaken to stand by his fellows in a confederation of employers. Here, then, is a path upon which a clergyman may walk through the conflict with safety and strength to admonish those under his pastoral charge to a more strict regard of personal duty. A clergyman will feel that, whilst he is appealing to the individual man who in the accidents of life becomes implicated in a trade conflict, whilst he is holding up his moral consciousness, and supporting him in doing what is positively and primarily right; he is acting within, and in obedience to, the duties of the spiritual office.

Now, what is the duty of the clergy to the corporate bodies who are in hostility?

I do not think I claim too much for our clergy if I say that they should occasionally go beyond the individual and personal ministra-

tions to which I have before referred, and when the danger of trade strife arises, publicly to exhort both sides to deliberately count the cost before they begin the war. If the combatants could be induced to do this in time, in nine cases out of ten peace would be maintained. I can say, upon an experience extending over the best working years of my life, that strikes and lock-outs are in almost every instance the emanation of false pride and a love of conquest. They are neither originated nor continued as a pure matter of business. Facts and figures, trade estimates and contingencies, are the only rational data upon which these great trade associations ought to bargain together for work and wages. By exciting angry temper, and relying on either side upon their power of endurance, their dealings as matters of trade become vitiated ; and are liable upon a first opportunity to a renewed disturbance. There is always at hand a peaceful alternative, if both parties could be induced to adopt it. Now, although I do not advise that the clergy generally should be influenced by the successful example of the Lord Bishop of Manchester, and of my old friend and neighbour, the Rev. G. H. Fisher, rector of Willenhall, who have both shown themselves able trade arbitrators ; yet I do think it becomes our clergy, as teachers of the doctrine of peace, not to allow the waters of trade strife to be let out anywhere within the range of their sacred influence, without first exhorting the litigants to try the expedient of obtaining an impartial judgment upon which to settle the matters in dispute.

Do not let us, by dwelling too much upon details, underrate the importance of our subject, or the magnitude of the national duties which our position imposes upon us. It seems to my finite perception that, for His own beneficent purposes, Almighty God—as He bestowed upon Greece a knowledge of the arts, and upon Rome the science of arms—has vouchsafed to bestow upon this little island —the fruitful mother of many nations—genius to control the operation of natural forces, and appropriate all substances to the use of man. I cannot but believe that that great Creator accompanied this inestimable blessing with its corresponding duty : before all, the duty to watch the development of our spiritual and moral life in the great social transition through which we are called upon to pass, the development of our spiritual and moral life, with its new form of duty to our neighbour, and its new temptations to the sin of covetousness.

An exigency, then, has arisen in our day that all those who have undertaken, under the most solemn of all human obligations, the duty of spiritual pastor, should reconcile those institutions which have grown out of a great social necessity, with immutable justice between man and man.

Rev. V. H. Stanton, Fellow and Senior Dean of Trinity College, Cambridge.

By "The Church in Relation to Trades Unions," I shall understand the *clergy* in relation to trades unions, because the subject appears to be most immediately practical when treated in this concrete shape. Now, although comparatively few of the clergy take any active interest in the conflicts between capital and labour, and though we are sometimes told it is better they should not, I do not think it needs many words to prove that they have a duty with regard to them. The disunion between different classes of the community, caused or intensified by trade disputes, might even become politically dangerous; but it certainly is gravely injurious to the moral character of both parties, by strengthening the selfish feelings, and promoting habits of jealousy and suspicion. The clergy, therefore, to whom, it must be admitted, the morals of the community are a matter of special concern, cannot rightly pass these differences and conflicts by, nor can they hope to be of any real service in helping to heal them, if they confine themselves to general exhortations, and do not enter into the merits of the questions at issue.

Moreover, besides the intrinsic importance of the labour questions, there is an additional reason for our endeavouring to deal with them in the tendencies of thought of the present time. Social philosophy has of late made great strides, and continually receives increasing attention. There are many noble-minded men whose thoughts are filled with the problems affecting the welfare and improvement of human society, and who find, or think they find, in their study and practical solution, exercise for the highest aspirations of their nature. It is, therefore, most necessary that we should prove to men that Christian principles and the Christian habits of thought and temper of mind contribute indispensable elements to the satisfactory and lasting solution of social problems. This is, perhaps, the kind of evidence of the truth and vitality of Christianity most demanded in our generation.

Nevertheless, if I thought that the view of labour questions commonly taken in the upper and middle classes was the right and sufficient one, and that the business of any one who spoke to trade unionists was simply to demonstrate to them that their aims were chimerical, and the means they adopt foolish and suicidal, when not criminal, I confess I should not eagerly desire my brethren of the clergy to take up the work. Not that I would shrink from making the Church unpopular with unionists or any other class when needful in the cause of truth, but because unionists already have so many mentors who attempt this, that to add to the number would be unnecessary and mischievous. But, believing as I do that the unionists' side requires far more unprejudiced treatment, far more sympathetic comprehension, than it generally receives, I think that there is plenty of scope left for the clergy, and that, if they bent their attention to these subjects, they might exercise a beneficent influence. The clergy belong by birth and position to the upper and middle classes, while at the same time they are bound—the standard of

professional duty constantly set before their eyes requires them—to rise above the prejudices of class, and most especially to be intimate with the masses of the people, and to understand their feelings and opinions. They ought, therefore, to be peculiarly fitted and predisposed to introduce fairness and largeness of view into the consideration of the questions in which the different classes of society generally take opposite sides, and to compel both parties to exercise these virtues.

But it is commonly supposed that the case is completely and absolutely decided against unionism by political economy, more especially that political economy proves that unions cannot raise wages, except to the injury of some other portion of the working classes, or generally without causing a subsequent reaction even in the trade itself in which the rise is procured. I am well aware that persons affecting to speak in the name of political economy often talk in this way; but if we turn to the chief writers on the subject we shall get a very different impression. It will suffice to take writers of the present generation. Whatever the general effect and influence of Mr. Mill's great work may be thought to be, he more recently, in two articles reviewing Mr. Thornton's book on Labour, and published in the *Fortnightly Review* for May and June, 1869, entirely surrendered the position that the general average rate of wages must remain the same, in obedience to imperious laws, let the unions do what they may. Again, Professor Fawcett, in his *Manual of Political Economy*, while beginning his chapter on trades unions with a strong condemnation of the limitation of the number of apprentices, and of all forms of coercion of other workmen practised by unionists, goes on to admit fully that unions may secure for the workmen, in a rising market, an earlier rise of wages than they would otherwise have had, and that they may even, in the case of a depressed and ignorant class like that of the agricultural labourers, be the means of lifting them to a permanently higher level. I do not think that Professor Jevons has anywhere written at length on the subject of trade unionism; but the tendency of his view of the theory of wages would appear to be favourable to the opinion that unions may act beneficially on wages. The teaching of another very important class of modern writers, of whom Professor Cliffe Leslie and Mr. Thornton, already mentioned, may be named as instances, and whose special characteristic is that they are impressed with the great variety of causes which may operate in any actual case, and may modify the operations of those few main causes from which the great laws of political economy have been deduced, and who consequently feel the necessity for practical purposes of tracing local and partial laws as well as general ones, makes still more strongly for the labourers' side.

On the other hand it is true the late Professor Cairns, a man of most remarkable powers of acute reasoning and lucid exposition, estimates the good effect which trades unions may produce at so little, as not to be worth the expense and dangers of abuse which they entail. And another accredited teacher of political economy, Professor Leone Levi, uses his influence actively against unionism.

But I may add what I know of the opinions of the present race of students of political economy at Cambridge. Political economy has been studied with some thoroughness by several Cambridge men lately, partly owing to the stimulus given by a very able and learned lecturer, Mr. A. Marshall, recently appointed principal of the new college at Bristol, and partly from the demand for lecturers in political economy, in connection with the Cambridge local lectures. I myself held a political economy lectureship when these lectures were first started four years ago, and I have known the views of all the other men who have lectured on the same subject in connection with this scheme, and I believe that without exception they have held and taught that it is possible for trades unions to act upon wages in a perfectly legitimate manner, and that in fact trades unions have been largely instrumental in the improvement of the circumstances of the working classes which has taken place.

I have referred to the opinions of authorities instead of attempting to discuss the question itself, because it is necessary to correct the notion which is prevalent as to what the verdict of political economists is. I have not time to discuss the question as well; but the following is as pithy a statement of the unionists' view as could, I think, be given in so short a space, and by a writer of their own, Mr. Lloyd Jones:—

> We are told that trade unions cannot alter the average wage, or maintain wages at a higher level than supply and demand would secure. It is admitted, however, that they can obtain advances *sooner*, and retain them *longer*. This admission is all the advocates of trade unions need contend for, as, in markets continually fluctuating, to do this is to secure a higher average—a more favourable level. In a year of advances, the man who begins his movement in February gets more than he who waits till July; and in a year of reductions, he who does not give way till July gets more than he who is beaten down in February. The working man understands this whether his critic does so or not.—*Trade Unions*. Two Lectures. By Lloyd Jones. P. 30.

The rightness or wrongness, the wisdom or folly, of the action of unions designed to affect wages depends, then, on the time and circumstances under which it is attempted, and the degree to which it is carried. And I think much the same may be said even of those measures of still more ominous sound, such as resistance to piece-work, limitation of the number of apprentices, picketing. There is a great difference between resistance to piece-work generally, and as a principle, and resistance to piece-work when, if the workmen are right, as they possibly may be, it is carried on in such a manner as unfairly to lower the proportion of pay to work. Again, it is so much to the interest of employers to create an over supply of labour in their own branch of industry, that it may quite conceivably sometimes be necessary not only in the interests of those who already have learnt, or are learning the trade, but even of the would-be apprentices themselves, to stipulate that the number of apprentices shall not exceed what will allow for any probable steady increase of demand. Picketing itself is reduced to a harmless affair if it is confined to endeavours on the part of the workmen on strike, without any sort of intimidation, to persuade their fellow-workmen over to their own view of the dispute.

It will very likely be said that even though all these may be

* This is done in the [illegible] where none is admitted. Deacon without [illegible].

questions of manner and degree, yet they are so liable to abuse that the only safe plan is to condemn them altogether. I have no doubt this feeling does account for some of the sweeping denunciations of the action of trades unions which we hear; and that a similar feeling is often the motive for the wholesale attacks which people make on the views of those from whom they differ. It is supposed that if any concessions are made, the force of what is said will be too much weakened. Yet surely to argue thus shows great ignorance of human nature. If you want to win a patient hearing from a man, and eventually to make a convert of him, or at least to modify his views, the most likely way is to begin by acknowledging whatever truth there is in his position, however small its amount may be. And while this is a principle of general application, it is especially important at present in dealing with trade unionists, because the unsympathetic, undiscriminating criticism from the classes socially above them, with which they have been visited, has considerably exasperated their minds.

Besides the frank admission of the good which unionism, if rightly managed, may do, it is necessary to abstain from those reckless accusations which are often made against the industry and providence of the English working classes—that habit of throwing the blame of every rise of price upon unionism, without proof, or even in defiance of proof that the rise of price preceded the rise of wages—those solemn warnings about the probable loss of foreign trade which are administered to them without any corresponding censure being visited on the not less certain or less reprehensible faults of capitalists. What class of men would be influenced if lectured in this style? The language of such an impartial observer as Mr. Brassey, or of such a man as Professor Cairns, unfavourable as he is to unionism, ought to put an end to such useless and irritating talk.

One word as to the Agricultural Labourers' Unions. The advantage which the agricultural labourers may derive from unionism is the most certain point of all. Many persons who doubt the necessity of it in other trades where competition, both among masters and men, is keen, believe it to be valuable for them. And if in the midst of these struggles of the labourers to improve their position some covetous longings and some wild and unwarrantable accusations are heard, we ought not to be surprised or too much offended. In the great movement of emancipation among the peasants in the fourteenth century, when Wycliffe's "poor priests" were great agitators, like some Methodist preachers now, very strong things were said, and I daresay they were not all perfectly just or perfectly wise. Moreover, the labourers have had cruel wrongs even down to the most recent times. They are only unjust when they feel bitterness against individuals for things which in large measure have been the evil growths of time, and which have been inflicted by persons who have been very imperfectly conscious of what they were doing. The clergy will be very foolish and very wrong if, because of some unfounded imputations even against the Church and their own order, they oppose one of

the most powerful forces at work for the agricultural labourer's elevation.

I am very far from wishing that the errors and selfishness of unionists should be passed over, but I must be excused for dwelling on the lessons which appear to be most needful for ourselves. Christian feeling ought, I think, to help us even in the scientific study of these questions, by purging our minds from prejudice; but I pass on to speak very briefly on one or two more directly religious aspects of the subject. There is too much reason for fearing that the secret of a great deal of the dislike to unionism in the upper and middle classes is simply love of power. Formerly, employers had their work-people very much at their mercy. Union tends to place the work-people on a footing of equal advantage with the masters for bargaining on what terms the work shall be done; it helps to abolish the superiority of strength due to individual wealth. The not unnatural but very un-Christian love of power in the employers, what may be called a spirit of "masterfulness," resents this. They will not be dictated to by their men, as they phrase it. They will not have a third party, the agents of the men, stepping in between them and their men, though this is tantamount to denying to the men the right to combine itself, at least in an efficient manner. Too commonly they even refuse to submit their disputes to arbitration, and a similar spirit also shows itself in members of the upper classes who are not themselves employers—a dislike to see an inferior class rising out of its subjection. The pure teaching of the Gospel ought to be brought to bear to discountenance this vice.

Lastly, as to the religious teaching of working men themselves. Special virtues and vices are most strongly developed in different classes, and I think it is unquestionable that the sentiment of brotherhood is strongest among working men. You may, no doubt, find whole masses of them utterly destitute of it! in many too of those who talk about it, it may be a sham. Still it does exist, and is truly felt and practically operative among them to an extent not to be found elsewhere. Now, we shall only be following the example of St. Paul on Mars Hill, and indeed in all his Evangelistic work if we make use of this already familiar sentiment in bringing Christianity home to them;—if we place before them in an especial manner that side of Christianity which has an affinity with it, the fellowship with one another in Christ, and again appeal to it in endeavouring to make them understand the wider, deeper and purer truth. This was the characteristic principle of our own Maurice and Kingsley, and again of that noble contemporary band of liberal Catholics in France, in their social work. And so much we may venture to affirm with confidence among the working classes, some men will always be found whose hearts Christian truth will reach by this avenue more readily than by any other.

ADDRESSES.

Rev. E. R. Wilberforce, vicar of Seaforth.

My Lord Bishop:—His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the eloquent speech with which he initiated the proceedings of the Congress, alluded to the possible presence of some whom he styled Cossacks or Bashi Bazouks; but there is another class of men sometimes even more represented at Church Congresses than either of the foregoing; a class whom I heard mentioned in one of the speeches this afternoon, namely, the class of "Boras."

Now, if it should prove that I belong to the latter class, one which embraces within its numbers many of the most respectable and the most excellent of the earth, I can only crave the indulgence of the members of this meeting for a few moments, while I lay my views before them.

My lord, it is sometimes said that Church Congresses tend to increase clerical arrogancy; I come here provided with an antidote to that. I happened to take up a paper not long ago, in which I read these sentences: "A Church Congress supplies the machinery of an extensive clerical dissipation, and the materials of a clerical Donnybrook. The neighbourhood in which the Congress is held is a scene of wild excitement. Hungry incumbents and hungrier curates billet themselves on the divines resident in the vicinity, and the larders of the country for miles round are desolated by the inroads of ecclesiastical locusts. The scandals and free fights in the discussion rooms only serve to whet the clerical appetite. In the houses of the unfortunate entertainers it is an endless series of meals the whole day through. Unshaven, unbrushed, and not too much washed, the ecclesiastical barbarians troop off from a tumultuary breakfast to the wild war of profitless words; with the stains of battle and toil resting upon them, they sit down to dinner, after the day's idle labour is over."

My lord, it is as well to see ourselves sometimes as others see us, especially when the looking-glass is in the habit of holding up so totally a different picture before us. And now to come to the great question before us; one confessedly difficult and intricate, one whose varied bearings have been already so ably stated in the papers you have already heard read.

We must, I am sure, all recognise an inherent disposition in mankind to combine; and I presume we are all ready to grant that men, of whatever class, have a perfect right to combine for any object they choose, provided only that that object be a lawful one, and the means taken to attain that object be legitimate. And we cannot help seeing that this is perhaps especially an age of combinations, from the great political organisations on the one hand, down to that free and enlightened society which enjoys itself mainly at public-houses, and passes by some such name as the "Antediluvian Buffaloes."

But if men have this right to combine, why is there such a cry going up from every part of our land, a cry caused by some results of these combinations? One that comes from employers of labour, as well as from the saddened homes of impoverished working men?

Why do I read such touching words as those published yesterday morning in a letter from the proprietor of the Great Cyfarthfa works "If I am able, I shall sell the works before I die. There is nothing now to bind me to them, *for I have been estranged from them by the conduct of the men.* I always hoped and expected to die with the works going, and the same feeling among the men for their employers; but things have changed, and all is different; and I go to my grave feeling I am a perfect stranger, as all my old men are gone, or nearly so."

Why do the wives of working men tell me that they are no better off

than they were, and that they dread the very name of a strike? The answer I believe to be, that in far too many instances, the increased rate of wage has only caused the increase of public-houses and public-house premises; that the conditions which I have named have not always been adhered to, and that in very many cases the practical outcome of the trades unions has been very different from that which was hoped for and anticipated, by those who in the first instance were responsible for forming them.

There can be no doubt for instance, that in certain parts of the country, particular trades have been paralysed by strikes. Look at the shipbuilding in the Thames for instance—and I am told that there is no small fear that the recent strike on the Clyde will drive some of the trade from that part of Scotland.

I may be told that trade only migrates; yes, but where does it migrate to? It migrates beyond the shores of our country sometimes. Baron Albert Krupp is reported to have said that he attributes the vastly increased activity amongst the ironworkers in Germany, to the strikes amongst the ironworkers in England. A northern manufacturer told me not long ago, that he could buy machinery in Switzerland, import it to England, and set it up in his works at a less cost than he could buy it in England; and he attributed this to the uncertainty of the labour supply in England, owing to strikes. Indeed the foreign competition to which we are now exposed is so keen, that the steamer Cambria had in her last cargo several hundred ready-made coffins, imported from Norway. Then, too, the enormous cost of strikes is often forgotten in the consideration of this question. I see by the local papers, that the West Lancashire miners have just returned to work after a six weeks' strike; that they have resumed work at a reduction of 10 per cent. upon their former wages, while the employers of labour in those parts have paid £250,000 less in wages, &c., than they would have paid during those six weeks, if the men had not gone out on strike; think of the loss in direct wages, and the loss in unemployed capital! But as my time is limited, I wish to point out what I think the Church can do with regard to unions in large towns, before I come to speak of the agricultural labourers' unions. What can the Church do then to heal the rent now existing in the relations between employers and employed.

I have no infallible panacea to prescribe, whereby an instant cure may be effected. The causes that led to the present state of things were slow in operation, and we may depend upon it the remedies will be slow in operation too. As a corporate body the Church cannot touch the trades unions. Her mediation has not been invited, her interference would be resented, her award would not be accepted. But her influence on individuals is enormous, and is increasing; while I am told by those well-acquainted with the subject, that in large towns the power of trade unions is decidedly decreasing; and that it is decreasing owing to the felt inconvenience of the present relation between masters and men—an inconvenience not confined to England, for I saw that last August 50 carpenters sailed from New York to Manchester, where berths had already been secured for them, and that they attributed their change of locality not to a desire for more wages, but to the unsettled relations between masters and men now existing in America.

Well, then, what can the Church do with regard to trade unions in large towns and populous places?

Without preaching politics, without making the pulpit an undue vehicle for the teaching of political economy, she can, in my opinion, do much. Her clergy can hold an equal balance between contending parties. They can hit the blots on both sides, and blots undoubtedly there are. They can show that the question of wages is one of ordinary justice between men serving one common Master. That the master is bound to let the men participate in rising profits, while the men have no right to expect a six days'

pay for a four days' labour, that they may idle for two whole days in every week.

They may show that a man has a perfect right to nominate the terms on which *he* will work, while he has not a shadow of right to say that no one else shall work except on those terms. They can help to protect the rights of the non-unionist, in which protection Mr. Goldwin Smith says is to be found the truest check on all excesses in trades unionism. They can help to show that to pay the same rate of wages to all would be to reduce all labour to the dead level of unintelligent drudgery, while piece-work gives to each that personal interest in the particular work before him, which gives zest to the work, and spurs the man to fresh and continued exertion.

These things amongst many others the clergy of the great Church of England can do; and these will all help to make arbitration the peaceful solution of disputes, instead of that cruel, unjust, and often utterly disastrous arbitrament of strikes now too commonly employed. Then, if we turn to the Agricultural Labourers' Union, we see the same principles at work, though their outcome is somewhat different. We see, too, that in this case we have both greater wrongs and greater ignorance to contend with. But, my lord, I am astonished at the dismay with which some people view the present agitation amongst the agricultural labourers, and the results of that agitation. These people ask how it is that the agitation has taken such a hold upon the labourers of England. They may as well ask with dismay why the followers of the late Brigham Young can come to this country and sail from the Mersey with whole shiploads of deluded men and women; why Fenianism spread in Ireland; why it is so often found that labouring men prefer a comfortable besotment in the snug corner of some well-lighted public-house to the joyous excitement of a sermon often half an hour or an hour long, brim full of heads, and often without the semblance of a tail? The answer is easy. In all these things there is something that appeals to the tastes and instincts of men, and if there be no spiritual grace, no sound teaching, which holds these tastes and instincts in check, then they come out in these ways. In the particular matter before us there is to be seen that which an eloquent Bishop described as the chemical affinity between men and money. The wages of labourers have often been shamefully low. They have wanted better wages; they have been stirred by plausible arguments. Is it any wonder if their dissatisfaction and their ignorance have acted and reacted, and the division between employer and employed has widened? But when I am asked what can the Church of England do here? I answer by pointing to what it has done in former times. What has been the whole history of the agricultural labourers ever since the time we first begin to be able to trace it. Has not that history been one gradual, though slow, rise, from a condition almost level with that of the beasts of the field, up to what it is now? And who, I ask, in English history have been more concerned with that rise than the English clergy? Who have ever stood in the breach between master and men, and have endeavoured to reconcile the quarrelling? Who have ever acted as mediators. but the clergy of the Church of England? And to whom would a far higher rise in the condition of the labouring classes be more welcome, than to the clergy of the Church of England, provided, of course, that that rise were founded on principles of justice?

But here comes in the blot, and I must hurry on, for my time is slipping away. These men are being taught lies as well as truth. They are being told that the clergy are their oppressors; that they are paid by the State; that their revenue comes out of the taxes wrung from the scanty pockets of the working-men; that the tithe belongs to the people of England. And so, my lord, we are no longer merely face to face with a body of hirelings oppressed in their pay and demanding a legitimate rise in their wages; but we are confronted by that which is rapidly turning into a great political combination for the severance of Church from State, and for the despoiling

and disendowment of the Church of England. In many places the Dissenters are shamelessly using these Unions for the dissemination of these direct untruths concerning the clergy and the Church of England. This it is that requires immediate action on the part of the Church; on the part of laymen as well as clergy, for the Church is not composed alone of clergy.

If Union orators spread untruths upon the village green, why should not Church orators make known the truth upon the village green, "*Magna est veritas, et prevalebit*," why should there not be discussions in the school-rooms and other places? Why should not sound information on these points be spread all over the land, as it is being spread, I am rejoiced to know, in so many places already; why should not the Church Defence publications, and those papers drawn up by clergymen and now published by Messrs. Cooke, of Warwick, be more largely circulated?

I am certain that as sympathy is shewn, as thrift is taught, as house to house visitation is carried on, as our Churches are thrown open for hearty, short, comprehensible services, the labouring classes will come to love the Church of England better, and that in the end the Church will prevail over every class of Trades Unions, preserving what is good in them, driving out what is bad in them. Yes, my lord, I venture to prophesy, though we are told it is dangerous to prophesy except upon accomplished facts, that men will learn yet more abundantly what they already are learning rapidly, that in the highest, truest, and best sense of the word, the grand old Catholic Church of England is the real and comprehensive Trades Union of the land. That in her all can meet; that in her all have a right; that in her each has his place, and each may learn of the constraining power of the love of God, which alone can mould the tempers of unruly men, and bring peace upon the conflicts and the strifes of this naughty world.

Mr. George Skey.

It has not been my good fortune to regard this question from the serene atmosphere of a comfortable library chair. I have been in the conflict. I have had to meet Trades Unionism face to face. As an employer of miners I have had some experience—painful experience of its wayward doings and its scathing influence. I am not going to say anything against Trades Unions as Trades Unions. I don't suppose there is one person here who will deny to any class of workmen the right and liberty to combine for their mutual protection and mutual benefit. But Trades Unionism as it is and Trades Unionism as it might and ought to be, are two very different things. To-night we have to deal with Trades Unionism as it is. Now before entering into the consideration of the duty of the Church in relation to Trades Unions, let us see what Trades Unionism is. We have heard a great deal about it from various points of view to-night. Let me give you a brief extract from a chapter of my own experience. Two illustrations will suffice. In May, 1874, there was a strike amongst our colliers in Warwickshire, which had lasted for several weeks. There was a good deal of distress. As I lay one morning in my bed thinking about it I said to myself, "George Skey—Have you done all you ought to have done to prevent this?" I thought I had, but I was not satisfied without making another effort. I walked to my office and drew up a circular which was immediately printed and distributed throughout the district, inviting the men to meet me at three o'clock the following day in order to go fairly and fully into the questions at issue. Two hours after issuing that circular the

bell man was sent round by the Trades Union to warn the men not to come to the meeting. At two o'clock on the following day a meeting of the Union was held at a public-house nearly opposite my works, and a band serenaded me at three o'clock, but not one man came to that meeting. I may say here that I live amongst my men and do not hide myself from them, and I did think it was a hard thing on the part of the Union to treat me thus. I pass on to the second illustration. Some months previous to the time when these events occurred, having regard to the wants of the people, I, in conjunction with another colliery proprietor, purchased the best public-house in the village, took down the sign and made it a British Workman—a public-house without the drink. We established a Workman's Club, and for 6s. a year, 1½d. per week, a workman could have a comfortable club with library and reading rooms, a smoke room, and refreshment department. For a time it went on tolerably well till this strike, and then the Trades Union agents made the men understand that it being started by the masters there was some hidden intention in it. I kept it open for three years at a considerable loss, but the Union placed their ban on that which was established for the benefit of the men, and I had to close it. Having placed before you these two illustrations, can you ask now how it is that the influence of the Trades Unions is bad. There has been very little said on the religious side of this question. Well may the Church ask what her duty is? There is need for the enquiry. She has lost many of these men—they are alienated from the services, and not only from the Church of England but from every other religious sect and denomination. My heart often aches for the young fellows who have been drawn away by the Union, some of whom have been in my own Bible class. Don't think I am saying an unkind thing, but it is true that whatever the proportion of steady men there are in the Union, every idle, dissolute, godless man is sure to be a member of that Union. Now, what is the result of this? The young men who join the Union are brought into continual familiar association with these; they meet on their Union business at public-houses, and the influence of these men on the young men may readily be conceived; and how many young men who once attended Church and Bible class now go off with their dogs to spend Sunday in a very different manner. But what can the Church do? What she has to do is to preach the Word to them, to follow them, to seek them out. The Good Shepherd came to seek and to save that which was lost, and so must the under shepherds in humble imitation of their Divine Master, seek if haply they may by God's blessing be the means of saving these lost ones. "Preach the Word, be instant in season and out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine." This, as it seems to me, is the duty of the Church. Associations you may have, guilds, or other machinery to draw men together. What are these things? You might as well expect a man to be cured by swallowing the pill-box instead of the pills as expect that sort of thing to produce of itself the desired result. Whatever the machinery may be the great means to the end must be to preach the Gospel, to tell again that old old story which has lost none of its power. The Gospel is needed for the master as well as the men, for that Gospel teaches him that he too has a master in heaven. And so the only real antidote for the present evil is to bring that Gospel home to the hearts of men and teach them to yield themselves unto God. This is the one panacea. Let a man receive the Gospel; let him believe the record that God has given of His Son, and then what a change comes over that man. Old things pass away, all things become new—new objects, new desires, and new motives. Some of us know the expulsive power of this new affection. Tell me this is too simple a plan and hardly suited for the purpose, and I reply it is the only effective way. The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but they are mighty to the pulling down the strongholds of sin. But how—it will be asked—how can you bring the Gospel to

those who deliberately and persistently turn their backs on the services of the Lord's House and the Lord's Day. I answer if they will not come within the sound of the Gospel at our Churches—the Gospel must be taken to them. The most useful machinery for this purpose, as it appears to me, is the parochial mission. In the organisation of such a mission—its various surroundings—such as the preparation for it—the long notice—the frequent prayer meetings—the expectation—the engagement of every man, woman, and child who is so disposed, in doing something in the work—all these things, and many others not mentioned, tend to give an unusual interest to the mission; and where the mission is held the Gospel invitation is sounded not only in the Church but in the factory, the coal pit, from street to street, from house to house, earnest living words are sounded in every ear, and the promise of God is, I believe, always fulfilled, "My word shall not return unto Me void, but shall accomplish that which I please and shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it."

Mr. B. H. Rodwell, Q.C., M.P.

After the stirring speeches of Mr. Wilberforce and others which we have heard with so much interest I have a difficult task to follow them in the short time allotted to me. It appears to me that the gentleman who last addressed us hit the point when he remarked upon a striking omission in these proceedings. The question I was asked to speak on when you did me the honour of inviting me was, what should be the duty of the Church in relation to Trades' Unions. Now there has certainly been a great blank on the part of previous speakers on that point, and they have rather addressed themselves to making an apologetic defence of unions and their advocates, than suggested the mode in which the Church should act under present circumstances. I will respectfully but briefly tell the clergy what they should not do. The clergy should not be partisans, but they should hold the balance evenly between both contending parties. There are probably faults on both sides, but I warn the clergy that if for the purpose of increasing their own influence or the power of the Church they lend themselves to one side or the other, that they will be doing great mischief and increasing the wound which they now have the power to heal. I certainly was not prepared to hear the merits of Trades' Unions discussed. I have read articles on the subject till I am sick of it. Enough has been said about their use and abuse. All I will say with regard to lock-outs or strikes is—I believe lock-outs by the masters are justified as well as the strikes, and in defence of lock-outs I would quote the old proverb—*nullum periculum sine periculo vincitur.* The masters have found out that combinations are not altogether and within certain limits unreasonable, and I believe the men know now that the masters' interests must be recognised. They have found that the union has not done so much for them as they expected. And the masters have found out that the unions are not so formidable as they thought them to be, and that society would rebel against their making the measure of wages that sum which will just keep the men from starvation or out of the workhouse. But what has been the real result of the action of Trades' Unions as far as the general public is concerned? Not only are the capitalists and labourers impoverished, but the national prosperity is affected, and the men have now found that no artificial rules or means can interfere materially with the inevitable law of supply and demand. While I believe that in some instances an amount of good has been done by Trades' Unions, I must add that much evil has also resulted—and I have been studiously misrepresented and misunderstood by the union leaders in this matter. My objection is not to the men combining,

but to the conduct of those who use all sorts of artifices in the most unscrupulous way to prevent a peaceful solution of the question. Public men have of late been addressing words of warning to the working classes—and words of wisdom have recently been uttered by Mr. John Bright—a great authority you will all admit—to the working men in the North of England. Strange to say his utterances were but the echo of words addressed by the present Prime Minister, thirty years ago, to the Manchester manufacturers in the days of their great prosperity. He warned them that they would prove no exception to the rule which history had mournfully recorded, that "The Tyrian dye has faded and Venetian Palaces have crumbled into dust." The same words are now used to the working men. Those who warn the men and tell them that they must not trifle, are doing service to their country, for the curse of the present day is the constant glorification of the working men of England. People tell them they are the best workmen on the face of the globe, and that they need not fear competition from any quarter, but our own daily experience tells us that foreign manufactures and industry are materially interfering with the home trade of this country. I desire to condemn that practice of flattering the working men, in most unqualified terms. I have been led into these remarks further than I had intended in consequence of the statements which I have heard in this hall. Let us consider our present position. We have now as it were two standing armies well organised, arrayed against each other, well nigh exhausted. We have the masters with their Associations on one hand, and the men with the Trades Unions on the other. The question is whether the moment is not now an opportune one for lookers-on to exercise moderation and temper; whether it is not the time for every Christian to interfere, and try by every means in his power to bring about a cessation of hostilities—not a hollow truce, but a durable peace. I believe this is the opportune moment for the Church to come forward, and I believe the clergy especially may now come in as mediators, and thus do an enormous amount of benefit. I heard, with astonishment and regret, one speaker assert that the Church was alienated from the poor and was in the hands of the rich; but I would ask those who notice passing events to reflect how many of the wealthy, both clergy and laity, have there been and still are, who have devoted time and treasure to the work of building churches, and providing all sorts of means to bring the Church to the people? In the beginning of this century the Church was in a state of lethargy, but now the bishops and clergy labour hard in their vocations. Millions upon millions have been spent for Church purposes during the present generation.

With regard to the particular mode of dealing with the question by the clergy. There is a great difference in town and country parishes. In towns all the arguments brought forward, although often times strong, are not offensive. The matter is discussed with a show of reason from the workmen's point of view, but when I look to the mode in which the Agricultural Labourers' Unions are supported, the case is the reverse. I am astonished when I hear my friend, Mr. Oakley, ready and willing to say one word in favour of a man who has been the cause of very great mischief and disaffection throughout the country. Mr. Arch has been put forward as a man of religious principles and practices, but unless Mr. Arch is libelled every week and every day, I know of no man who has uttered more un-Christian or more mischievous language than he has—or words more calculated to widen the breach between class and class. He uniformly denounces the clergy, the landowners and farmers as tyrants and pests, who do all they can to grind and keep down the poor. Although he may have prayer meetings and be a local preacher, in the three speeches I read of his last week, he did not hesitate to revile the clergy and the Church in a manner which showed him to be a thinly veiled agent of the Liberation Society. So much for Mr. Arch. It is my habit to speak

plainly. I hope that I offend no one by speaking plainly, but when I hear such views uttered by gentlemen of influence in the Church, I cannot refrain from showing my disapproval of them. At the present moment there happily exists in the country parishes and villages a sort of influence by the clergy which cannot so well exist in towns, and it would be a sad day for England when it ceases to exist. It is the result of a thousand little "unremembered acts of kindness and of love," which the parish clergyman does for his poorer neighbours and their families. In the position he occupies he can, if he please, reason and remonstrate; he can tell master and man that they must forbear and understand each other; he can tell the landlord what the duties of property are, and he can tell the farmer to be a friend as well as a master. You, the clergy, can do this. You can certainly bring an influence to bear on both classes, but your neutrality must not be one of indifference, it must be one of sympathy with each class. You must by precept and practice show them that this senseless strife is at variance with the duties which they owe one to another as Christians.

DISCUSSION.

Rev. Canon Ryle.

I do not come forward on this occasion to speak about Trades Unions generally. Not living in a town I have no right to speak about them. I shall confine my remarks entirely to Agricultural Labourers' Unions. I ought to know something about this subject after living in agricultural parishes for 36 years. For all those years I have been in and out among farmers and labourers continually, and I think I know something about their ways, habits, and opinions. Moreover, I have been living for 33 years in the county of Suffolk, in the centre of a district where the Agricultural Union has been very active. The parish of Stradbroke, of which I have now been Vicar for 16 years, is an isolated open parish, in which there is not a single resident landlord, and the property is extremely divided. The circumstances of the parish are very peculiar. We are seven miles from a railway station, and in the whole hundred containing 24 parishes, of which Stradbroke is the centre, we have neither a turnpike, nor a yard of railway, nor a public conveyance, nor a manufactory, nor a lawyer. Into this district Mr. Arch and the agents of the Agricultural Labourers' Union came about three years ago and held many meetings. In the adjacent parishes, I believe they succeeded in getting many members enrolled. In my own parish they obtained a few members, but undoubtedly the bulk of the labourers in Stradbroke declined to have anything to do with them. I will now tell you what my line of conduct was towards the Union. From the very first beginning of their operations, I resolved to observe a strict neutrality, and not to interfere in any way in their proceedings. I determined to take part neither with the farmers or the labourers, but to stand clear of both parties, and to endeavour to be friends with all. My reason for this line of conduct was as follows. For one thing, I felt I knew very little about the matter, and in an agricultural business, none but a man thoroughly conversant with farming can know what is a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. For another thing, I felt strongly that the whole subject of farmers' profits, and agricultural labourers' wages, is very little understood throughout the country, and that outsiders who live in towns know nothing about it and are very poor advisers. At all events the wisest labourers in Stradbroke tell me, that a guinea in a town will not go so far as a half a guinea in the country. I wrote to the Bishop of Manchester on this subject when he addressed his famous letter to the *Times*, and I defied him to prove that labourers in and about Manchester within two

miles of his house were as well off as common farm labourers in Stradbroke. People seem to be always forgetting that in estimating a labourer's wages you must take into account not merely what he receives but what he has to pay away. For another reason I am firmly convinced that the minister of Christ should never interfere between class and class, master and servants, in temporal matters. He must never forget his Master's words when one said to Him "Speak to my brother that he divide the inheritance with me," our Lord replied, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider among you?" I have never regretted the line of conduct which I took up about the Labourers' Union, and I earnestly recommend my brethren in the ministry never to be tempted for the sake of popularity to interfere between class and class. If they do so interfere they will soon find that they set the parish on fire, and lose the confidence of either one class or the other. I make it a practice to speak frequently from my pulpit about the great duties of charity and forbearance, mutual consideration, and doing to another as we would be done by. I try to talk to my farmers and labourers when I go in and out among them in a friendly way about the whole subject, and advise patience and good feeling. What effect this line of conduct may have had it is not for me to say, but this I know, we have neither had a strike nor a lock-out in Stradbroke since the Agricultural Labourers' Union began. And here let me remark, that although dwellers in towns sometimes talk vaguely about pauperised agricultural labourers and heartless wealthy farmers, they would do well to acquaint themselves with plain facts. I assert on the one side, without fear of contradiction that Suffolk farmers have made very little money in farming during the last few years, and the last two years have found it hard to make both ends meet. I assert on the other side, from personal observation, that the Suffolk labourers were never so well off in my recollection as they are now, and that the labourer's expenditure in the shop in a week is at least double what it was 30 years ago. As for any alienation from the Church of the agricultural labourers, I can only say that when the clergyman does his duty there is no such thing at all. In my own parish of 1,300 souls, with a legacy of a large Baptist Chapel, planted in the parish in the days when clergymen did nothing, I find no difficulty in gathering a very large congregation. On the last Communion Sunday in August I saw as many as 137 communicants come to the Lord's table, and of that number at least one half were labourers and their families. Some men are fond of saying that there is an estrangement between the clergy of the Church of England and the lower orders. I can only say that in rural parishes that is not my experience at all. If the country clergyman will only live the life he ought to live, and preach as he ought to preach, he will find as good friends amongst the poor as in any class in the land. If he will only preach the Lord Jesus Christ's Gospel in plain language, and in a lively, loving and earnest way, I believe he will never preach to empty benches. I have no fear whatever for the Church of England in rural districts if the clergy are only faithful to their ordination vows and to the Word of God. The poor are not such bad judges as some people think, and in the long run I believe they will not think the Chapel better than the Church if the clergy only do their duty. But in the matter of the Unions my sentence is, that the clergy had better not interfere with them. Let them mind their own business, and remember that business is, to preach, and live the Gospel.

Rev. Brooke Lambert.

I am glad for the credit of my cloth that the proposal to cure strikes by preaching the Gospel has come from a layman. We clergy expect to improve men by ministering to the whole man, not only to the spiritual part. Good seed must fall

on good ground. Preaching the Gospel without improving their circumstances is casting good seed on gravel walks. It is such attempts which have made men say "We must have so much *hereafter* in the next world, that we don't want it here."

We do not believe that the working man is as bad as Mr. Skey has painted him. We think that if the press noted as carefully the faults of the upper class, the balance would be pretty even. On his own shewing the efforts he found unsuccessful were made at a time when success was not probable. When men's passions are excited they do not commonly act with, or listen to, reason. His efforts were made in a colliery population, the least educated of our community, subjected to a grinding toil, which makes them unfavourable specimens.

But the working class, we allow, needs improvement. Such improvement we see at work. Witness Mr. Brassey's statistics of co-operation stores, and savings banks—Mr. Mackham's letter in yesterday's *Times*. He, an avowed opponent of Trades' Unions, witnesses to the general improvement of the class, on the fact stated by a Cambridge lecturer in Lancashire, that his lectures were best attended where Trades Unions flourished.

Seeing these things we support Trades' Unions. We know that the two great levers of humanity are union and hope. Trades Unions give these; union binding men in bodies on which public opinion can act; hope, which though mixed with illusion, gives men something to aim at. Further, societies of this sort are led by the best men. It is they, not the rank and file, who have asserted the principle of the minimum wage. It is they who have determined to sacrifice the personal advantage of piece-work, to procure for all labourers a minimum wage, on which they may live in comfort. There may be selfishness in practice, there may be economic mistakes in theory, but the principle that the strong shall give way to the weak, the principles of providence and self-denial on which these societies rest are not far removed from those on which the Kingdom of Heaven is based.

Rev. Goodrich Langley.

I have come forward now as one of the rural clergy, and I am the rector of a Suffolk parish. The question is what have we the clergy to do with regard to this matter? Shall we persevere in a policy of "neutrality?" It is a policy which is generally much abused by both sides, and although our Government have rightly, I think, adopted that course in foreign affairs, England is said to be one of the best abused of all nations, and neutrals are not liked. Then shall we adopt a policy of "advocacy" of these Unions? There is much to be said on this side. It is taking up the cause of the weak against the strong, and this has been the attitude of the Church of Christ in times past. She has advocated the cause of the slave, and the history of Magna Charta tells us it was an Archbishop of Canterbury who headed that movement, which was a combination amongst the upper classes to obtain civil rights. Surely, then, these men have a right to combination, and it is not wrong, so long as it is done legally and is not tyrannical as regards other workmen. But yet I do not stand here to support a policy of advocacy, because I do not think we clergy ought to be *partisans*. I should be very sorry to see that position assumed by any clergyman in his parish; it would be a great evil. We should endeavour not to widen but to bridge over the difficulties which are now existing between master and men, and I think we should weaken our hands by becoming partisans of either side, and we should be considered the enemies of that side which we did not join. The policy I would advocate, then, is one of *sympathy*.

We should endeavour to be the friend of both—the friend of the labourers, and the working men, and the friend of the farmers and employers. We should, I think, try to bring them both more together, and endeavour to soften the asperities between class and class, and show sympathy with each; and let us so work as to bring them together more and more. The clergy should be mediators and peace-makers, and should be friends in these matters with all; not advocates of strikes, but of fair arbitration in all cases of dispute; they should strive to allay strife, cast the oil of Christian love upon the tossing waters, and as theirs is the ministry of reconciliation let them try by every means to effect what would be one of the greatest reconciliations of our century—the "reconciliation between capital and labour."

WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 10th.

The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at Ten o'clock.

THE BEST MEANS OF PROMOTING UNITED ACTION AND MUTUAL TOLERATION BETWEEN DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT WITHIN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

PAPERS.

Rev. CANON GARBETT.

To a prayer for the removal of our unhappy divisions and the promotion of unity and concord there is not one present who will not from the bottom of his heart say *Amen*. But no practical advance towards this great end can possibly result from the discussion of this morning unless there is a candid comparison of opinion on all sides, not on points of agreement, but points of difference. If we can all exercise the courage to say what we think; if we have the magnanimity to hear it, and the candour to deal with others as we wish to be dealt with ourselves, something may perhaps be done to-day to staunch the wounds which are distracting the attention, exhausting the energies, and drawing away the life-blood of the Church of England.

1. The first condition of united action and mutual toleration between different schools of thought among us is a better understanding of each others' principles and motives. The facts of the case must be understood, for they are the condition which must determine everything else, and if the physician's diagnosis be wrong,

there can be no prospect of a cure. The most essential of these facts is, that some sections of the Church believe themselves to be separated from some other sections by a fundamental difference of doctrinal belief. The common classification which divides schools of opinion among us into the High, the Low, and the Broad may suffice for my purpose, however much I may protest against the fallacious nature of the terms. These are all properly called schools of opinion, for there is no primary principle at stake, no irreconcileable contradiction between them. I know of no reason why a better understanding and a fuller co-operation should not exist between them beyond those misapprehensions and suspicions which frank and candid explanation should suffice to allay. The Evangelical section of the Church of England has no quarrel with either of them, and least of all with the great historical High Church party. They have filled too large a place in the illustrious history of the Church, and have conferred, alike by the lustre of their example and the value of their theological writings—κτῆμα εἰς ἀεί—too many benefits upon her to receive from us anything but respect and honour. For myself, and I believe I may say for very many of my associates, I cordially hold many of their great principles, such as the nature of the Christian Church as a divinely constituted society, and the continuity of the faith once delivered to the saints. On the last I place an importance I cannot say of the highest kind, for scriptural truth stands first, but an importance second only to the highest. Nor is it, permit me to add, in order to avoid misapprehension, that we have been driven reluctantly to these conclusions by the stress of controversy, for I have always held them since I began to think. My own personal belief may be a matter of infinitely little importance, but it is with the opinions of a school you wish to deal to-day, and I am permitted to speak as its representative.

I do not wish to depreciate the differences between us and High Churchmen and Broad Churchmen on many points. They are great and serious. But they are such as may well exist among brethren, and which we may be contented to debate with friendly argument, and trust the issue to the force of truth. I repeat that nothing interferes with our cordial relations save distrust and misapprehension. But this distrust and misapprehension extend from the relations of Evangelical Churchmen towards the great historical High Church school and the modern liberal Broad Church school into the relations of Evangelical Churchmen towards other sections of the Church besides themselves. We are greatly misjudged in regard to our motives, and alienation and suspicion are the result of it. I am, therefore, compelled to go further than the ordinary classification of Church parties takes me; and it is not my will, for God knows that I heartily desire to give offence to no man, but the necessities of my topic which force me on. The ordinary classification is not sufficient, and in the confusion it involves lies the secret of almost all our troubles. We are believed to be contending against the High Church and the Broad Church schools, when in reality we are contending against sections to which historical High Churchmanship

and Protestant Broad Churchmanship are as strongly opposed as ourselves. We are deceived by names; let us try to get beneath them to things. Beyond the Broad Church school we believe that there has arisen an extreme mode of belief, partly critical, partly philosophical, which takes its stand on the middle ground between the two. On its critical side it destroys the historical credibility of the sacred books; and how strongly our brethren of the High Church school have been repelled by this aspect of it may be seen in South Africa. On its philosophical side it gives new meanings to all the terms of our theology, and resolves the circle of definite truth contained in the Articles into a revived Gentilism. At the other end has arisen an extreme which avowedly desires to restore the principles and practices of mediæval Christianity. I do not say Catholic Christianity, out of no disrespect, but because I do not believe it to be Catholic or to have any mark of Catholicity. These two extremes are diametrically opposed to each by the whole width of the doctrine of authority, but they unite on the ruins of the Sixth Article in the rejection of the sufficiency of the Word of God as the rule of faith. The one takes away and denies the Scriptures to be in any true sense the Word of God; the other adds and asserts the unwritten tradition of the Church to be an integral as well as a later, and therefore practically a higher, portion of the Word of God. I confess to the firm conviction that these two extremes are not properly schools of thought, not legitimate variations of opinions on points on which the Word of God, and following the Word of God, the Church, has not authoritatively pronounced. They constitute different systems of faith divided from others by a line as deep as the convictions of the human conscience and as broad as the ages of primitive Christianity and the entire width of the Word of God.

I do not forget that in both these extremes the ultimate hope of salvation is built upon Christ; in the one case on the ideal Christ of a philosophical piety: in the other on the actual Christ of the historical past. But so it is likewise with the Church of Rome. The merits of the Lord Jesus theoretically underlie all her doctrines, though they underlie it so deeply that neither can the heart embrace the august Jesus nor the conscience come into contact with His precious Blood. Shall we say, then, that the differences between the Church of England and the Church of Rome are not fundamental? If they are not, we are all in a state of schism. I do not envy the man who is rash enough to accuse a long line of illustrious saints with such blindness of conscience, or to brand the entire life of the Church which has nurtured him with that broad plague-spot.

I arraign the honesty of no man, nor wish to throw a shadow of accusation on the earnestness and sincerity of those from whom I differ. No section of a Church which was not in earnest would be worthy of attention. In the defect of the moral element it would be as weak as the mist of the morning and might be dismissed as contemptuously. But personal purity of motive is no reason why we should assent to corruption of faith. There is not an age of the Church in which this palpable distinction has not been affirmed. The zeal and strict morality of Arius did not save him from the

indignant condemnation of Athanasius; nor the eminent virtues of Pelagius from the protests of Jerome or Augustine; nor the rigid austerity of Nestorius from the persecution of Cyril; nor the character of Vigilantius from the vehement sentence of Jerome and Cyprian; nor the holiness of Jovinian from the judgment of Ambrose; nor the devoted life of Epiphanius from the opposition of holy Chrysostom; nor the holiness of Chrysostom from the indignant disapproval of Epiphanius. I might run down all Church history. I make no odious comparisons on any side. I only say that personal holiness is one thing, and orthodoxy of faith another, and that it is folly to confound them.

I would remove another misapprehension. Evangelical Churchmen are sometimes described, and therefore, I suppose, conceived of, as if in a blind self-confidence in our own private interpretation of the Word of God, we rejected the testimony of the primitive ages, and the just authority of the Church as the keeper and witness of Holy Writ. Such a description is wholly untrue. I cannot indeed contrast the Church with the Word of God, for to me they are one. It is because I believe her teaching to embody the Catholic faith that I minister within her pale. We regret the extremes to which I have referred, not because they are Catholic, but because they are not Catholic; not because they are venerable with age, but because we believe them to be comparatively novel; not because they have the sanction of the universal Church, but because we believe them to be the caprices of individual judgment. The one extreme appears to me to destroy Christianity altogether. And as to the other, its distinctive features are not Catholic, but mediæval; not primitive, but Roman. The glorious company of the Apostles, the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, the noble army of the Martyrs, the Holy Church throughout all the world, witness against them, and the verdict of the great Master Himself ratifies the sentence, "Ye make the Word of God of none effect by your traditions."

Such is the estimate which Evangelical Churchmen honestly make of the nature of the controversies which divide us. There can be no increase of unity unless other schools of opinion frankly appreciate it. The High Churchman should understand that we do not place a licentious private judgment against the witness of the Church and the faith of the primitive ages, but that we wish to vindicate them from the license of private judgment, and to maintain intact the historical continuity both of faith and practice. The Broad Churchman should understand that we are not contending for things indefinitely small, miserable puerilities of dress, form, and manner, things in themselves necessary, yet as subjects of serious controversy contemptible, but for what we believe to be the essential truths of Christianity. Great principles have often embodied themselves in little accidents, and your Grace's own authority has raised into a *locus classicus* among us the instance of the white flag of France. The greatest controversy that has ever shaken the Church found its expression in a single letter. It would be equal folly to exaggerate the outward manifestation and to depreciate the inward principle. I wish to God it were possible to disentangle these miserable disputes of their

doctrinal meaning ; but it seems to me that we can no more roll back the long ages of the past, or disentangle what three hundred years have inextricably intertwined together, than we can undo the political traditions of our national history. Do us the justice, men and brethren, not to mistake our objects. We only wish to obey Him Who walks amid the golden candlesticks, and Who bids His saints mark what the Spirit saith unto the Churches—"Hold fast that thou hast that no man take thy crown."

2. But the second condition of greater unity is the maintenance of the limits within which diversities of Church opinion must be confined. I do not see how any one can possibly deny the general proposition ; for otherwise the Church may conceivably cease to be a Christian Church altogether. There must be limits somewhere ; the question is, where ? Let me endeavour to get hold of a principle. If I am right in my exact use of terms, I would say that to diversities of theological opinion as represented by schools of thought there can be no official limit. The absence of all variations would be religious stagnation and death. But when variations of opinion run into diversities of faith, then we reach the limit, for else the very basis of the Church may be changed. There are three palpable reasons why assent to indefinite variations is impossible, and especially impossible in a Church that is established. It would be inconsistent with the rights of the great body of the Church, the laity ; would be a violation of the basis of our union with the State ; above all, would cut us off, from the Church Catholic and Apostolic ; would separate the Church from the grand past of her history, and from the yet grander and more magnificent future of the promises of God. The Apostolic succession of truth constitutes the essential unity of the Church—not the succession of form and order, valuable though it is. If the faith be changed, the Church is changed. "If we or an angel from Heaven preach any other Gospel to you than that we have preached, let him be accursed."

Limits, therefore, there must be somewhere, or else the position of the Church of England herself in relation to the Church of Rome becomes utterly untenable. The suicidal hand lets out our own life-blood. But where shall the limits be drawn ? I reply that we already possess them in our formularies. There are doubtless many things in them which are not of the essence of faith, but the only security for fundamentals consists in maintaining them altogether and as they are. For what purpose were they framed but for the establishing of "consent concerning true religion?" The great Head of the Church has given us these barriers, with which there should be toleration for every imaginable diversity of opinion, but at which they must die away before the majestic fabric of the faith. Break them down and all is chaos. What though they be venerable with age and rich in the memory of generations of saints that have gone, they have their foundation on the everlasting rock and are immutable as the truth on which they rest. There is a holy tolerance and there is a holy intolerance—the phrase is not my own—tolerance towards diversity of opinion ; intolerance of diversity from what rests on the authority of the crowned Lord Jesus Christ Himself. I am as sure as that I

live that a well-founded confidence that the essentials of faith, as held at the Reformation, would be firmly and consistently maintained would allay an immense amount of irritation, and go farther for the promotion of Christian tolerance than aught else. I do not defend the excessive sensitiveness over faith and practice, the morbid, irritable jealousy and suspiciousness characteristic of our present condition. They are an incalculable misfortune for us all; but they have their origin in a righteous zeal for truth, and they deserve to be respected. Could the mind of the Church be convinced on firm grounds, not alone of verbal assurance, but of consistent, practical action, that the essence of the faith was safe, and that the time-honoured limits of the formularies would be maintained, the heat and passion of controversy would die away into the healthy freedom which, like the natural sea, knows no boundary but the horizon, and is swept by every breeze of heaven.

3. Within the limits of honest diversities of opinion the freest possible action should be allowed to all sections of the Church according to the genius of its own school. I make this suggestion with a most earnest desire to fail in no duty of respectful deference to those who are set in authority over us. But certain modes of thinking naturally dispose men to certain modes of acting, and if the thought may be permitted, the action that flows from it may be permitted likewise. The one must be conditioned by the other, and by it alone. Churchmen should feel that they are free to combine together, after their own way, to consult on points of common interest, and to act for the extension of their own principles, without being suspected of violating Church order or Church principles. If perfect freedom of action be suppressed, or be coldly tolerated, the inevitable effect is irritation of feeling, distrust, and a disposition to oppose. Let perfect liberty be frankly and cordially admitted, and the irritability will die away. Men who freely confer among themselves on common principles and objects will be more ready, not less ready, to co-operate with other sections in proportion as they are conscious of their own strength and legitimate position.

I am not speaking of such bodies as the English Church Union and the Church Association. With the latter I agree much and I differ much; but I must not be coward enough to withhold my belief that whatever may become of it in the future, it has conferred the highest possible benefits on the Church in the past. But I am not speaking of such bodies as these. I am speaking of societies for home and foreign missionary work, and of associations for brotherly conference and united devotion. Each school should be left free to act according to its own genius without being suspected, or being conscious of being suspected, of any violation of the true principles of Churchmanship. If order has its claims on one side, so has liberty upon the other. For instance, it is in the genius of High Churchism to act through official channels, because its dominant principle is that of corporate Church life. It is equally the genius of Evangelicalism to follow the affinities of feeling rather than the traditions of office, because its principle is that of the personal life of each individual soul. It is equally in the genius of Broad Churchism to extend Church action into

channels generally considered to be secular, because its distinctive principle is God's loving government over the whole of a redeemed world. Let them all have their free action without restraining any one to modes of co-operation foreign to the genius of its own modes of thinking. Let us follow the wise policy of the Church of Rome, and make even irregularity regular, and freedom orderly, by stretching over them the sacred robe of the Church's recognition. Beneath her shadow let all spiritual life have its spring and find its development. It is not over a mode of organization that we need to be jealous, but over the principle embodied in it. If it be a sound life, having its basis on revealed truth and fed by the Holy Spirit of God, it is enough. The Church may smile with a smile of approving love on all action that has the word of her Master for its guide, the love of her Master for its motive, and the glory of her Master for its end.

Rev. Canon Carter, Rector of Clewer.

The hope of mutual tolerance and co-operation depends not on outward arrangements, but on the growth of a tolerant and co-operative spirit. I propose to speak of some of the hindrances to the growth of such a spirit, and then of some of the causes that conduce towards it. It is a charateristic of the English Church that, while holding firmly the unchangeable deposit of the Catholic faith, it allows, within certain limits, which I need not stay to specify, religious thought freely to develop itself—in Tennyson's language, applied to England as the land where,

> By degrees to fulness brought,
> The strengh of some diffusive thought,
> Hath time and space to work and spread.

Hence our schools of religious thought and their varieties. I differ from the preceding speaker in believing that the variety of which he has spoken, not unkindly, but unfavourably, is a legitimate outgrowth of the High Church school, of which Bishop Cosin, were he amongst us, would have spoken differently, and also in believing that it is one in faith with the old historic High Church school.

Supposing, as I do, that all our various schools contain elements of truth, an English Churchman's aim should be to store up within himself all that he can gather of the truths they hold. Some consider this characteristic of the Church of England to be its weakness, as making religion difficult in comparison with the Roman system in which the mind is purely receptive of what is enjoined. I hold it to be a real strength, as furthering a growth of experience and a mental discipline of the utmost value. This discipline and balancing of the mind teaches it to be tolerant within itself, and it is thus prepared to be tolerant all round.

The absence of such a patient and balanced mind I reckon as one great cause of the abounding intolerance.

Another hindrance to tolerance is the liability to panic, to which

the modern English mind is prone, notwithstanding its ordinary sobriety; and panic is more specially hurtful to rising schools of thought. Another hindrance is a certain narrowness of mind, such as clings to shibboleths, confining truth to particular forms and expressions, not allowing the Holy Ghost to teach the same truth to different minds under different outward modes. Another hindrance is the natural tendency to be extreme, causing, as in retaliation, opposite extremes. Yet another hindrance, peculiarly English, is the levelling tendency, under the assumed name of common sense, which distrusts whatever is enthusiastic or out of the ordinary course. There is another hindrance, which I must express—though running the risk of clashing with strong contrary convictions—the extreme sensitiveness, not to what is purely Roman, for with that I entirely sympathise, but to what is popularly counted as Roman, though it may be equally true to English Catholicity. From this cause the High Church school is charged with the opprobrium of the conversions to Rome, though as a fact not a few of the converts began as Evangelicals, and it were as true to say that the felt defects of the Evangelical school naturally led to a reaction, as to say that a taste of the moderate Catholicity of England awakened the desire for the more absolute Catholicity of Rome. Mutual recrimination were a fatal barrier to mutual tolerance.

I proceed to point out some of the causes which conduce to form a tolerant and co-operative spirit.

There must be a readiness to keep in mind the points on which we are agreed (and the points held in common are many), and also to allow to each other good motives. With this the Broad school must learn respect at least for a severe dogmatism, the Low school must learn respect for outward sacramental forms, and the High school must learn tenderness for simple subjective faith. Towards a tolerant spirit three causes conduce—intellectual culture, moral equitableness, and the true love of God in Christ. I may consider the two first-mentioned together, because they both belong to the natural side of character. A few cases of mental habit will illustrate what is meant. To try to understand the real points for which another school contends, and their reasons—the not forcing on another school consequences it disclaims—the full allowance to an opponent of the truth he holds,—the self-restraint which measures the language employed, and tests the assertions that are ventured—these are a few samples of the intellectual and moral conditions supposed.

I touch a far deeper chord in speaking of the true love of God in Christ. This profounder motive to tolerance cannot, of course, be looked for in unreal or irreligious persons. But real men, men of love and prayer, who in different schools seek their one end in Christ, will be disposed to tolerance, though they approach their end from different standpoints. There is no hindrance to tolerance in the fact that one man has a different bias from another. There can indeed be no earnestness without a bias. The hindrance is only in the true end not being sought, while the individual bias is followed. But men rightly animated meet in their one end, though sought through

different avenues, and learn to love and respect each other because of the common love of their common end. Let me here express my conviction as to religious societies and guilds, that they are not prejudicial to tolerance and co-operativeness, but the contrary. Such societies within the Church are inevitable, as long as there are truths to defend, or self-discipline to be cherished, or sympathies needing support. They are inevitable from the very fact of the Church spirit always tending to union, whether in wider or narrower circles, because union in the body of Christ is the law of life in Christ; just as the atmosphere, which in one vast circle encompasses the earth, in its lesser movements still always preserves its circular forms. The proof of this inevitable tendency is seen in the historic fact of the increased formation of such inner bonds of union wherever there has been a quickening of the Church's life. To regulate, therefore, their development, not check it, is the truest wisdom. And though societies of the kind will have different aims and different rules, yet if they encourage discipline of life and so promote holiness, and so draw the soul nearer to God, true-hearted men, while faithful to their own distinctive organisations, are the better prepared for the common bond of union in Christ, and at the same time are disposed to be generously tolerant to others animated by the same spirit, though otherwise organised, as the varied colours of the prismatic spectrum, shining separately, yet still tend to melt into the unity of white light. There need be no party spirit, though there may be party principles. I do not, therefore, contemplate the probability of what many have wished, that the Church Association were at the bottom of the sea, and that the Church Union would follow it. The hope for tolerance is that the Church Union might always be animated by love and respect for others, and continue to keep to its policy of defence, and that the Church Association might be guided by the same love and respect for others, and that it limit itself to defence, abandoning its policy of attack. I see no necessity for antagonistic partisanship in the advocacy of religious prepossessions, however ardent. Meeting together, face to face, is the more direct method of learning mutual tolerance. I have known neighbourhoods where clergy of different schools meet and act together, and I have known neighbourhoods where clergy of different schools do not even call on one another, and even refuse to be called upon, and the result in the one case is the drawing of heart to heart, and in the other most painful and utter alienation. Coming as I do from a diocese, that of Oxford, the foundations of which were laid in a large spirit of generous tolerance, and by combining men of different schools in common action, while yet they retained their distinctive organisations—witness the annual retreat at Cuddesdon on the High Church plan, and the annual conference at Radley on the Low Church plan, each carried on under the same headship*—I can speak from happy experience of the drawing together of parties by the

* It is necessary to explain, lest this allusion to the conferences at Radley be misunderstood, that they were held there only from the convenience of the locality, and that they were only a few years, having ceased about 16 years ago.

removal, or at least the lessening of differences, and a general co-operativeness, which gave to the diocese of Oxford an unitedness, and through this unitedness an active confederacy of ministerial and devotional life, such as caused it to be the object of universal admiration throughout the Church of England—a very model of Episcopal government, and this was effected, as our blessed Lord intended united co-operative action to be effected in His Church, by the chief pastor placing himself at the head of the different schools of thought, giving generous encouragement to each, allowing each its free development according to its own ideas, and by this very allowance moderating excesses, harmonising differences, and drawing hearts together in mutual respect—the singular power of influence exercised by Bishop Wilberforce for this end being a strictly personal one, himself being first generously tolerant of others, aud so breeding the spirit of tolerance in those who felt themselves alike tolerated; and then himself leading into action those united bands of men whom his example had taught to be mutually tolerant and co-operative, as some great musician might harmonise discordant notes into a grand symphony. And here let me say, while speaking with truest deference in their very presence, what I conceive to be an essential condition of tolerance and co-operativeness—viz., that our chief pastors themselves should be the examples and the leaders in this career—that as they are set to be the centres of unity within the Church, so this unity may be carried out, not by a rigid uniformity, not by predilection for a particular school, not by the Bishop's own natural bias, but by largeness of heart, and equable generosity of allowance for unavoidable differences of Church development. I conceive this essential to tolerance and a co-operative spirit. For if one school feel the *prestige* and support of authority, and another school feel this same strength withheld from it; if with the one there be the confidence of a special favour, and with the other the disheartedness of being left comparatively to work on alone, how can they meet and discuss or design as on common ground? how can each feel itself a recognised portion of the same body? how, therefore, can there be the possibility of mutual tolerance and real co-operation?

Let me add a further remark as to one motive that should press on our religious schools of thought, the more than ordinary necessity for mutual tolerance in the present aspect of affairs, a motive acting on Bishops, priests, and the faithful laity alike. It is the attitude of the world without. Its hasty and prejudiced judgments, its incapacity for estimating aright the grounds on which our schools of thought take their stand, its indifference to the keen feelings which lie beneath religious earnestness,—these causes of trial, quite independent of political, scientific, dissenting, unbelieving elements, form around us a mass, if not of hostile, yet of alien materials, and these are kept intensely alive and are ceaselessly aggravated by a journalism the most independent and outspoken in the whole world. Now while these causes are in operation to an excess unprecedented in any age or country of Christendom, is there not a very special call for zealous care to cultivate whatever makes for tolerance among ourselves?

And do we not also from the same causes need—if I may speak my mind freely in an august presence, and make an earnest appeal in all respectfulness—do we not, I say, urgently need at the hands of our chief pastors, specially of the chiefest, that they should exercise those special powers which distinguished our blessed Lord as the healer of His people's woes; the power, I mean, of reconciling opposing forces, in our special case, the powers of upholding all rightful claims of the different schools of thought, so as to shield them from the world's attack, mitigate the world's censures, instruct the world as to their claims, secure a generous dealing among "the powers that be" for all that have a fair ground to be heard, and to do what those only can do whose lot is cast in the high places, where the Church and the world meet, endeavouring to obtain fair play for all whom the Church of England embraces within its ample folds, and thus seeking, wherever possible, to heal the breaches of our Zion? "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas*," was the ancient Church's rule. It must leaven the hearts of individuals; it must animate religious discussions; it must be enthroned in the seats of authority; it must guide the councils of governments; it must breathe in many prayers, and then there is hope of an abiding spirit of mutual tolerance spreading over and within our distracted communion, and directing its vast powers unitedly in the common cause of energetic efforts against the manifold evils by which it is assailed, which might God in His infinite mercy grant to the glory of our Lord, and to the furtherance of peace throughout His entire kingdom on earth.

Rev. Canon Farrar, F.R.S.

Absolute unity of thought, among men who think at all, is a thing simply impossible. To none of us is it given, with a monopoly of wisdom, "to see truth steadily, and see it whole;" and it is only vanity and selfwill which prevent us from recognising how often the apparently opposite truths we hold are not contradictory to, but only complementary of, each other. The saying of Rupertus Meldenius, an obscure German divine, "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas*," has been rescued into immortality from writings long since consigned to oblivion, simply because it sums up with incomparable felicity the duty of the differing members of a common Church. There never was absolute unanimity in the Church; if it did not exist in the first century, it is not likely to exist in the nineteenth. Nay, more; such unanimity is not only impossible, but for us in our finite condition undesirable. "It hath not pleased the Lord," says St. Ambrose, "to give His people salvation in dialectic." Were every question about faith and worship absolutely settled with mathematical rigour of demonstration, then, to such as we are, truth would soon become a stereotyped formula, and religion "the deep slumber of a decided opinion." It is with the Church on earth as it is with the ocean. Its flashing ripples, its healthful

purity, are due to the winds which sweep its surface, and the moon which sways its tides; and, apart from these stirring influences its waters would soon stagnate into putrescent death. Yet waves and storms are but the agitations of its surface; the depths of it are untroubled; the heart of it is calm. "In things necessary, unity;" —but Scripture expressly and repeatedly teaches us that the things necessary are few. This is the very essence of our religion—"*Summa nostræ religionis*," says Erasmus—and in this one sentence he sums up the conclusions of all those great souls who have taught the world how base, how ignorant, how foolish is the narrow provincialism of persecution—"*Summa nostræ religionis pax est et unanimitas. Ea vix constare poterit, nisi de quam paucissimis definiamus, et in multis relinquamus suum cuique judicium.*" We who are here assembled differ very widely from each other; yet how insignificant are the points on which we differ compared to those on which we are one! Just as the bottom of the sea is always there, even when least visible, so, beneath the apparent differences of all who are Christians, lies the immense unity of one body, one spirit, one hope, one calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, Who is above all, and through all, and in us all. We are one in the law of duty; one in the aims of life; one in prayer; one in morals; one in creed. Some of us profess to belong to different parties; but is there one of us who does not accept as his rule of duty the Ten Commandments? Is there one of us who does not draw his principles of life from the Sermon on the Mount? Is there one of us who does not daily offer on his knees the prayer which Christ taught us? Is there one of us who does not accept, and hold fast with his whole heart, the oldest and the noblest of the Creeds of Christendom? It is *because* we do so that we have assembled here; it is because we do so that we have worshipped in the same church, bowed our heads in the same petitions, raised our voices in the same hymns. The very best result of these Congress meetings has been that, by bringing this agreement into prominence, they have promoted united action and mutual toleration. Whatever may be the case with smaller and narrower souls, the best at any rate and the wisest among us, even when previously they have fancied that they had little in common, yet—meeting here on common ground and for common edification, seeing one another's earnestness, catching the glow of one another's zeal, observing the similarity of one another's aims—have learnt to realise their common brotherhood, and to blush for their constant animosities.

It is but a year or two ago that there were two men—both of them Masters in Israel, both eminently learned, both eminently holy, both widely influential, both in the forefront of the battle against unbelief and sin—the one still living full of years and honours, the other gone to his rest, but, though dead, still speaking—who, in the heat of controversy, not about the necessary things in which there should be unity, but about the doubtful in which there should be liberty, got to imagine themselves so far asunder, that at last one of them exclaimed, and the other accepted the tremendous conclusion,

"We do not believe in the same God." Did they not believe in the same God? Aye, and in the same Saviour; aye, and in the same Spirit; aye, and they were called in one hope of their calling; aye, and we believe and are sure that they shall meet together in that place where Christians no longer rend, in their deplorable conflicts, the seamless robe of Christ, but where—all differences ended—the children of a common Saviour, quiet at last, shall clasp inseparable hands in joy and bliss in over-measure for ever. For of these two brothers in the Lord, these fellow-labourers in the Lord's vineyard, fellow-soldiers in the Lord's battle, the one who said, "We do not believe in the same God," was Edward Bouverie Pusey; and the one who accepted the conclusion was my honoured friend and teacher Frederic Denison Maurice. And I do think that these meetings, by bringing us together face to face, do tend to heal these often merely apparent and nearly always unessential differences—differences far more often about the shadow than the substance, about the symbol than the conviction;—differences far more often about a vestment, a position, a ceremony of worship; about a phrase, a formula, a catchword of theology—than about any vital dogma or fundamental fact. If we be candid, if we be noble, if we will but rise on the wings of faith to an atmosphere to which the clamourous birds of faction, with those also who love the twilight, cannot soar, we shall see that the thoughts of God are wider than man. If we do but hold fast the Head, then the whole body, nourished and compact by its joints and ligaments, will grow the growth of God. What we differ about is trivial; what we agree in is immense. Let us, then provoke one another, not in the miserable way we now do, but unto love and good works; let us more and more stand side by side in the battle against sin; let us preach in one another's pulpits, to whatever "school" we belong; let us get to know and love and honour one another more and more as men and brothers, flinging to the winds our petty jealousies; and then these shrieking oppositions will be hushed; we shall give less cause to the jeering world to say, "See how these Christians hate one another!" we shall less and less present the pitiable spectacle of divided councils on the very edge of the perilous battle—of open disunion in the very presence of an insulting foe.

If we are sincere in the wish for united action all difficulty vanishes. *Solvitur ambulando.* The question is not, What are we to do?—but, Will we do it? But let us be assured of this, that year by year the necessity for it grows greater. Year by year atheism is spreading; indifference is stiffening into opposition; the masses of working men hold aloof from us; the statistics of intemperance are swelled by ghastlier totals; and all the while, forgetting the new commandment of Christianity, we are rendering ourselves ridiculous and helpless by party squabbles.

I would ask you, then, to glance with me at three remedies. First, if we want unity, *let us get to the centre;* from that centre, if we be Christians, we are equidistant, though we may be separated by whole hemispheres of circumference. Not till we debase the exaltation of self, which is the curse of holiness, and the exaltation

of party, which is the curse of communities, can we have that charity which is the very life of Christ. We must look to Him Who knows neither Calvinist nor Armenian, neither Catholic nor Protestant, neither Sacramentalist nor Evangelical; but "he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him." Bishop Jeremy Taylor proved for us two centuries ago, with splendid eloquence and invincible argument, that "theology is rather a divine life than a divine knowledge;" and if some dislike the voice which has told us that "the elements of our religion are few and simple—salvation by righteousness, the sum of the Old Testament; righteousness by Jesus Christ, the sum of the New;"—yet the same has practically being said by one of the alas! very few deeply learned of our living divines—namely, that we learn Hamatiology from the Old Testament, and Soteriology from the New. If we agree in these main facts, it matters but little how we differ in their formulation. In this large and comprehensive spirit the best men have lived. "*Christianus mihi nomen est*," said an old Bishop, when asked to what party he belonged. "*Catholicus cognomen.*" "I am of all saints' orders," said Angelique Arnauld, "and all saints are of my order." A late worthy clergyman had painted on his study windows the words, "God is love," that through these words the sunlight might always fall. It was but the other day that one of our Bishops —and, in days when disloyal rudeness to the Bishops is so often paraded as a sign of manly independence, I for one am glad to confess my gratitude for the calm wisdom which, amid hurricanes of unwise panic, they have so often and so conspicuously shown—"If," wrote Bishop Temple the other day, "we could but draw our people nearer to God, many matters that now trouble us would cease to be felt; some would be seen to be indifferent; some would be borne as the mistakes of good men, and would lose their power to do mischief by being so treated; some would be quietly dropped, and all of us, of whatever party, would certainly be drawn closer together, and would begin to feel how deep, after all, is the Christian unity which binds us in one, and how superficial are many of our differences."

2. And, secondly, it is the same rule viewed on another side, if I say that, as we must bring our unity into prominence, so we must resolutely, and even contemptuously, thrust into the background "the subdichotomies of our petty schisms." We know how the early Church was rent by the Paschal controversy, yet what says St. Irenæus? ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμονοίαν τῆς πιστέως συνίστησι—"the difference of the fast establishes the unity of the faith." It is only when we occupy ourselves with the infinitesimally little that the barren details of party polemics loom large through the distorting mists of vanity and passion. And may not even the most blindly infatuated partisan among us all take warning from the fact that while we are fiercely disputing about the interpretation of a rubric, the world is quietly discussing the very existence of a God? A clergyman, accustomed to preach in a black gown, happens to preach in a white one, and lo! the columns of a religious newspaper—as though the thing were of the slightest atom of importance—are filled for weeks with angry controversy at the very moment when our

leading reviews are debating with sad and serious eloquence whether there be any life beyond the grave. These be your Christian champions! These be the things which in the nineteenth century are thought worthy of the notice of the Church of Christ! The very sacrament of love and unity, of which a Wesley and a Keble sing with equal gladness, is made a wrangling ground of savage and opposing ignorances.

Now, first, consider how St. Paul treated differences of opinion ten thousandfold more serious. He was not a man to be guilty of daubing the tottering walls of ruinous doctrine with the untempered mortar of hypocritic complaisance; he knew that there are errors, in fighting which we must not only draw the sword, but fling away the scabbard. When the Galatian Church was invaded by Judaic externalism, or the Colossian by ἐθελοθρήσκεια, you know how "*meras flammas loquitur*"—how he breaks into plain thunderings and lightnings. Yet how gently—how in a way which the "uncompromisingly orthodox" would undoubtedly, in these days, have called tame and latitudinarian—does he deal with mere errors of opinion and mere wilfulness of practice. Some Corinthian women chose to appear in public with heads uncovered. He merely reasons with them, and adds, "If any seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God." Some denied the Resurrection—a flagrant error surely; yet does he denounce, does he anathematise, does he excommunicate? No; he pours forth an argument of overwhelming cogency, in eloquence of unequalled splendour; but simply asks, "How say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead?" Some preach Christ even of contention, hoping to add affliction to His bonds—baseness surely; yet he only rejoices that Christ is preached. It was but the spirit of his Master. The parties are ever screaming out, "We forbade him, because he followeth not after us;" but the answer of our Lord to the over fervid and over zealous apostle was, "Forbid him not." And as for mere externals, we may learn even from the Jesuits. They were very rigid in their rules about fasting; yet when one of their pupils wanted to eat a little meat in Lent, "Eat an ox," was their reply; "eat an ox, and be a Christian." Oh, believe me, my rev. brethren, it is not by barren orthodoxies, not by elaborate ceremonialisms, not by multiplication of dogmatic entanglements, not by the beggarly elements of archæologic symbolism, that the Church will live. The politician of the faction, the controversialist of the newspaper, the fugleman of the party, will dwell on these things; but the soul, joyful in God—

> Remembering our dear Lord Who died for all,
> And musing on the little lives of men,
> And how they mar that little by their feuds—

will know that the cup of cold water given in Christ's name is better than a barren knowledge of the Summa Theologiæ—will be content with the truth that what the Lord requires of us is not thousands of rams and ten thousand of rivers of oil, but to do justice, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with our God.

3. But if we are to carry out these rules we must remind ourselves

as a body of the positive duty of mutual charity, the downright sinfulness and wickedness of fostering dissension. Whichever may be the right interpretation of a rubric—whether "Shibboleth" or "Sibboleth" be the true pronunciation of a watchword—hatred, at any rate, is the worst of heresies, and charity the best fruit of creeds. He who has this; he who herein comes nearest to the Great Example; he whose life is the truest illustration of faith, working by love, him God will love, and Christ will own, though all the sects, and all the schisms, and all the "religious newspapers" abuse him as a heretic; and that whether he call himself priest or minister; whether he talk of altar or table; whether his ritual be gorgeous as the service of the Temple, or bare as the worship of the catacomb; whether his robes be rich as the ephod of Aaron, or worn as the gaberdine of Paul. Πᾶσα στάσις καὶ πᾶν σχίσμα βδελυκτὸν ὑμῖν, says St. Clement, writing to the Corinthians; and that is the true test of a noble and faithful Church. "But if ye bite and devour one another," says St. Paul to the Galatians, "take heed that ye be not consumed one of another." And what else are we doing, if some of the so-called "religious newspapers" represent us? The poet Wordsworth indignantly exclaims: "Great God, I had rather be a Pagan suckled in a creed outworn" than be dead to all sense of natural beauty. And when I take up one of these engines for the fostering of strife—when I observe their petty eavesdroppings, and their rancorous personalities—when I see them dealing invariably with religion in a spirit more glaringly irreligious and anti-religious than ever appears in secular politics—then I declare that I shake off my feet the very dust of such Christianity as that. I would rather by far be an honourable man of the world than such a Christian; I would rather be a heathen or a secularist than wear the phylactery of Pharisaism to ply the dagger of falsehood. And when I consider what noble hearts they have embittered, what noble natures they have basely hounded to death, neither swerving for their fear, nor stooping for their favour—

Of whom to be dispraised were no small praise—

I say of those who support them, and of those who write in them, "O my soul, enter not thou into their secret; to their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united." Good men and honourable men may differ, but good and honourable men will not hate and revile one another. It cannot be too plainly understood, that so long as Churchmen support and tolerate such newspapers, they cannot have mutual toleration. A Church will never cohere by the repulsion of common hatreds:—

Non tali auxilio, non defensoribus istis.

But the Church, thank God, has nobler advocates than these, and they will even polemically serve her best who learn "to bind their inclinations and aversions with the golden chain of a holy love." So, then, "God grant we may contend with one another, as the vine with the olive, which of us shall bear the finest fruit; not as the briar with the thistle, which of us is most unprofitable." Let us hear the voice of Paul calling to us across the centuries, "If there

be any consolation in Christ, if any incentive in love, if any participation in the spirit, if any heart or tenderness in you be united in soul, think the same thing." Let nothing be done through partisanship or personal vanity. The works of the flesh are manifest, which are these—hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, sedition, heresies. The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace.

Viscount Midleton.

After the able and eloquent addresses to which we have just listened, I do not think any one in this great assembly will be inclined to doubt that three schools of thought not only do exist, but may legitimately co-exist, within the Church of England. My lord, I am thankful for it. The Church of England covers a large space under her shadow ; and I hope the day is far distant when that space will be in any way diminished. In the few words which I shall have the honour of addressing to you I would wish it to be distinctly understood that I cordially re-echo those appeals in favour of toleration which have been made by each of the last three speakers. I am not, and I do not suppose I ever shall be, a member of either of those two Church societies which were alluded to by Canon Carter. In what I say to-day I speak simply as a loyal layman of the Church of England, desirous of rendering to his spiritual guides all that loving reverence to which they are and ought to be entitled. But I think that, as laymen of the Church, we may fairly say that, while on the one hand we have nothing specially to do with the private doubts, the private difficulties, and the private opinions of her clergy—those are matters too sacred for the intrusion of the public : they are matters between a man and his Maker—on the other hand we do feel, and I think we are entitled to feel, that the doctrines which they teach, the ritual which they practice, and the discipline which they inculcate should be in strict conformity with those of the Reformed Church of England as by law established. In this respect I do not believe that the great body of the laity are prepared to go behind the Reformation. Well, then, my lord, it follows that if our Church be the Reformed Church of England as by law established, the laws of the Church must be also the laws of the land, and that those laws must be interpreted by the men upon whom the duty of expounding them, not of making them, has devolved. That being so, I do feel that the decisions which have been delivered by duly qualified tribunals—should receive deference at the hands of all loyal members of the Church of England. There is no other authority to which the Church can appeal, or in my humble opinion, ought to appeal. If there is any other I shall be glad to hear it stated.

It would, of course, be perfectly competent for every Bishop in his own diocese to promulgate a certain ritual ; but were that done we might at once have a diversity of ritual, and there would be no longer any uniformity. Nay, more, instances might occur in which that ritual might not be loyally accepted even within the diocese itself ; and I am sure that that would be a result which would be deprecated by all, whatever their particular opinions might be. An easy course is open to those who differ from any law in this country. They can at once seek to change it. There are constitutional means of doing so ; and I do not think I am misinterpreting the tone or temper of either branch of the Legislature, when I say that any representations on such a subject would be listened to with careful attention. Churchmen are still, and I hope will always be a predominant party in both Houses of Parliament ; and so long as that continues, so long, I think, it is needless to indulge in fears that the representations of

Churchmen will meet with inadequate consideration in either branch of the Legislature. That being the case, I would venture to invite all, whatever may be their private opinions upon a matter of this kind, to unite in obedience to the law. Some, perhaps, fall short of it at present; others, perhaps, go beyond it. But I think that as laymen we are entitled to ask for the performance of such duties as the law enjoins, and for discontinuance of such practices as the law prohibits. We have certainly seen instances in which the prohibition of the law has been disregarded by those who felt that they were entitled to be a law to themselves—disregarded, I doubt not, from the highest of motives, but still to the grievous injury of unity and uniformity. Before I sit down I would ask to be permitted to express this hope, that after the addresses which we have heard from three gentlemen so thoroughly representing the three different schools of thought in the Church, and yet proving so conclusively to all their hearers that there is no real disagreement on the vital principles of Christianity in which they all believe, we may maintain as Churchmen, in matters ecclesiastical, that characteristic which has always been the proudest boast of the Anglo-Saxon race, namely, that under all circumstances, in spite of all difficulties, and in the face of all obstacles, we will remain in the future what we have been in the past, emphatically and in the fullest sense of the term a law-abiding people.

Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P.

My lord, ladies, and gentlemen, as one who has attended many Congresses, and been present at many debates, I can truthfully say that so far as the present discussion has gone, it has been marked by a characteristic for which I can only most deeply thank the Almighty. More plain words have been uttered, and those plain words have had a better construction put upon them, than I ever before remember at a Congress. When I say plain words, I mean words which go directly to the point. I have often heard impassioned speeches in which, however, beating about the bush was the most prominent feature; but here to-day we have had three readers of papers ticketed respectively and plainly, "High," "Low," and "Broad." That is a manly and straightforward course—indeed, it is the only way in which the Church of England can vindicate her characteristic liberty, the characteristic breadth of her system, the height of spirituality to which she can rise, and the fearless depth of human usefulness and need, which she can penetrate. Belonging myself to the old High Church school, I may be allowed in the short time I have at my disposal to explain briefly what it is that we demand. In the general upheaval, High Churchmen are at a disadvantage, for as their system co-ordinates the external and the internal, their reforms have a look of novelty which do not belong to those of other schools in the eyes of the great mass of the world, who think with their eyes and not with their minds; but the appeal for which we contend is one to the cold, dispassionate investigation of historical truth —the truth of facts, the evidence of facts, the analysis of facts. Prejudice and personal feeling have to a large extent taken the place of such an investigation. A thing may be wise or it may be unwise; but whether the man who says one thing or who does another is loyal or disloyal to the body to which he belongs, can only be proved by an inquiry as to whether what he says and does is only a figment of his own mind or a revival of something which had the authority of the Church in which he lived, but which with the lapse of time may have been allowed to fall into the shade. He may be very wise or be very unwise in his action, but be cannot be disloyal if his procedure stands that test. I agree with Lord Midleton

in his general assertions as to the necessity of obeying the law. I was, indeed, a little afraid when I heard him make them. I did not know what sort of dress his lordship might demand that the Bishops and the other cathedral dignitaries, whom I see around me, should appear in next Sunday morning. However, the argument was Lord Midleton's and not mine, and so I must leave his lordship and my friend the Canon and Archdeacon, whom we know as Congress Secretary, to settle the matter. The question as to whether or not a particular thing is historically true comes within the province of law; and, in settling it, the law may, of course, go wrong. Courts are not infallible. Documents or papers may not be forthcoming when men would give their eyes to find them, or they may turn up when least expected. It is on an appeal to historical truth that I base the best hopes of unity in the Church. Canon Farrar, in the course of his address, intimated, not obscurely, that he looked upon those who uttered certain "catchwords," or believed certain things, as night-birds, but he did not say whether those night-birds were owls or nightingales. But what, I would ask, is the meaning of "catchwords?" What are the great Creeds of the Catholic Faith but catchwords? The question is not whether a thing is a catchword, but whether the thing which the word means to catch is worth catching or not. Canon Farrar himself lapsed into a catchword which I would vary thus—Evangelical, as it relies on the gospel; Ecclesiastical, as it is of the household of Faith; Catholic, as it holds the whole truth; Protestant, as it protests against all errors. A catchword may represent either what is infinitessimally great or infinitessimally little. Canon Farrar has no love for the infinitessimally little. Infinitessimally little things, of course, we may reject; but we must take care not to reject things merely because we ourselves know infinitessimally little about them. The Canon's test case is St. Paul's ruling as to the head-dress of the Corinthian women. Before the ruler of the universal Church came that question of mere ceremonial—the question, namely, as to whether women living in a provincial city should go to Church with coverings on their heads or not; and St. Paul, the great Apostle, instead of tossing it on one side with no definite conclusion, and saying that that was an infinitessimally little thing on which people might please themselves, went into the matter, and pronounced a definite opinion upon it, which he enshrined in the canons of Holy Scripture for the governance of the Church for evermore. St. Paul knew the value and proportion of all things, and felt that even such a matter as a woman's head-dress should be made, as Lord Midleton says, a "law-abiding institution." Coming to practical matters and to the consideration of how best to apply the principles which we have heard enunciated to-day, I would point out, taking up the line which Canon Garbett pursued with great felicity, humour, and breadth of view, that it is desirable that different parties or sections in the Church should, for practical purposes, each work by itself in its own societies, and not risk spoiling the good work which they are doing by the infusion of other influences which, however, in their own way may be equally good. While they thus work separately, they should deliberate together; and, as we see, we have been educated up to meeting together for deliberation and discussion. At the bottom stands the institution of the Church Congress, in which we debate without voting; and long may it last. From that have grown up diocesan gatherings, in which we debate and vote. Above these is the constitutional *Convocatio Cleri*, in which, after that which the Archbishop has done in regard to the dioceses of St. Alban's and Truro, we trust to see an adequate representation of the parochial clergy, with no exclusion, however, of that eminently Conservative element—Deans, Canons, and Archdeacons. Next year the edifice will be crowned by the united council of all the fathers of our wide-spread communion.

DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester.

I rejoice that it is not necessary on the present occasion to throw oil upon troubled waters. My three friends who have read the papers must, I think, have satisfied all of us that it is most desirable that the three great schools which they represent in the Church should continue permanently in the Church. Not only so, but those papers have satisfied me that as a Bishop I should be neither a High Churchman, a Low Churchman, or a Broad Churchman, but all three. I can remember a pamphlet which was once written, in which I was spoken of rather contemptuously, and in which I was said to be a little High, a little Low, and a little Broad. Well, I am willing and contented to be so; because I believe that there is length, breadth, height, and depth in the love of God and in the knowledge of His love, and that all of us ought to seek to present in ourselves some faint image and type of that length, and breadth, and height, and depth. If we are to aim at that there are surely certain things which we ought to do. I agree with almost all that has been said in these three papers which we have heard. With regard, more particularly, to the paper of Canon Carter, I agree very much with him in thinking that it is almost a necessity that in the Church there should be certain societies; but I entirely differ from any one who thinks that associations must be formed for the purpose of fighting with one another. If societies are instituted in order to promote brotherly intercourse and the deepening of Christian love and life, then they are very good; but, the moment they are intended for purely combative purposes, they are calculated to bring out the worst features of party spirit, and cannot be too soon done away with. I will never, therefore, have anything to do with societies which carry upon their brow the tokens of war; and if we are earnest in our desire to bring Christians together within our community, we should at once withdraw ourselves from such associations, should we be connected with them at present. Canon Farrar has said that he sometimes casts his eyes over certain party newspapers. I must confess that I never do so. Not only so, but nothing will induce me to read them. People sometimes send me a number of an extreme newspaper, probably because there is something about myself in it; but I consign it to the waste-basket. I know some persons who think it quite right, though they do not take such papers in at home, to spend a penny upon one at a railway station; but I never do so. I think it would be wrong to give even a penny in support of anything so atrocious. If we all proceeded upon that principle I think we should do something practical towards checking party spirit in the Church. Then we have heard a good deal to-day about catchwords. What I particularly object to is the use of party words in a party spirit and in a party sense. Many of what are called catchwords, are assuredly excellent words if employed in a proper sense. The word "Catholic" is a most excellent word; and it ought to be used in its true sense. The word "Evangelical" is an excellent word, and ought to be used in its true sense. The word "Protestant," if properly understood, is an excellent word, and ought to be used in its true sense—not as designating a party, but as meaning that there is a protest against the corruptions of the Church of Rome, against the infallibility of a human being, and against the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary. Surely these are most excellent words; but I must protest most earnestly against people in our Church classing themselves into Catholic and Protestant. It is altogether a wrong principle. We cannot, I am sure, go back with too much love and affection to the principles of the Catholic Church. We claim that our Church has come down to us in unbroken descent, both in doctrine and Apostolic order, from the days of the Apostles. It is

one and the same Church which came to us in their time, which was renewed in the days of St. Augustine, and which was happily reformed three centuries and a half ago. And we need not be ashamed of the primitive and Catholic Church because it was once obscured by some mediæval accretion. Some of those who have spoken have alluded to different gatherings in which the friends of the Church have taken part; and I must say that these Congresses which have assembled year after year have done us a great deal of good in various ways. Still, in my opinion, the best plan of healing differences is for the different parties in the Church to meet together still more frequently in more strictly ecclesiastical gatherings. If every clergyman would make up his mind to meet his brethren generally at ruridecanal meetings and in Diocesan Conferences, instead of gathering together in little cliques and parties, we should understand one another ten thousand times better. We occasionally hear in an assembly like the present such sounds as might be expected to come only from a very different class of bipeds; but in the ruridecanal meetings and Diocesan Conferences which I have attended—and I have attended a good many—nothing of the kind has ever occurred. There has always been a generous and friendly feeling exhibited; and I do not think I have been present at one from which almost everybody did not go away with better feelings towards his neighbours than were entertained before. In this way a great deal might be done to make us understand one another better. If we keep apart and aloof from each other there will always be misunderstanding; but if we draw together in legitimate ways, we shall not only comprehend but love one another more. We might come more closely together in connection with missionary societies and the like; but, alas, even these things appear to be not always for our peace but to lead to quarrelling. Men say that they can only come into intimate relationship with those who belong to the special associations with which they are themselves connected, and that they cannot belong to any others. For myself, I have subscribed for forty years both to the Propagation and the Church Missionary Societies, and still hope to do so. They may have their faults. They may go wrong—they do go wrong sometimes; but a great deal might be effected if, instead of making them party organisations, we tried to make them really comprehensive Church associations. Again, a good many remarks have been made about the law. There certainly is a law of the Church. How that law has been made is another point. There is a law of the Church universal, and of the Church to which we belong as a national Church. Every national Church has a right to have its own distinctive customs, though it has no right to interfere with the great creeds of Christianity. We hold them inviolate; but we have a right to have our own laws with regard to such petty matters—for petty matters they are—as the dress or the posture of a minister. It is acknowledged, is it not, that some of our laws are difficult to interpret? If they are not, why such constant controversy about them? It may be asked, "If they are difficult to interpret, is it not possible for us, each one of us, to determine that we shall have our own interpretation concerning them?" I have my own views on the subject—other people have theirs; but I would always be willing to subordinate my own views to what is the general interpretation of the law which can be given. How that interpretation is to be obtained is another point. It is perfectly clear that in ancient times every diocese had its own use; and I am perfectly sure that if we only did now as the Church universal did in old times, and as the Prayer-Book desires us to do, go to the Bishop when in any difficulty, he would be certain to do his utmost to solve the difficulty, and to direct the minds of those who were in doubt into what was the natural, reasonable, and true interpretation of the law. But if every individual clergyman takes his own view and acts upon it, the consequence will be endless diversity and universal dissatisfaction. Some of you, I dare say, may think that this is but saying in effect, "There is nothing like leather." That is to say the

Bishop is a Bishop, and of course he thinks Episcopal jurisdiction the only way of solving difficulties. But remember the Catholic principle has always been that the Bishop is the centre of unity, and unless a diocese is guided by that principle it is utterly impossible that it can be kept in peace. I believe that if ten or twelve years ago all the clergy, instead of doing that which was right in their own eyes, had been guided by the Bishops, all the troubles which have happened lately would never have occurred. I entirely repudiate the imputation, which is not unfrequently made, that the Bishops are always inclined to stop progress. It is no doubt true that naturally they have a conservative tendency, and I do not think it undesirable in days of rapid change that they should have such a tendency; but I believe there is not a single Bishop upon the bench who would not earnestly throw himself into any work in the way of real progress for the Church, if only he were appealed to as one who should take the lead as the father of his diocese. The real difficulty is this, on the one hand people have been careless how they provoked; on the other hand others have been utterly intolerant of the smallest possible diversity from that to which they have been used. Oh! that we could only be satisfied to be be patient! If, for instance, you think that in past times there has been neglect, patient working towards improvement will carry people with you; but intemperate rushing into novelty or controversy will be sure to prejudice people against you. On the other hand, if we exercised a little Christian patience, we should not cry out against our neighbours when there was something brought forward which was merely a little new to us. So surely we might learn not to be always using hard words; and we might also by degrees come to see—the Low Churchman that there is something true in what is High, and the High Churchman that there is something true in what is Low.

The Right Rev. C. Perry, late Bishop of Melbourne.

In the course of his very eloquent paper, Canon Farrar contrasted the thoughts of God with the thoughts of man with regard to existing divisions in the Church, and during the few minutes allotted to me I desire to bring under the consideration of the meeting some of the thoughts of God. It seems to me that, if we wish to promote peace amongst ourselves, we should examine the divisions which existed in the age of the Apostles—for there were divisions in the Church at that time—and observe how the Apostles dealt with them. Canon Farrar has referred to the Apostle Paul, and to the manner in which he endeavoured to smooth the dissensions of conflicting parties in the Church. There were several grounds for the divisions in the Apostolic Church. When at Corinth, persons classed themselves under different teachers, Paul, and Apollos, and Cephas, St. Paul condemned them strongly for their schism. When, again, the Jewish and Gentile Christians at Rome were disposed to judge or despise one another on account of their differences as to the eating of meats, and the keeping of days, he exhorted them to bear with one another. But there were divisions at that time of a kind with regard to which he held very different language. In his very admirable paper, Canon Garbett referred to the language of St. Paul in writing to the Galatians. I would remind the meeting again of that language. The Apostle says, "There be some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." That is very strong language; no individual could use stronger. Again, we find the Apostle John speaking of some who held other doctrine than that of Christ. He says,

"If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds." We must therefore bear in mind that our divisions may rest on totally different grounds: we must recognise these grounds, and we must conduct ourselves according to the Scriptural precedent in regard to them. We may condemn, and rightly condemn, those who separate themselves from their brethren on account of a partiality for particular preachers; we may condemn, and rightly condemn, those who quarrel with one another on account of the use of the surplice or the black gown on particular occasions in their pulpits, or because of the mode of conducting our Services, or the amount of music which is introduced into them. But we must not hide from ourselves the fact that there are fundamental differences existing among those who are included in the Church of England, corresponding with the fundamental differences which existed in the Church of Christ in the times of the Apostles. We must remember that the ground, on which St. Paul wrote so strongly to the Galatians, was that they wished to impose circumcision on the Gentile Church; and his complaint concerning the Gentile converts was that after they had known God—or, rather, were known of God—they desired to turn again to the weak and beggarly elements, wherein they had been in bondage. It was the enforcement, or inculcation, at least, of the doctrine respecting circumcision, which drew from the Apostle that strong language in reference to any one who perverted the Gospel of Christ, "Let him be accursed." I entirely agree with Canon Garbett as to the duty of our holding out the right hand of fellowship to every Broad Churchman and every High Churchman in the proper sense of those words. But I cannot hide from myself the fact that there are within the Church of England at the present time those who are, properly speaking, neither High Churchmen, nor Broad Churchmen, nor Evangelical Churchmen; and I cannot, my lord, regard them in the same light in which I regard the others. I cannot feel that it is possible for us to maintain united action with, or to cherish a feeling of toleration towards, those who, as it seems to me, are turning away men from the simplicity of the Gospel of Christ. My lord, I listened, and doubt not all in this assembly listened, with the greatest gratification to the language, which, in your opening address, you used respecting the duty of toleration. I do from my heart desire to be tolerant, and to cherish sympathy with all those whom, to use the language of Canon Carter, the Church of England embraces in its ample fold. But if we would maintain unity, we must draw the line distinctly between those whom the Church rightfully embraces in its fold and those who have no right to a place within the Church, and I would call upon my friends and my brethren of the High and of the Broad Church parties, if they wish to cherish unity of action with what are called Evangelical Churchmen, to withdraw themselves on the right hand and on the left from those from whom they are distinctly separated by a wide chasm. One word more, my Lord Archbishop. Canon Carter has suggested to your Grace as the chief pastor of the flock that you should acknowledge the rightful claims of different schools of thought within the Church. I would say that with him I heartily desire that your lordship should do so, but, in order that you may do so, I would also ask you, with all respect, to remember that it is your bounden duty, holding the high position that you do, to enforce the law of the Church of England. On those points to which my brother and old friend, the Bishop of Winchester, has referred, points of doubtful interpretation, the Bishop may properly, according to the directions of our Church, admonish the clergy, and tell them what his opinion is, but on matters which the law has settled, on matters which the law has decided, it becomes your lordship to interfere and to enforce that law.

The Earl Nelson.

I take it that the root of the want of mutual toleration among us is to be found in a neglect of the teaching of Christian love in all its fulness; and, when I put the test of this to you by asking you a question, I am not blaming others more than myself. I would ask you whether it is not very difficult indeed for us to give the honour that we feel to be due to the motives of others and to their particular work. It is one of the hardest things to do, whether we look at the self-denying labours and the earnestness of our Nonconformist brethren, or whether we look at the earnestness of brethren of different schools in our own Church. It is directly contrary to the law of Christian love and the admonitions of our blessed Lord that we should go on failing to recognise the good of others—that we should be hasty to impute wrong motives to what they are carrying out. I believe that if we associated more together, if we tried to find out what people are really aiming at, we should discover that many of the intentions which they are accused of cherishing—many of the evils which they are accused of being desirous to bring in—are not in their minds at all. If, therefore, we would really aim at mutual toleration, we must acknowledge this want of true Christian love as a sin to be prayed against, to be watched against by each one of us. It is a sin which is peculiarly besetting in the case of religious men, and the more earnest they are in their religious convictions, and the more serious they are in carrying out the work which they believe God has given them to do, the more liable they are to this sin of uncharitableness, and of ignoring the goodness of others. I was in hopes that I should have been able to announce to this Congress that many men of different views had agreed to meet together for the purpose of considering a little further what they really mean, and of seeing how we can all come a little nearer together. I can only say that the touching of this matter, the mere correspondence with those of different schools, the trying to carry out this law of Christian love, has brought a blessing to those who undertook it, even though the proposed arrangements fell through for a time. It has stirred up in their hearts greater love towards those who differ from them; and I believe it will be found that in inculcating this law of Christian love we are using a great power which God Himself has given us—the power of Christianity itself; and that while many of these things which we protest against, many of these things against which we are striving on the one side or the other, will not yield to the world's weapons of persecution or animosity, they will yield to the law of love. There has been a tendency, notwithstanding the goodness of the papers which have been read to us, to say, "There is a certain number of people who must be put out of recognition altogether." I would remind you that there are Bashi-Bazouks and Cossacks, or by whatever name irregular forces are designated, which every army is obliged to use. They are necessary to cover the advance of the army; they are the first in the territory of the enemy; they find out his strongest positions; they reveal the most effective way of delivering the attack. Sometimes their mode of warfare may partake of a primitive or even of a mediæval character, and it may be very wise for those in command to ignore their proceedings until the territory is fully occupied by properly organised forces, and the newly-won lands can be safely claimed for the Church of Christ.

The Rev. Canon Ryle.

My Lord Archbishop and Christian friends, I think we have all seen to-day sufficient proof that in these times we are not entirely of one mind. At all events think you will agree with me that we have got a very burning question in hand.

I stand here as an Evangelical Churchman, and I hope you will give me liberty—such liberty as I have found in preceding Congresses—to speak out honestly and courteously the convictions of my own heart. I know not whether I am regarded as one of those Ecclesiastical Bashi-Bazouks or Cossacks of whom we have heard—but I hope I have learnt to value John the Baptist's advice to the soldier—"Do violence to no man." I have certainly no intention of doing violence to the feelings of any one present. I have heard some things this morning, the utterance of which I regret very much indeed. I regret the language used by the Bishop of Winchester and Canon Farrar respecting the newspaper press. I have suffered, perhaps, as much as most people from that press. I have been found fault with by the *Rock* because I have preached in a surplice. I am not ashamed of having done so, and if I went to any church where the clergyman wished me to preach in a surplice I would do so again. I have also been found fault with by the *Church Times* now and then, but I read it all the same. I spend many a penny on the *Church Times*. I like to go within the camp of all, friends and foes, and I think the newspaper press ought to be treated with respect. It is no easy thing to edit a religious newspaper, and I would remind those who complain of the temper and language of some newspapers of the reply made by a clergyman to a person who said it was easy to preach extempore, "Let him try." I fully recognize the difference between the three, or rather four, schools in the Church—there being a fourth school of men holding very pronounced opinions, who say that they belong to no party at all. I believe that out of these various schools good does come and must come. They are signs of life and vitality. Where there is no strife there is death. Even controversy has its uses. Out of the Arian heresy came forth that grand doctrinal hymn the Athanasian Creed; out of the Pelagian heresy came forth some of the best treatises of St. Augustine; out of Tetzel's abominable sale of indulgences came forth the teaching of Luther respecting justification by faith; and out of the infidelity of the last century came forth that glorious book, Bishop Butler's *Analogy*. I believe that controversy and divisions have done good, though there has, no doubt, also been much to regret. But the question before us to-day relates to united action and mutual toleration. We can surely have united action on some points. There are many points on which I would stand side by side with Canon Carter and Canon Farrar. I would stand side by side with them in defence of the union between Church and State; aye, and in defence of our churches and our churchyards I would very heartily unite with them. As regards missionary societies, I am quite satisfied that the consequence of trying to fuse them all into one common agency would be mischievous, and that we had better each continue to do our work in our own way. As to mutual toleration, I feel that I can tolerate anyone who walks within the limits and circle of the Articles and the Prayer-Book of our Church. But if I am asked to exercise toleration towards those who are against Holy Scripture, and practically contradict the Articles and Prayer-Book, then I reply that in my ordination vows I promised to do what I could to "drive away all strange and erroneous doctrines." To those ordination vows I plainly say I mean to be faithful. I think it would do a great deal of good if we were to pray more for each other, and to endeavour to come face to face. Charles Lamb said of a certain person in speaking to a friend, "I hate that man, and I don't want to see him;" and on being asked why he did not want to see him, he replied, "Well, if I once see a man face to face, I find it hard to hate him." I earnestly hope that we shall all go away with a desire to promote the "unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." Perhaps the fire of persecution may one day make us think less of our differences. When Bishops Ridley and Hooper were at liberty they quarrelled about vestments; but when they were going to be burnt they forgot their differences, and in view of the fire they loved each other as brethren.

Mr. Layman.

I AGREE with nearly every word which has been uttered in the course of this discussion—certainly with all the broad sentiments which have been expressed. It is my inestimable privilege to be amongst those who were taught in early life by Canon Garbett; and in view of that fact I think I may venture to remark that I need say nothing of toleration, but may go at once to what is more important, because more practical—united action. My lord, united action can never be the result of what Lord Palmerston once called a "fortuitous concourse of atoms." You must have a head, whom all acknowledge and whom all will obey. United action in the Church of England can spring only from the heads of that Church, who are the Bishops, and from no one else; and, seeing that there is more than one Bishop, the Bishops themselves must act in strict obedience to the Church's own law. In connection with recent difficulties, I may be allowed to point out that the advice which has fallen to-day from the Bishop of Winchester has been already acted upon by a priest of our Church. That priest solicited the counsel and aid of his Bishop in a straightforward and candid way; and offered to obey his judgment, even at the cost of his own deprivation. Unfortunately, however, the Bishop—actuated, no doubt, by the best of motives—declined to do what was asked.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Oxford.

I HAVE thought, as I watched the progress of this discussion anxiously and carefully, that we should try, if possible, to get behind the schools of thought to the scholars in these schools, for, after all, the conduct of the school depends very much upon the scholars. It seems to me that this is very much a question of personal conduct, character and behaviour; and as I listened to the papers and the speeches which followed them, I thought that two words would perhaps sum up the answer which I would give to the question as to the best means of promoting united action and mutual toleration in the Church, and these words are "personal candour." May I explain my meaning by one or two illustrations? If a man intending to maintain a point of ritual or of doctrine makes a quotation, and leaves off in the middle of it because the latter part is adverse to his view, that is not candour. I call it a shabby thing. I am not going to join in the attack which has been made upon the newspapers; but if a newspaper makes a statement, and will not allow it to be contradicted, that is a shabby thing. Further than that, if a newspaper continually maintains one side of a question, and will hear no statement on the other side, that is a paper which I would not take in; it is a shabby thing. Speaking as a Churchman to Churchmen, I would say that it is of the utmost importance at the present time that we should all cultivate the habit of stern personal honesty in all matters which come before us. Here is a particular statement, for example. What we should ask ourselves is this—is it true; true from the premises which are admitted by the person making it; true so far as the two who are in controversy are agreed in their starting point? Is it true, or is it merely a subterfuge? It appears to me that if there were a little—nay, if there were a great deal—more of personal candour in dealing with the questions which divide us, we should soon be much nearer each other than we are. For myself, whenever in my theological path I come across a subterfuge I desire to start back as if I had encountered an adder in the road. I desire, and we should all desire, to keep to the plain, straightforward truth, whether it makes for us or against us. One part of the candour which I desire to see cultivated in the Church lies in the habit of not classing together those who are really not at

one—of not classing, for instance, the persons who maintain a certain principle with the mob who shout applause from behind them; of not classing the good men of any particular party who may be upholding some particular thesis or practice with those who may use apparent agreement with them as a shield to cover their hatred of all religion. If we exercised the candour which I have endeavoured to indicate, so far as I could do so in the five minutes allowed to me, we should be able to be tolerant, because we should know more of the truth which we each held, and should therefore be more willing to bear and to forbear.

Rev. F. F. Goe, Rector of Bloomsbury.

In the matter of promoting united action and toleration, I believe a good deal might be done if a more marked distinction could be drawn between those ceremonies and practices in worship which symbolise particular doctrines and those which are the mere result of æsthetical development. There are certain ceremonials which appear to me to have no connection with doctrine, and which merely represent the increased culture, refinement, and education of the age. The question of the use of the surplice in the pulpit; the question as to whether or not choirs should be dressed in surplices; and whether certain portions of our liturgy should be sung or said, are all matters in which doctrine is not involved, and which merely represent æsthetical tendencies. When we look round upon our Dissenting friends we shall find amongst them precisely similar tendencies. I remember the time when Wesleyan chapels could scarcely be distinguished from barns; but now we see buildings erected with spires and turrets and all the accompaniments of Gothic beauty. Then, again, with respect to those customs which are adopted for convenience sake, I think there ought to be mutual toleration. There ought, for instance, to be toleration as to the particular hour of Communion—whether in the forenoon or the afternoon; and whether the words to the communicant should be addressed to each individual separately, or to a number of persons at once. Let me also mention as one means of promoting united action the course which the Church ought to take towards that great association the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. I very much regret the indisposition which has sometimes been shown to take part in the proceedings of that valuable institution. We have nothing like it in the Church of England; and it ought to be a common platform for the diffusion of divine truth throughout the length and breadth of the land. I believe, also, that the clergy might contribute to united action and mutual toleration if they discouraged, as far as possible, habits of gossiping amongst their people concerning the practices of other congregations which are conducted under clergymen of different schools of thought. I mention these things because I think they have an intimate bearing upon the position in which we are placed. We ought all to have one aim in view, and that aim should be to strengthen and consolidate the Church of England; but in order that we may help towards that result, we must remember that every society has its laws, and that breakers of the law must be, and ought to be, punished—whether they violate the law of the Church or the law of the land.

Rev. W. D. Maclagan, Vicar of Kensington.

I feel it to be a great responsibility which your Grace has laid upon me, but none the less a great privilege, in asking me to say a few words at the conclusion of this important meeting. I esteem it as a privilege, because I think the predominant

feeling in our minds must be one of deep thankfulness to Almighty God for the high tone and loving spirit which have for the most part characterised both speakers and hearers on this difficult and trying occasion. I believe we may also find cause for thankfulness if we regard the spirit which has been manifested during the last few years—the obvious growth of toleration which has been exhibited on all occasions when Churchmen have met together, and even when burning questions have been the theme of discussion. I cannot but look upon it as an omen full of the brightest hope to the Church of England, that we should have learned to listen, with almost uniform calmness, to statements from which we may ourselves be compelled to disagree. I had the pleasure of being present at the earliest of these Church Congresses—an humble gathering held in Cambridge seventeen years ago; I have attended them from time to time since; and my belief is that statements which are now made and heard with patience, would, some years ago, have caused a perfect uproar. I cannot, therefore, but think that we are learning something of mutual toleration. I trust, however, that we shall not be content with a merely sentimental expression of loving-kindness and good-will towards each other; but that we shall go on to the second point included in our subject, that of united action. I believe it has been from action of that kind, so far as it has been attained, that the degree of mutual toleration which now exists has been developed. I mean, for instance, by clergymen of different schools of thought taking part in those parochial missions which have been so greatly blessed during the last few years; and, still more, by their taking part with each other in those seasons of spiritual retirement—I care not by what name we call them—where men of different schools meet together and take counsel with regard to the deepening of their own spiritual life, and the promotion of holiness among the people committed to their care. It is upon such occasions that we rise above the mists and clouds and storms of prejudice and passion into the unity of the spirit—into that higher atmosphere of love, peace, and joy, in which the contentions of earth are forgotten, at least for a time. I was thankful to hear Canon Ryle express his willingness to do again what he has already done, at the cost of some obloquy—preach in the Church of a brother clergyman even if it should be the custom in that Church to wear a surplice; and I trust that this expression will be the prelude to his complying with the request that I have more than once addressed to him, to come and preach the Word of God to my own people. I may mention that not long ago I had preaching for me two clergymen of different schools of thought. One officiated in the morning, and was a member of the Church Association; the other officiated in the evening, and was a member of the English Church Union. Both were Christian gentlemen; and not a word escaped from either which savoured of antagonism either to the people to whom they were preaching or to each other. I believe that that arrangement was full of blessing to my congregation; I am sure it was to my own soul; and I trust it was not without benefit to the two clergymen who so kindly assisted me on that occasion. One other instance I should like to quote. When in a former sphere of labour, where I occupied the position of Rural Dean, a clergyman wrote to me asking me to preach in his church; but he added, after making the request, "If you feel it would at all compromise your position, or place you in a difficulty to mix yourself up with such extreme men, I pray you say 'No' without any hesitation; and I will not for a moment doubt your brotherly kindness and good-will towards us." My answer was, in effect, "Your Bishop, who is my Bishop as well as yours, has not pronounced his opinion upon you; and it is not my duty to assume to myself the office of a judge, and as I have preached for other clergymen in my rural deanery, in a black gown in one church and in a surplice in another, I shall come and preach for you as I preached for them." But I do feel that it is to your Grace and to your brother Bishops, as leaders of the Church, that we

must look to go before us in this matter of united action; and I feel deeply thankful to have been one of those who received an invitation from your Grace to be present at the meeting of clergy, which was gathered at Lambeth Palace a few weeks ago, to take counsel one with another and to unite in supplication to God for the peace and prosperity of our Church. May such meetings multiply not only under Episcopal authority, but in every little section and corner of the Church. May I add a word in conclusion? I am deeply anxious about one school of thought within the Church to which no allusion has been made. I refer to those, most of them men in the prime of life, who, attracted by the subtleties of a wildly speculative philosophy, are being drawn away from the faith once delivered to the saints and who find no counter attraction in the Church on account of the division and contention which exist within her bounds. Those men, I believe, are often sadly and unwillingly letting go their hold of the Christian verities; and nothing, under God's mercy, would do so much to keep them in the proper path, or to bring them back as the spectacle of a more united and loving spirit amongst the clergy of the Church of England.

The Archbishop of Canterbury closed the sitting by pronouncing the Benediction.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 10th.

The Most Rev. the PRESIDENT took the Chair at Half-past Two o'clock.

REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, GENERAL AND DIOCESAN.

The Most Reverend the PRESIDENT.

I REGRET to find that Lord Alwyne Compton, who was to have read the first paper on this subject, has been detained by illness in Italy. Under these circumstances you will be glad to hear that Archdeacon Emery has kindly consented to take his place.

PAPERS.

The Venerable W. EMERY, Archdeacon of Ely.

A WORD of apology is needed to this great Congress. Only a few days ago did I, with extreme reluctance, agree to fill the place of Lord Alwyn Compton whose knowledge, practical wisdom, and leading position in Convocation, so eminently fitted him for the task he had undertaken at the request of the Subjects Committee.

Unhappily a sudden illness, from which he is but slowly recovering, has prevented his attendance here, or the composition of his paper. Other eminent persons having been asked, but declined from pressure of engagements, I promised to do what I could by way

of introduction, under circumstances, public and private, of grave difficulty.

Fortunately it is not necessary to give any lengthened account as to the nature and functions of the various representative assemblies of our Church, some of which during the last thirty years have been revived or reorganised.

An extraordinary amount of learning has been bestowed in tracing out their scriptural and primitive authority, their historical continuity and due relation to Parliament and civil jurisdictions.

Not to mention elaborate works, ancient and modern, which treat of these points, the reports and debates printed in the Journal and Chronicle of Convocation, the papers read at our Church Congresses, dating from the first one held at Cambridge in 1861, the many speeches and discussions at Diocesan Synods and Conferences, and meetings of societies, the elaborate charges of Bishops and other dignitaries, the able pamphlets and correspondence published, form a mass of information and suggestion utterly bewildering.

There can be little doubt that the Corporation and Tests Act of 1828, and the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, turned the attention of men in a very decided manner to the consideration of the rights, privileges, and duties of National, Provincial and Diocesan Synods, as well as to the subsidiary organisations connected therewith in Rural Deaneries and Parishes.

The essential oneness of Church and State as expounded by Hooker and others in former days, appeared to many to be obscured if not destroyed, by the introduction of new elements into Parliament, which till then had been looked upon as the highest lay representative assembly of the Church of England. Those who had hitherto more or less quietly submitted to the silencing of the Clergy-estate of the Realm began to manifest uneasiness lest the State should gradually, and even unconsciously, assume to itself powers of government in the Church contrary to the precedent of past times, to the declaration of Magna Charta "*Libera sit ecclesia*," let the Church be free; or even to the principle laid down in the preamble of the noted statute of 24 Henry VIII., c. 12, on the restraint of appeals. After defining "this realm of England" as "An empire governed by one supreme head and king, unto whom a body politick, compact of all sorts and degree of people, divided in terms, and by names of spiritualty and temporalty, been bounded and owen to bear, next to God, a natural and humble obedience," the preamble explains that that part of the body politic called the spiritualty, now being usually called the English Church, has power, when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning to interpret and show it, and without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, "to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain."

I quote thus from "England's Sacred Synods," by Prebendary Joyce, one of our most learned members of Convocation, whose conclusions, however, from the past as to the desirable position and function of the Laity in Sacred Synods or Councils *now*, have been

and are seriously disputed by other able and learned men, well qualified to give an opinion.

Much of the eager controversy, which since 1829 has arisen on the subject of the representative assemblies of the Church, and which has, for good or ill, delayed greatly their revival or efficiency, has been connected with the question as to the place of the Laity in Convocations and Synods.

From the altered representation in Parliament the feeling has grown stronger and stronger that the *bonâ fide* Church laity ought to have a duly recognised position in authoritative deliberations, synodal or otherwise, touching the welfare, discipline, and work of the Church.

As far back as 1852, I find in a published letter written to the Home Secretary, by one who signed himself then simply Edward Harold Browne, the following distinct utterances :—"Whilst indeed the whole kingdom guarantees to the Church of a portion of the kingdom certain privileges, the Parliament of the whole kingdom has a right to, at least, external control. But members of the Church of England, or of the Church of Rome, are not fit persons to legislate for the internal welfare of the Kirk of Scotland. Neither are Kirkmen or Roman Catholics likely to legislate fairly for the spiritual progress of the Church of England."

"The council held by the apostles (Acts xv.) at Jerusalem had certainly elders as well as apostles present at it, and I doubt not had laymen too."

"The very theory of our reformation being that the Church should be restored to the greatest possible likeness to the Church of the very earliest ages, it is far more accordant with our principles, that a mixed synod should legislate for us, than that Bishops only should have a voice in our councils."

"If Convocation be allowed to sit, the very first subject of discussion must be its own constitution."

"It seems generally agreed that the present constitution is defective. The remodelling must be done with the sanction of Queen and Parliament, but should commence from within."

"More and more reflection seems to convince most thoughtful men that if we have a synod it must contain a lay element."

By slow yet sure and safe steps I cannot but hope, we are advancing to a reasonable solution in this matter.

No sooner was the Convocation of Canterbury allowed to deliberate in 1853 than the subject of Lay Co-operation was entered upon, and the report of a committee of the Lower House, presented in 1857, and signed Christopher Wordsworth, chairman, pointed out the desirableness of admitting this co-operation in Parish Vestries, Ruridecanal Chapters and Meetings, Archidiaconal and Episcopal Visitations.

In this report the recommendation of the English Reformers in the "*Reformatio Legum*" is particularly referred to, viz., that a Diocesan Synod should be held by each Bishop annually, to which all the clergy of the diocese should be summoned by the Rural Deans, that the synod should consist of the clergy, and such of

the laity as the Bishop might request to remain, and that its deliberations should if requisite be continued for several successive days.

The committee "Further express their earnest desire that by a sub-division of dioceses, the clergy and laity might be enabled to meet under the presidency of their Bishop, and be associated with one another, under his paternal authority, in the Cathedral Church of the Diocese, for mutual counsel and edification, and for Christian fellowship in the offices of religion."

So well satisfied was the late Henry Hoare with this first fruits of Convocation revival that he never failed, in the numerous meetings he attended through the length and breadth of the land, to point to it as irrefragable proof that the clergy were anxious for lay co-operation.

To this noble, patient, persevering layman is mainly due the awakening into vigorous life of the long dormant energies of the Provincial Synods of Canterbury and York, which from 1717 had been indeed, as of old, formally summoned by royal writ to meet with the Parliament, but only to be at once prorogued.

It was, I believe, in 1841 that the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, under the judicious direction of their Prolocutor Dean Peacock, of Ely, made the first step towards the recovery of its rights. But so great then was the opposition and suspicion aroused that little if any real work could be accomplished in the very short time allowed for deliberation.

The Papal aggression of 1851 seems to have called still further attention to the revival of the powers of Convocation. Petitions in its favour became numerous, and at length in 1853 good Archbishop Sumner, with the consent of the ministry of the day, gave such encouragement that the Southern Province may be said to have practically recovered its representative Synod. For years, however, this right or privilege was denied to the Northern Province, which only regained liberty under the revered Archbishop Longley, then of York, materially aided by the courageous counsel of Canon Trevor. It is interesting and instructive to recall the words of Dean Peacock when retiring from the office of Prolocutor in 1857, words which now apply with even greater force, "The public are apt to judge of the proceedings of Convocation merely by what takes place during public debates, and to overlook the important labours transacted in our committees. There is one characteristic of those committees to which I have the greatest satisfaction in referring, and which I think augurs favourably for the future, not merely of these committees, but of Convocation itself, viz., how much real unanimity prevails, when we come to embody our views in the report, amongst those who have entertained very strong opinions, some one way and some another, on the subjects considered."

From the commencement of the active life of Convocations, not only, as I have already stated, was the question debated of lay-co-operation with it, in some form or other, but also the question of the due representation of the clergy in it. It was pointed out very early that the *ex officio* element of Deans and Archdeacons was greatly in excess of the number of the elected proctors of the clergy :

that the Honorary Canons had no voice in the election of proctors for Cathedral Chapters; that from the lack of sufficient facilities of voting in each diocese the election of proctors for the beneficed clergy was practically limited to a portion of such clergy, and that unbeneficed clergy were wholly unrepresented.

Urgent calls have been, therefore, continuously made for an amended clerical representation.

For many years, till indeed so late as 1873, the opinions of official legal advisers have been adverse to any alteration, the necessity of applying to the Crown or Parliament, or both, for authorisation of change being constantly averred as an insuperable obstacle.

Fortunately on reconsideration the opinions of eminent lawyers seem to indicate what the greatest working Bishop, as he has been called, of the 19th century, Bishop Wilberforce, constantly insisted on, that it is within the power of the Archbishop himself to make many of the desired changes on the general terms of the writ of summons, without fear of *præmunire* or any other grave legal consequences, so as to obtain a more perfect, or at any rate a more satisfying representation, of the inferior clergy.

It is a matter of history that many difficulties, raised by legal acumen upon opinion being requested, have been surmounted in the Northern Province, and there is good hope from an impressive statement made by His Grace, our President, to his Suffragans in the Upper House of Convocation in April last, that like difficulties will ere long be surmounted in the Southern Province also.

With all respect I venture to quote from a speech of a Bishop of world-wide experience, the present Apostolic Bishop of Lichfield, delivered in the April Session of Convocation, and to add my humble Amen to the advice with which it concludes: "At a time when Convocation has arrived at its highest functions, *i.e.*, its legislative functions, that we should be stopped by an opinion of law officers does seem to me, with all reverence to those officers, an inadequate obstruction. The advice of a very eminent lawyer, when we were much hampered by questions affecting the position of the Bishops in the Colonies, and when we were endeavouring to emancipate ourselves from those trammels, was 'Go on till we stop you.' That was good advice, and so I say in reference to this matter, go on till you find some obstruction to prevent you. I hope that your Grace will go on till some law is found to stop you."

In view of the serious questions which now agitate men's minds, leading to more anxious efforts for the attainment of peace and concord through the living voice of the Church, it seems most essential that every endeavour should be made to give the fullest confidence possible in the decisions of an important part of that living voice, the spiritualty.

But assuming a satisfactory settlement of what may be called the clerical claim to fairer representation, there still remains the lay question, in connection with Convocation, to which I have already adverted.

Granting that the sanction of the Crown, or Parliament, or both, is essential to give legal force or validity to many Church measures,

there is an increasing desire for lay co-operation in some form or other, precedent to such sanction, so as the better to prepare such measures and make them not only more acceptable to Churchmen, but more likely to receive favourable consideration from the civil authorities.

There are matters too of grave importance with which Convocation has properly to deal, intimately connected with the spiritual interests of the Church and its work at home and abroad, which do not certainly call for the action of Parliament or the Crown, but in which the faithful laity are deeply interested and concerned. Many advocate strongly the value of Convocation as a consultative body rather than as directly legislative. Why, then, it is urged, should not the voice of the laity be heard in connection with it, as part of the living voice of the Church, the laity forming the chief portion of that holy nation, to all the members of which, in their several degrees, the gifts of the Spirit are distributed for the perfect building up of the whole mystical Body of Christ.

Numerous suggestions have been made to secure the object desired without fundamentally altering the constitution of Convocation, now by law an essentially clerical representation; though not necessarily, let me add, a wholly clerical body, since laymen may sit, as proctors for the clergy, if elected to serve.

Can, then, lay co-operation with Convocation be practically secured without requiring the interference of the Crown or Parliament? With respect to diocesan representative assemblies of the Church, this co-operation we know has been of late years very generally secured. All but a few of our Bishops have, since 1863, carried out in spirit the wishes of the reformers, and summoned around them Diocesan Synods or Conferences of Clergy and Laity, as recommended by Convocation and by Congress.

Had time permitted I should have been glad to have given a detailed account of these influential representative assemblies which now are occupying so much public attention.

Their constitutions and modes of representation vary considerably, but rigid uniformity seems needless, provided the primary object be obtained, viz., a fair representation of classes and opinions, so as the better to arrive at sound conclusions and measures profitable for the diocese and the Church at large.

The Dean of Lichfield, the honoured Prolocutor of our Lower House of Canterbury since 1864, gave, I find, a detailed account at the Brighton Church Congress, in 1874, of the Diocesan Synods and Conferences then organised. Since then similar ones have arisen in the dioceses of York and Manchester, Chichester and Winchester, Exeter and Truro, framed more or less on the model of the others. The time cannot be very distant when in the few dioceses that remain unrepresented, like organisations under the authority of their Bishops will arise, and thus fresh courage and strength, yea, unity of feeling and purpose, be given to the clergy and laity, who have learnt in this land of liberty to love constitutional representative government.

The views of the reformers appear now well nigh accomplished in

this matter, when the two metropolitans of England are not only seen presiding over the deliberations of the Convocations of their provinces, and graciously presiding over and extending their patronage to Church Congresses, but presiding also over duly summoned representative Synods or Conferences of Clergy and Laity in their own dioceses. "These diocesan representative assemblies," as Canon Ryle has written, "are a great *fact*. To ignore them as mere fancies and speculations is impossible; to turn our backs on them and refuse to touch them is childish and unwise." "After all," he continues, "where is the man who would undertake to prove that there is anything unreasonable in a Diocesan Conference? Common sense itself seems to dictate that a practical meeting of the Bishop, clergy and laity of a diocese, in order to consider matters of common interest, is right and wise. The mere fact that such conferences tend to diminish the autocratic power of the Bishops; to lessen the isolation of their present position (this was written some years ago), and to encourage the practice of Bishops taking counsel with their clergy and laity, is no small recommendation of the institution."

It has, however, been strongly urged by some that, with such diocesan organisation, it is unnecessary to move further in the matter of lay co-operation in connection with Convocation, whilst others are no less urgent, either (1) for the introduction of the lay element directly, after the example of the Colonial Churches in which Bishop Perry, late of Melbourne (and this year our excellent and impartial chairman of the Subjects Committee), was pioneer in 1851, or after the example of the American and Irish Churches; or (2) for the association of the lay element with Convocation, so far as to give its voice due consideration before measures are finally adopted.

There can be no doubt that many theoretical difficulties at least arise when the details of any scheme of the sort comes under discussion. Canon Miller, who strongly advocates lay action, spoke thus only in April last: "To admit the laity into this Synod would not be a reform of Convocation, but an absolute revolution. I am certainly," he added, "not in favour of revolution, but something must be done. I cannot but believe that many of the troubles—those bitter troubles—which have agitated the Church, would have been avoided if the clergy had taken more counsel with the laity, and if the laity had had an opportunity of expressing their opinions before anything was done."

Let me now state the result of our recent debates in Convocation upon this burning question, and show how far we have advanced towards a settlement in the Lower House of the Province of Canterbury. My belief is that the Convocation of the Northern Province has advanced as far or farther. Unfortunately I have not had time to verify this; but doubtless Archdeacon Prest, who is to follow, will be able to correct me if I am wrong.

The result, then, of our debates in the Southern Province has been to pass lately, with remarkable unanimity, two resolutions, the first proposed by Canon Miller, the second by Lord Alwyn Compton, resolutions which might, I think, with some modification and

adjustment, give due expression to the lay voice whilst avoiding indefinite legal delay, or worse, a fatal revolution.

Just as we have practically solved, during the last fourteen years, the question of Diocesan Synods, which used to be so hotly debated, so I maintain we may, if we will, by mutual conciliation and reasonable experiment of associated action between Convocation and a voluntary body of laymen, duly elected by the dioceses or otherwise, solve this further question, without troubling the Crown or Parliament; and by this means assuredly an increased unity and value would be given to the deliberations and conclusions of Convocation itself, whilst valuable help would be secured to facilitate much needed legislation, as suggested by the Bill of the Bishop of London in 1874, and bind the Church still closer by loving and contented ties with its spiritual rulers and the State. The two resolutions are as follow:—

1. That it is most desirable that this Convocation, without any disturbance of its ancient constitution, should provide for consultation with some recognised representative body of the laity.

2. To represent to His Grace the President and the Upper House that, in the opinion of this House, it would be for the advantage of the Church that a Provincial House of Laymen should be formed, to be convened from time to time by the Archbishop, and to be in close communication with the Synod, who shall always be consulted before application is made to the Crown or to Parliament to give legal effect to any Act of the Synod. The laymen to be elected by the lay members of each diocese in Diocesan Conference; and the House of Laymen to bring before the Provincial Synod any matters ecclesiastical in their judgment requiring consideration, by means of petition to His Grace the President.

I trust it may be finally agreed to try some such experiment before any formal application is made to the Crown. Convocation would be thus legally untouched, its action being guided, for awhile at least, only by a mutual understanding with the Lay House. Hereafter, should cause arise, modifications of plan suggested by experience might be more easily introduced.

The proposition is here to be discussed, as at the Lichfield Conference the other day, when the Bishop forecasted thus: "The time will probably come when every Diocesan Conference will send up its representative laymen to a general meeting to assist with their advice the bishops and clergy assembled in Convocation. I believe this," added the Bishop, "to be the readiest and possibly the only way of obtaining the assistance of a Lay Council of advice."

Such a tentative friendly plan, with the authority of the Archbishops and Bishops, would be considered by most, for the present time, fairly satisfactory.

It is, I am sure, worth a trial, whilst the diverse theories of others more exacting are being brought into greater harmony.

One other point specially remains to be touched upon in this opening paper, the union of the Convocations of Canterbury and York into one national Synod, and the formation, if I may so express

it, of a National Convention, consisting of the National Synod, together with a lay house or council formed by the union of the two lay houses or councils of the provinces.

On July 3, 1873, a remarkable petition was presented to the Upper House of Convocation by the present Bishop of Winchester, then my own beloved diocesan. That petition was signed by 23 Peers, 24 Members of Parliament, 260 clergymen, 160 laymen (chiefly barristers), and 123 churchwardens, and included very important names from various schools, both theological and political.

The prayer of the petition set forth that the constitution of Convocation is defective, principally in three respects :—

1. In that it is not, in the Lower House, a fair and satisfactory representation of the clergy.

2. In the separate action of the Northern and the Southern Provinces, which, in all accounts, would be better united.

3. In that the laity are not represented in it.

"The inclusion of the laity," the petition continues, "would undoubtedly be an essential change in the constitution of this venerable body, but your petitioners submit that it is called for by the change of times and circumstances."

"The English Church, like all organic bodies, and not the less on account of its connection with the State, ought to have, on proper terms and conditions, a corporate voice and a corporate action for all its members, and not only for one class of them. Formerly, the action of Convocation, together with that of Parliament, was held substantially to attain that object; but Parliament now does not profess to represent the Church, and is more and more unwilling to interfere with its internal concerns. Your petitioners, therefore, submit that, under well-considered regulations, which they desire to leave to the proper authorities, some of the laity should be admitted or *associated* with Convocation."

On the first page of that petition stand the names of Lord Russell, Lord Devon, Lord Cairns, Lord Westminster, Lord Fortescue.

Surely with such suggestions, and by such eminent men, it cannot be impossible to originate a workable scheme, at first voluntary and tentative, by which the longing aspirations of all or most on this subject may be satisfied, without disturbing the ancient landmarks or the essential union of Church and State. By such plans as I have endeavoured to explain, the temporalty and spiritualty of the Church of England might work, I maintain, wisely and heartily together for the common benefit, trusting in the guiding power of the Blessed Spirit, and believing in the perpetual presence and promise of our Divine Head of the Church, which He purchased with His most precious blood : "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

The Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, M.P.

The nineteenth century is an age of progress, but we are met with the remarkable fact that the organization of the Church of England is the same now as it was shortly after the Reformation. The

question is, whether the machinery of the sixteenth century is suitable to the nineteenth? The power of the Crown has been limited, that of Parliament has proportionately increased, but the assemblies of the Church, as authorised by law to represent the spiritualty, remain virtually the same as they were at the time of the Act of Submission. If Convocation had not lain dormant for more than a hundred years, and had not been denied by the State the opportunity of discussing measures affecting the welfare of the Church, we should not probably, at this critical time of the Church's history, have had to consider what should be the nature of its general or diocesan assemblies. Whether that stagnation has been caused by the apathy of the Church, or the jealousy of the State, I will not now stop to enquire. Probably many of the evils which have befallen the Church since the time of Queen Anne may fairly be traced to the absence of synodical action, and of more intimate relations between the Bishop and his clergy, which frequent interchange of opinions would have kept alive. By the revival of Convocation it is admitted that fresh vigour has been infused into the Church, but although Convocation deals with the difficult questions of the time with ability, it requires to be made a complete representation of the clergy, and to be placed on a broader basis, so as to adapt itself to the existing relations between Church and State.

My present task is to enquire whether that, or any other body, is best fitted to become the general representative assembly of the Church of England. In order to do so, I must first remind you of the history and constitution of Convocation. The Convocations of Canterbury and York are the ancient provincial councils of the Archbishops incorporated into the Constitution. The union or joint action of these two synods forms the national synod as mentioned in the 139th canon. Before the Reformation there was a constant struggle on the part of the King to summon the clergy to Parliament, and on the part of the clergy to maintain their independence, and tax themselves; but although there was no strict line of demarcation between a council for spiritual matters and a Convocation for taxes on ecclesiastical property, the right of the Archbishops to summon a provincial synod was undoubted. They were, as Archbishop Wake says, "in their nature and constitution two different assemblies, and which by no means ought to be confounded together." As far then as the spiritualty is concerned there is no foundation for the opinion that when it lost the power of taxing itself (in Charles II.'s reign) the chief object of the meeting of Convocation came to an end. On the contrary the Reformers appealed to the authority and value of Church synods. In the *Reformatio Legum*, which, however, was never carried into effect, cap. xix. declares "a synod is truly the most proper remedy to chastise negligence, and to take away errors which the Devil and wicked men often sow in the Church," a saying which may well be laid to heart at the present time.

Convocation may be reformed by the exercise of the constitutional powers of the Metropolitan, either in the direction of increasing the representation of the parochial clergy, or by enlarging the area of

electors. Into that question I do not propose to enter. The answer of the Archbishop of Canterbury to a deputation from the Church Defence Institution gives us every hope that it will receive due consideration at his hands; but while Convocation represents the spiritualty, the House of Commons, by the theory of the constitution, represents the temporalty; and even if Convocation were reformed (and I hold that it can only be reformed on its old lines, or it would cease to be a historical and constitutional body), the want of some real representation of the laity would still be felt. How, then, are the just claims of Churchmen for legislation to be met? There are some who, because the Church has no legislative power, would advocate disestablishment; but what would be their position if it were carried out, and if the Church were governed by a body like the Wesleyan Conference, or the Scotch General Assembly? They would find less toleration of opinion than under the present system, and a censure of doctrine and ritual more severe than the wide latitude now allowed by the judicial interpretation of the laws and formularies of the Church. The Church requires greater freedom within certain limits, in dealing with its own matters, than the present constitution admits.

The majority of the laity are quite agreed that Convocation should have no power of legislating for the Church, by canon or otherwise, without the consent of the Crown and Parliament, and the clergy feel that no ecclesiastical legislation should take place without Convocation being consulted. That principle was lately re-affirmed in the preamble of the Table of Lessons Bill, as it was first introduced, although the assent of Convocation having been obtained, without any license from the Crown to express that approval, the paragraph stating it was omitted. It seems desirable that Convocation should be consulted on all important matters affecting the Church, though it might be inconvenient to apply that rule at present to all bills affecting the temporal accidents of the Church, which are more fitly dealt with by laymen. "There is incongruity," as Mr. Gladstone said on the Table of Lessons Bill, "in submitting to the Legislature such details, but such incongruities have been cured by the good sense of the House of Commons. The House of Commons has felt that it was essentially ill constituted for the purposes of an ecclesiastical synod, and has been content to take a broad view of the measures submitted to it, and either to accept or reject them as a whole." But Church Bills do not always meet with the same treatment. Such being the difficulties attending the passage of measures through the House of Commons, and as members of Parliament are no longer necessarily in communion with the Church, but may even be its deadliest enemies, it may fairly be claimed that the altered relations of the Church to the Legislature should be considered. What remedy is there? Is it probable that Parliament would give up its powers to any other body, such as Convocation, with a lay house?

Churchmen still form a large majority of the House, and the interests of the Church are as fully represented as any other, for the clergy not only have votes, but have considerable influence in returning

members. Parliament, therefore, is not likely to allow any other assembly to sit with equal powers of Legislation on Church subjects, and without them it will be said that it can only indirectly influence Parliament in the same way as a chamber of agriculture or commerce. But is not that influence worth obtaining? Farmers and merchants think so. Experience has shown that the House of Commons, at the present time, is peculiarly susceptible to pressure from without. An assembly of Churchmen, formally called together and representing every diocese, could not fail to become a power which would make its influence felt in Parliament, as it would doubtless be composed of men representing all parties in the Church, and members of both Houses. But there is another point affecting the progress of Bills through the House. When we see what obstacles to any legislation a few determined men, regardless of parliamentary precedents, can raise, it is worthy of deep consideration whether all questions affecting the Church should be exposed to the various delays which parliamentary tactics allow. Even if the House had the time available for the discussion of ecclesiastical questions, it is not desirable that they should be examined in detail in an assembly of mixed religious opinions. Why should not the proposal, which has been made by high authorities to economise the time of the House by the appointment of grand committees, be applied to Bills of this character?

I venture to submit that many of the objections to the present relations between Church and State would be removed, if all purely Ecclesiastical Bills were, after a second reading, referred to a committee of members of both Houses of Parliament. This is not an unprecedented or uncommon course, especially of late years, and would give the clergy the advantage of being directly represented by some of the Bishops. The decisions of such a committee, where any approach to unanimity existed, would, if not accepted as conclusive, still facilitate the passage of a Bill through both Houses of Parliament. I venture to think that, if the question of the Burial Laws had been thus treated, the present difference of opinion between the two Houses would have been avoided. With these views I advocate a re-consideration of the relations between the Church and Parliament, rather than the constitution of a separate legislative assembly for the Church, and a severance of the two, which is advocated by some. I think the opinion held by Bishop Wilberforce on the representation of the laity in Convocation is full of wisdom:—"If the laymen of the Church were thus, as a body, directly represented in her councils, Parliament could in no sense any longer claim, as the representation of her laity, to act as her interior Legislature. I do not mean that even this would destroy that connection between Church and State, from which, in spite of many correlative evils, I believe that both bodies in this land receive unspeakable advantages; because the Parliament, though no longer cognisant of the interior spiritual concerns of the Church, as the council of her laymen, might, at the great council of the nation, still legislate for her *ab extra* as the national Establishment. *But it is plain that such an altered set of relations would be a great step*

towards the open severance of the present union of the nation and the Church."

Parliament I think has been often unduly blamed for not legislating for the Church or for legislating too hurriedly ; as, even if Parliament had been composed exclusively of Churchmen, they would not have been unanimous on any question which has affected the Church of late years. If Churchmen would settle their differences of opinion outside Parliament, and bring before it the result of their discussions, they would run less risk of opposition in Parliament from the disunion of Churchmen, which has been so often witnessed of late years. It is, therefore, of great importance that some central body should be found which would mature public opinion, and would discuss questions concurrently with Convocation. It might consist of all members of Parliament who are Churchmen, and elected representatives from all diocesan conferences. Steps have already been taken to facilitate the formation of such an assembly by the diocesan conferences. I can speak from experience of their great value in bringing together the laity and clergy, and stirring up an active interest in all diocesan institutions. It is first necessary that they should be adopted in every diocese, and, if possible, on a common basis. There is some variety in their constitution. Out of five which I have examined, the mode of representation is as follows : There is in all cases a number of official and nominated members. In Salisbury, Ely, and Peterborough, one or more clergy and laity, according to the population, are elected from each ruridecanal conference by representatives from the parishes to represent each rural deanery—in the case of Peterborough triennially ; in Chester, by the original constitution, one-third of the licensed clergy and one-third of the lay representatives were elected annually at the conferences. Dissatisfaction was expressed at the selection of members, and the conference passed a resolution by which all the clergy and two representatives from each parish are invited to attend. This enlargement of numbers has not been followed by the larger attendance which was anticipated. In Manchester the clergy are one-fourth of the number of the churches in each rural deanery, and are elected by voting papers. The laity are elected, two from each parish, by a meeting of the parishioners ; these again elect a number of laity equal to one-half the Churches in the rural deanery, by a cumulative vote not exceeding three to be given to any one person. These elections are every four years, and the conference hitherto has only met in alternate years. The number is not to exceed 500, in proportion of 300 laity to 200 clergy. A perfectly constituted diocesan assembly would lead, by a natural step, to a provincial or general assembly. They would elect men who were conversant with ecclesiastical subjects and acquainted with the views and feelings of the clergy, and therefore fully able to act as advisers to Convocation.

I would sum up the foregoing suggestions thus :—

1. Convocation should be reformed and contain a larger representation of the parochial clergy.

2. The two provincial Synods should discuss all questions simultaneously, and by the appointment of joint committees, or by a

delegation such as was adopted in 1661, agree upon a course of action, and, when necessary, form a general Synod.

3. Ruridecanal conferences composed of two representatives from every parish, lay and clerical, should elect representatives to diocesan conferences.

4. Diocesan conferences should be held annually in every diocese on a common basis of representation, the clergy and laity sitting together and voting by orders. They should elect two or three lay representatives from each archdeaconry to the general assembly, in the same way as the clergy to Convocation. Till the formation of diocesan conferences the election might be made at the archidiaconal meeting or visitations attended by the churchwardens.

5. The archbishops should summon together with the clergy to Convocation a general assembly of laymen composed of elected and official members to meet simultaneously with, but independent of, Convocation in both provinces.

6. All measures brought before Convocation, and any others affecting the Church, should be discussed at the Assembly. It should confer with the Convocation by means of committees, and, where agreement was possible, should prepare measures for legislation.

7. Convocation should exercise its ancient prerogative of making canons on questions of faith and ritual, subject to the sanction of the Queen in Council and the assent of Parliament, which would be obtained, unless they were objected to, within 40 days after being laid on the table of both Houses, as was proposed by the Bishop of London's Bill in 1874.

In coming to these conclusions I have not looked upon this question from a theoretical, but from a practical point of view. Nor do I wish to begin from a *tabula rasa*, as our colonies or America have done, where no National Church exists, but to recognise the existing constitution, and endeavour to engraft on it such improvements as would be in harmony with it. If any further argument were needed of the want of such an Assembly, it would be supplied by the mere fact of the meeting of Churchmen annually at a Congress such as this, and the interest which it creates. Much good has resulted from the contact of all schools of thought in the Church, and the light of public discussion which has been thrown on the vexed questions of the day; but how far more valuable would its deliberations be if it obtained a representative character, and its responsibilities were heightened by passing resolutions which could be submitted to the Government, and could not but lead to some practical result. If this Congress can in any way, by this discussion, further these ends, it will have deserved well of the Church, and could with advantage be merged in a more representative and authoritative body. It may be that such a change cannot be worked out at once. The Archbishop, in his very able address, has spoken of the dangers to which Congress is liable of not carrying out the improvements which it may advocate. Should his Grace approve of these reforms, as I hope the Congress may, the remedy is in *his* hands. Should he be able to carry them out in any way, I venture

to predict that his name will be recorded in history as of one who had the courage to rebuild the breaches in the walls of the Church in troublesome times, and handed down to posterity its edifice, strong as ever, as a bulwark against superstition and infidelity.

The Right Rev. Bishop Perry.

In the title of the subject, upon which I have been requested to read a paper this afternoon, there is a certain ambiguity; for the Church of England may mean either the Church established in England, or the aggregate of all the Churches commonly known by that name in the various provinces of the British Empire. At first I was disposed to understand it in the former restricted sense, and limit my remarks accordingly; but upon further consideration, remembering that the reason why the committee desired me to address you upon it was the fact of my having for a number of years presided over a representative assembly of the Church in a colony, I thought that I should do well to preface my observations upon such assemblies in England with a brief description of the constitution and results of that with which I was so long acquainted in Victoria.

The Assembly of the Church in the diocese of Melbourne is, I believe, the oldest in the colonies; having been constituted under an Act of the Colonial Legislature passed in 1855, and assented to by the Queen in 1856. That in New Zealand and those in Canada were not organised, if my memory is correct, until the following year. The Victorian Act was drawn up on the model of a Bill for the government of all colonial branches of the Church, introduced into the House of Lords, but not proceeded with, by the late Archbishop Howley. By this, and a supplemental Act passed some years afterwards, any Bishop of the Church of England in Victoria is authorised to convene the licensed clergy, together with duly elected lay-representatives of all the ecclesiastical parishes and districts, of his diocese; and the assembly thus constituted is empowered, by a concurrent majority of the votes of both orders and with the assent of the Bishop, to make laws for the regulation of all affairs of the Church; except only that it may not alter the authorised standards of faith and doctrine, or the oaths, declarations, and subscriptions, required by law of the clergy. By a clause in the first of these Acts, a provincial assembly may be formed so soon as a province has been constituted in the colony.

The first session of the Assembly was held in 1856, and in each of the 21 years since, except the year 1876, when the see was vacant, it has met at least once, and in some years, for special reasons, twice. During this period it has enacted laws for, amongst other things, the erection and management of Church-buildings, the formation and subdivision of parishes, the presentation of clergymen to new and vacant cures, the trial and punishment of clerical offenders, the pensioning of superannuated incumbents, the establishment of a clergy widows' and orphans' fund, the election of a Dean and Chapter for the

proposed new cathedral, the appointment of a council for advising the Bishop upon all the secular business of the diocese, the formation or administration of a fund for the general purposes of the Church, the constitution of the diocese of Ballarat and the appointment of its first Bishop, and, to name only one other matter, the election of future Bishops to the see of Melbourne.

In it, the clergy and lay-representatives sit together in the same house, the Bishop or his commissary presides, and the debates are conducted in accordance with the standing rules of the House of Commons, except that the president has the same privilege of speaking as the other members. Resolutions may be proposed after due notice upon any subject, which the president does not pronounce to be out of order; and thus any neglect of duty and any irregularity in a clergyman or lay officer of the Church, together with all real or supposed grievances, may be brought under discussion. It might be expected that this would occasion angry recrimination, and give rise to many quarrels; but such a result has not been found to follow. On the contrary, from the opportunity afforded the complainant of telling his story and the accused of making his reply, the assembly is enabled to form a correct opinion upon the case; and the free debate ensuing upon it almost surely leads either to a satisfactory explanation, or to the remedy of an existing evil. In some instances during my episcopate considerable warmth of temper was exhibited; but I never knew any permanent ill feeling to ensue. I was also myself more than once called upon to reply to objections, which were taken to my proceedings; but I never had cause to regret being required to explain my conduct.

Of the benefits resulting to the Church from the constitution of this assembly I cannot speak too strongly. Its influence upon the clergy and lay-representatives themselves, the interest excited by it among the laity generally, the laws which it has enacted, and the authority which it has given to the voice of the Church in the community at large, have been most valuable. By their attendance at it, the clergy have learned to listen to both sides of a question, and to argue a point calmly with their opponents; while the lay-representatives, from the necessity for directing their attention to the various matters upon which they were required to vote, have not only acquired a knowledge, which they did not before possess, of ecclesiastical affairs, but also have been made to feel their personal responsibility as members of the Church, and recognise their duty towards it. Without this assembly the administration of the diocese would have rested solely with the Bishop; and neither the parochial clergy nor the laity would have had the right to take any part in, or the power to express any authoritative opinion upon it. There would have been no security against the mis-government, and no provision for the continuous, progressive advancement of the Church. By means of the assembly the ability of all the best, both of the clergy and laity, is enlisted in the service of the Church, not only of their own particular towns and districts, but of the diocese at large.

I would observe, however, that its beneficial influence is, in my

opinion, to be ascribed chiefly to three peculiarities belonging to it, viz., that it is thoroughly representative, that it possesses a certain legislative authority, and that its doors are open to the reporters of the press. If it had not been thoroughly representative, it would never have acquired the confidence of the community, nor have been able to speak, as it can now do, in the name of the whole Church. Again, if it had not possessed a certain legislative authority, besides that it could not have enforced its resolutions, it would never have drawn into it as it has, judges, barristers, professors of the university, merchants, and other influential laymen. And, lastly, if its doors had not been open to the reporters, the public would not have been able to form a correct judgment upon its proceedings, nor would its decisions have carried the weight which has been attached to them.

Passing now to the representative assemblies of the Church in England, I would remark that they are each of them defective in one or more of these particulars. Rural Decanal Meetings, Diocesan Conferences, and Provincial Convocations are all destitute of any legislative power, and therefore only useful so far as they express, and help to form, the opinion of the Church upon the subjects which come under their consideration. For that, however, they have severally their own value.

A rural decanal meeting, by enabling a small company of clergymen and laymen in a particular neighbourhood to consider together subjects in which they have a common interest, is likely, if the lay members are really representative, to be very useful.

Again, a diocesan conference, being presided over by the Bishop and attended by the leading clergy of the diocese, might be expected, provided that *its* lay members were not mere officials or chosen by the clergy, but freely selected by the laity, to exercise a greater and more extensive influence, especially if its proceedings, as I believe is usually the case, were duly reported. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that, in consequence of its want of legislative power, such a conference seldom excites much interest amongst Churchmen generally. If, however, a Bishop could see his way to invest the one convened by him with some degree of authority in appropriating diocesan funds, erecting new churches, sub-dividing parishes, and, above all, regulating the exercise of episcopal or any other patronage, I do not doubt that its importance would soon begin to be appreciated, and election into it become increasingly an object of honourable ambition.

The two Convocations of Canterbury and York are legally constituted provincial synods, but even they do not possess real legislative power. For years since, extended, composed as they now are, I should myself, has met at least once, with many of my brethren, both clerical and During this period it has acquisition of any such power. For they have erection and management they are not properly representative. In division of parishes, the Upper House is composed, as it ought to be, of cures, the trial and in respective provinces, but in the Lower House of superannuated in proportion of Deans, Archdeacons, and Canons, and orphans' fund, by the Prime Minister or by the Bishops. In

neither convocation are the parochial clergy duly represented; and from both of them the laity, who are as truly an integral part of the Church as the clergy, are wholly excluded. Hence "the living voice of the Church" of England certainly cannot be heard in the northern and southern convocations. Nevertheless, defective as their constitution may be, they afford an opportunity for the Bishops in their respective houses, and for the many learned and very able men in the two lower houses, to express their opinions in the presence of the reporters for the press, upon those many important ecclesiastical questions, by which the public mind is from time to time agitated; and the light thus brought to bear upon matters in dispute, together with the information collected by the various committees, is often extremely valuable.

Another assembly of yet higher dignity, although not strictly representative, seems to come within the scope of my subject. I allude to a council of the Bishops of the various dioceses of the Anglican Communion. It will be in the recollection of my hearers that such a council was held at Lambeth in 1867, under the presidency of the late Archbishop Longley, and your Grace has issued invitations for another to be held in July of next year. The gathering of such a company of Fathers in Christ must be regarded by us all as an event of the greatest importance to the Church; and we may reasonably hope, and ought fervently to pray, that its deliberations may tend to the continuance amongst us of the truth of the Gospel, the bringing into more cordial communion with one another of all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, and increased efforts for the extension of His kingdom throughout the world. The resolutions of the former Council were officially promulgated; but no report of its debates was ever furnished to the Church, and this omission appears to me to have very greatly impaired its value. I hesitate to dissent from such a conclave of my right reverend brethren; but I cannot forbear expressing my hope that a different decision in this particular will be adopted by the Council of 1878. If the resolutions agreed to by it be, as we may assume they will be, right and wise, the knowledge of the facts on which they are grounded, and of the arguments by which they have been enforced, will give them additional weight in public estimation. Moreover, if the Synod pronounce, as seems to be expected, its opinion (I do not say its decision, for that would imply that it possessed a judicial authority, but its opinion) upon matters now in controversy among us, the Church would seem entitled to know whether that opinion was unanimous, and, if not, of whom the dissentients consisted. For it is to be remembered that the age, and character, and learning of some single Bishop may make his authority very far outweigh that of many others who differ from him. Nor ought there to be any cause for apprehension lest the report of an episcopal debate should at all impair the veneration due to the episcopal office.

Before concluding, I may just notice the annual assemblies of which this is one. The Church Congress is open to all orders of the clergy and all classes of the laity; and its select readers and speakers are so chosen as to represent every variety of opinion, which is

admissible in our Church. The time would not allow me, nor am I disposed, to examine the arguments, which have been alleged for and against the expediency of such a meeting. I would only say that, so long as it continues to be held, the duty of us all, as appears to me, is to do whatever is in our power to render it as much as possible beneficial, and as little as possible (if at all) injurious to the Church; and, further, that the manifest increase of Christian courtesy, both in the speakers and in the audience, and the perfect fairness which has been exhibited—at least on the last two occasions, to which I can myself bear witness—by the subject committees and presidents, afford a strong encouragement for perseverance in such endeavours.

Perhaps, my Lord Archbishop, I ought to apologise to your Grace for the freedom of speech which I have used on some points in my paper; but in this assembly it is allowable for us, if we do not transgress the limits of modesty or Christian charity (which I trust I have not done) to express our opinions unreservedly; and your Grace is, I believe, the last person who would wish to restrict our liberty herein.

ADDRESSES.

The Right Rev. Dr. Alexander, Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe.

Pressed alike by want of time, of extensive reading upon the subject, and of practical acquaintance with the representative assemblies of the particular Church of England, I can justify my appearance here only upon the same ground as the right rev. prelate who has preceded me. Experience of a certain kind, however, I do possess. I shall address myself to two propositions. (1.) That it is in principle permissible, and, in fact, desirable to admit the faithful laity to diocesan representative assemblies. I need not consider the question as regards the general assemblies of the Church of England very closely, because I suppose that it lies out of the sphere of practical ecclesiastical politics, at a distance which cannot be measured. But enlarging my view, I assert (2) that when this admission takes place it should be under carefully defined conditions.

1. It is in principle permissible to admit the faithful laity to diocesan synods at least. The importance of the testimony of St. Cyprian can scarcely be over-estimated. The sharpness and distinctness of his sacerdotal views; the elevated conception of the Episcopal office which he entertained, fraught as it was with momentous consequences to Christendom, give additional emphasis to expressions which would have been remarkable from the pen of any Bishop. Consulted on the punishment due to certain ecclesiastical offenders, he declares that he will not act alone as a judge in a matter which may afford a precedent, and adds that such cases must be weighed and treated "Non tantum cum collegis meis, sed et cum plebe ipsâ universâ."* More remarkable still are the words of another epistle, in which Cyprian boldly asserts that the rule of his Episcopate, from its beginning, had been to do

* Cyprian. *Epist.* xxxiv. p. 68 (Oxford edit. 1682). Bishop Fell's note is "Invitâ aut inscià plebe nihil in ecclesiâ geri sæpius monitum."

nothing on his own private responsibility, "*without the counsel of his Presbyters and the consent of his people.*"* It has been said by the learned Professor Lightfoot that "though Cyprian, in words, frequently defers to the established usage of consulting the Presbyters and even the laity in the appointment of officers and in other matters, yet he only makes the concession to nullify it immediately."† But the fact remains that Cyprian's language indicates a principle in existence, and the character of the man is sufficient proof that, rightly or wrongly, he supposed himself to have conformed to it. As time goes on, evidence is not altogether wanting to the admissibility of the laity in Church synods as an ecclesiastical principle. The following passages occur in the third and fourth canons of the Fourth Council of Toledo (A.D. 633):—"Nothing has been a greater source of corruption in the Church than the negligence of the Bishops, who, in contempt of the canons, omit to constitute a synod to correct the manners of the clergy. In the month of June, a synod is to be collected in every province. On the appointed day, let all the Bishops enter, and take their seats according to the date of their ordination. After the entry and session of the Bishops, let the Presbyters be called. Let no deacon intrude himself among them. Afterwards let the deacons who have been approved for the purpose come in, and the Bishops sitting in a circle, with the Presbyters behind them; let the deacons stand before the Bishops. Then *let those laymen enter who shall have been considered worthy of a seat by election of the council.*" ‡ In the ancient synodal regulations of Exeter and Winchester still more remarkable and decisive language is found. "Exinde introducentur Laici *bonæ conversationis*, vel qui *electione conjugali* interesse meruerint." "This curious expression, 'electio conjugalis,'" writes the learned Dr. Fraser, "must imply a joint election, either by the clergy and laity in concert, or by the Bishop and clergy. At any rate, lay consultees could hardly be more exactly described." In his note to the twenty-sixth canon of 1603, Bishop Gibson writes—"Anciently the way was to select a certain number, at the direction of the Ordinary, to give information upon oath. But in process of time this method was changed, and it was directed in the citation that *four*, *six*, or *eight*, according to the population of the district, should appear, *together with the clergy*, *to represent the people*, *and be the Testes Synodales*, as the canon law elsewhere styles them. Citations of this kind appear without number in the records of our Church before the Reformation.§ Nay, even in days and Churches where sacerdotal power was most exclusive, it is not denied by the highest Roman Catholic authority that laymen were admitted—no

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* "Ad id verò quod scripserunt nihil compresbyteri nostri . . . solus rescribere nihil potui, quando a primordio Episcopatûs mei statuerim, nihil *sine consilio vestro et sine consensu plebis*, meâ privatim sententiâ gerere, sed cùm ad vos, per Dei gratiam, venero, tunc de iis quæ vel gesta sunt, vel gerenda, sicut honor mutuus poscit, in commune tractabimus."—*Epist.* xiv. 33. Rigaltius ait, "Hoc est, cum totâ Ecclesiâ, sicut Apostoli fecerant primâ illâ synodo (Acta xv. 22). Ad eum locum præclarè Chrysostomus:—*ὥστε δεῖξαι ὅτι οὐ τυραννικῶς, ὅτι πᾶσι ταῦτα δοκεῖ* et paulò post, *οὕτως οὐδεὶς τῦφος ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ.*

† Lightfoot, *Epistle to Philippians*, p. 242.

‡ "Deinde ingredientur Laici, qui electione concilii interesse meruerint."—*Concil. Tolet.* iv. 3, 4. (Apud Brun. *Concil.* pars i. p. 222.) Another testimony may here be added:—"XIII. *Ut Episcopus Diœcesanos, Presbyteros, et quosdam ex Laicis convenire ad Synodum literis moneat.*—Epistolæ tales per fratres a Metropolitano sunt dirigendæ, ut non solum a cathedralibus ecclesiis Presbyteros, verum etiam de diœcesanis ad Concilium trahant, et aliquos de filiis Ecclesiæ sæcularibus secum adhibere debeant."—*Concil. Tarracon.* A.D. 516. Brun. ii. p. 14.

§ Bishop Gibson, *Codex*, p. 960. See throughout Dr. Fraser in the Appendix to Mr. Seymour's *Letter to the Bishop of St. David's*, pp. 17, 19.

doubt under limited conditions—but still admitted to Church Councils. Synods, which consisted not only of Bishops and Presbyters, but of princes and nobles, were held in reference to all questions where the lines of the two policies, ecclesiastical and civil, appeared to intersect. Such councils were frequent in Constantinople and Gaul, and were called *Synodi Regiæ*.* Pope Benedict XIV admits that "it is too clear to be denied that Princes, and especially Roman Emperors, assisted personally or by legates at General Councils; that Emperors and Princes sent their *oratores* to councils, only not as judges, or to pass dogmas of faith." In truth, the principle that canons, on consultations, framed by the clergy alone, require the agreement of the laity to make them valid, is written in characters that cannot be mistaken, in the laws and political condition of the most intensely Romish countries in the world. Philip of Spain received the Tridentine decrees, subject to a special reservation upon a matter of such importance as the right of appointment to ecclesiastical livings and dignities. Hooker acutely argues from this fact, that "if the King's exception taken against some part of those canons were a sufficient bar to make them of none effect within his territories, it follows that the like exception against any other part had been also of like efficiency, and consequently that no part thereof had obtained the strength of a law, if he, which excepted against a part, had so excepted against the whole." When we pass to the highest authorities of our own Church, our task becomes easier. In discussion with the Puritans who supposed that "the Prince and Court of Parliament had no more lawful means to give orders to the Church and clergy in these things, than to make laws for the hierarchies of angels in heaven," Hooker incidentally becomes the champion of the laity. He grapples directly with the question "whether the clergy assembled ought alone to have the sole power of making ecclesiastical laws, or the consent of the laity may thereunto be made necessary, and the King's assent especially necessary." His answer is "that all free and independent societies should themselves make their own laws, and that this power should belong to the whole, not to any certain part of a politic body." He meets the objection, drawn by some from the proceedings in the Council of Jerusalem, as if they involved the principle of the divine prerogative of the clergy to make ecclesiastical laws exclusively, and concludes that "till it be proved that some special law of Christ hath for ever annexed unto the clergy alone the power to make ecclesiastical laws, we are to hold it a thing most consonant with reason and equity, that no ecclesiastical law be made in a Christian Commonwealth without consent as well of the laity as of the clergy."† Bishop Jeremy Taylor says, "certain it is that the States of Germany, in their Diet at Nuremberg, propounded to Pope Adrian VI that laymen might be admitted as well as the clergy, and freely to declare their judgments without hindrance. And this was no new matter; for it was practised in all nations; in Germany, France, England, and Spain itself, as who please may see in the Sixth, Eighth, and Twelfth Councils of Toledo. So that it is apparent that the Romanists, though now they do not, yet formerly they did; and were certainly in the right; and if any man shall think otherwise, he can never be sure that they were in the wrong, especially when he shall consider that the Council of the Apostles not only admitted Presbyters, but

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* Benedict XIV. *De Synodo Diœc.*, lib. iii. cap. 9, "De Laicis." While arguing that lay[illegible]ation, that learned Pontiff [illegible]pparently upon a decision of the Roman Congreg[illegible] antiquis regis mens. se[illegible] allows that they were once admitted—"Non prorsus a[illegible]ue Laic[illegible]noribus alienum fuisse arbitramur ut ad Diœcesanas Synodos quandocunq[illegible]ority[illegible] introducerentur." He is candid enough to quote an eminent adverse auth[illegible]nit *Bottus. de Syn.* pars ii. n. 38—"Laicos admittendos affirmat, cùm de commu[illegible]us Clericorum et Laicorum negotiis est deliberandum."

† *Eccles. Pol.*, book viii., ch. vi.

the laity, who were parties in the decree!"* The Bishop of Oxford, in his *History of the American Church*, speaks unhesitatingly in favour of a lay element in the synods of the Church, both diocesan and provincial. At p. 214 he blames those like Bishop Seabury, "who would have deprived the laity of that power of co-ordinate deliberation and assent, which appears to have been in earliest times their Christian birthright." Again, "in July, 1789, the Church assembled in convention. For the first time it was gathered together in the full likeness of that council to which the Apostles and elders came together at Jerusalem. For, now as then, it met with Bishops at its head, with Presbyters and deacons, each in their order ministering unto them, and with the laity, the multitude of the faithful, taking solemn council for the welfare of their Zion."† Again,‡ "there were some who contended that laymen should not sit in all the synods of the Church; but for this there seems to be undoubted warrant. From the intimations of the Acts of the Apostles, we can scarcely doubt that, in some way or other, the laity took part in the discussions of the Primitive Church. It is as plain that they made up the Body in which dwelt the Holy Ghost, as that the power of discipline and rule was vested in the hands of the Apostles. The general history of the Church in the succeeding age suggests that then, also, the believing people ratified, with their express consent, the decisions of the earliest synods. That such was the custom in our own land is clear, from plain historical records. It is proved, by the earliest remains of our annals, that the Bishops presided over ecclesiastical councils in England, with a vast attendance of the people, and settled all matters of religion against heresies." The last authority I shall quote on this point is the Report of the Committee of the Lambeth Conference. The fourth section is as follows:—

> Your committee believe that it is not at variance with the ancient principles of the Church that both clergy and laity should attend the diocesan synod, and *that it is expedient* that the synod should consist of the Bishop and clergy of the diocese, with representatives of the laity.

2. But the admission of the laity, if permissible upon ecclesiastical principles, is desirable. A great thinker tells us that "democracy is the law of modern society." This is felt in all institutions, even in some where we should least expect it. I remember standing, a few years ago, with an Italian ecclesiastic, who is also an eminent historian, upon a terrace beside Monte Callino. He spoke in eloquent terms of the advance of democracy as the slow incessant rising of a tide. Pointing, on a clear day in March, where Rome lay in the far distance, his voice quivered as he anticipated its advance into the Vatican and St. Peter's. Now, if the representatives of royalty were admitted to Church councils on the ground that they represented the social order of their day, there can be little objection of principle against the admission to synods of the representatives of social power, differently selected according to the needs of a more democratic society. As a matter of sentiment, no doubt, it derogates from the dignity and gravity of such assemblies. But this is better than permitting the Church to become, as it does with Rome, a vast and silent drill-ground, where theological battalions, under superannuated generals, are paraded for the purpose of being led to inevitable defeat. Where the admission of the laity takes place, it must be under strictly defined conditions. On all questions affecting doctrine, the vote by orders and the two-thirds majority is insufficient without the vital condition of the Episcopal initiative.

It will be said by some who hear me that I concede too much, by others too

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* *Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery*, Part II., book i., sec. 1.

† P. 223. ‡ P. 257.

little. The first I would refer to the 15th chapter of Acts. The greeting at the head of the synodical epistle (v. 23) can, indeed, be no longer adduced as a proof, since the weight of authority is probably in favour of the omission of the word *and* in the 23rd verse of the 15th chapter of Acts—not "the Apostles and Presbyters, and brethren send greetings," but "the Apostles and Presbyters, who are brethren, send greeting unto the brethren." But the decision of the council is described by a word which may be fairly called technical, and the whole Church is thus authoritatively associated with the Apostles and Presbyters. "Then pleased it (ἔδοξεν*) the Apostles and Presbyters, *with the whole Church*." Doubtless the initiative in doctrine is in this case accorded to the ministry. Paul and Barnabas go up to Jerusalem unto the Apostles and Presbyters; the Apostles and Presbyters come together for to consider of this matter. The result of the deliberation is authoritatively summed up in St. James' ἐγὼ κρίνω, "My sentence is." But to the laity the power of assent is given—assent surely implying possible dissent, and that again a discussion and a vote. "The Apostles," says Bishop Taylor, "were the presidents, the Presbyters were the presidents' assistants, but the Church was the body of the council."

I address myself, in conclusion, to those who may think that I concede too little. I offer a consolation to those who are somewhat aggrieved at feeling that laymen are not likely to enter Convocation. Let not my lay friends be angry at my saying that, if they are ever to enjoy that privilege there must be mutual protection. There are different kinds of priestcraft. You want protection from the priestcraft of the priest in surplice. I from the priestcraft of the priest in shooting-jacket. Be content. The liberty of declaiming against the Faith is no part of the glorious liberty of the children of God. The common sense of Englishmen tells them that something must be wrong in a process by which the very articles of the Creed may conceivably be put to a miscellaneous assembly, like the clauses of a turnpike act. His Grace drew a sunny picture of the prospects of the Church of England. God grant its fulfilment. Yet these are days in which that, which one hour seems but a thin film seen flecking the sky by the eye of a speculative observer, becomes, in the next, a centre round which the clouds are piled and massed and from which a storm is discharged, which sweeps before it every wall that is built with untempered mortar, and sinks every boat but that which has Christ on board. If you want life and vigour in the Church employ the zeal and knowledge and piety of the faithful laity. Hear their voices in your diocesan synods. But if you want to secure a service unshorn, a creed untampered with, a Prayer-book unchanged, take care that the deposit of the faith be left in the hands to which it was entrusted by the Incarnate Lord—with the Bishops and pastors of the Church.

The Venerable E. Prest, Archdeacon of Durham.

I rise to add one more to what appears to be the chorus of consentient voices on this subject, for although there is a general and sustained interest in the debate, no great differences of opinion have been at present elicited this afternoon. It was my intention to have offered some thoughts in favour of representatives of the laity being admitted to our Convocations as an independent house with a voice the concurrence of which, with that of the other two houses, should be considered necessary to the passing of any canon before it is submitted to Parliament for enactment

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* The same word is unfortunately rendered by a different English equivalent, "it seemed good," in v. 25, 28.

by the Crown. But all who have spoken hitherto seem agreed on that point, and yet the project has been branded as a revolution. I am not, however, greatly troubled in mind by the word, the significance of which depends greatly on the condition of affairs in which a change is projected. I believe it, however, to be rather a restoration. We have evidence enough that the laity were admitted into some of the most prominent Church synods of early days, and I believe that such a restoration is due to them now. It has been hinted that the laity have not sufficient learning, and I acknowledge that once it was so. As, for instance, in the days described by Dryden, in his *Religio Laici*:—

> In days o'ergrown with rust and ignorance,
> A gainful trade their clergy did advance:
> When want of learning kept the layman low,
> And none but priests were authorised to know.

—But it is not so now. We have proof in this very Congress, which contains such able men as the Earl of Chichester, Earl Nelson, and Lord Harrowby; and there are also other prominent laymen, like the Duke of Westminster, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and Lord Midleton, who constantly take their place with the clergy and speak the voice of the intelligent and faithful laity. If then it were a revolution it would still be a most useful one, and it would be only a counterbalance to a revolution which has been already accomplished. For, when Hooker urged so powerfully that the State had a voice in Church legislation, Parliament was composed exclusively of members of the Church of England, and even when the present Prayer-book was settled, the whole of the members, with the exception only of Prynne (to whom Dr. Gunning refused the elements because he declined to kneel) partook of the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England. But when the clergy, in 1665, ceased to tax themselves, Parliament ceased to represent the laity exclusively, and therefore ceased to express any independent lay voice. Still more after the legislative union with Scotland, in 1707, when members of the Kirk entered Parliament, its competence to deal with the affairs of the Church was greatly diminished. The Convocations of that date perceived this, and Burnet tells us that they were preparing an address to the Queen when their deliberations were cut short by a speedy prorogation—a proceeding not unfrequently resorted to on other subsequent occasions when the action of the Convocations was not relished in high quarters. And since the repeal of the Test Acts it is obvious that whilst Parliament has indeed had the authority of the State over both establishments, it has ceased in its corporate capacity to be identified with either; and that our own Church has thus lost all authoritative expression of the voice of her lay members as such. What then is left for the laity? Are they to be silenced for ever? are they to be told to "listen and obey?" the silly saying of a certain Bishop of St. Mark at Trent; which, however, that Council, though not eminent for the wisdom of its conclusions, had at least the good sense to scout. I hold, therefore, that, simply as an equitable counterbalance to the revolution effected by the Act for repealing Tests, such a revolution, if it must be so called, as that for which I contend, is absolutely required. But were I judging the question independently of its antecedents I should still urge the admission of the laity to our Convocations, in order to stave off more disastrous results. There may be, and probably will be, strenuous efforts to obtain a severance between Church and State, and nothing short of a general apostasy could be more disastrous than to make the clergy a separate priestly class independent of the laity. I believe there are matters touching the faith which may be safely intrusted to the discussion of the faithful laity. The late Archdeacon Churton *(clarum et venerabile nomen)* held, like Pope Nicholas I. in his disputes with the Emperor Michael in 865, that "questions con-

cerning the faith belonged not only to the clergy but to the laity and to all Christians." We all know that there are certain essentials which cannot be touched even by general councils which are not judges but only witnesses of the fundamental doctrines of the Church handed down to them; and those fundamental doctrines would, I believe, be perfectly safe in an independent lay house. But how many more questions there are of secondary importance with regard to which the Church's councils and synods and Convocations are the only machinery to enable her practically to preserve order and regularity. The Wesleyan Conference has found it quite lately to be true wisdom to admit the laity. The Church of Scotland, which, be it remembered, is an established Church, admits the laity; whereas in the Church of England we have only our Convocations composed exclusively of the Bishops and clergy. What we want is a representation of the whole Church, which consists of the millions of the laity *plus* our 20,000 clergy. Year by year in our local assemblies we are inviting the laity to take part as helpers in Church organisation and Church work, but what is wanted is that they should be allowed to exercise a legally-defined power in such matters as we propose should be submitted to Convocation. I have urged this as a preventive and a precaution against a greater change which would be a disaster, and result in the disestablishment of our Church. And it seems to me the longer we go on refusing to the laity the right and proper opportunity of expressing their views by their voices and by their votes, the more risk we run of the dangers which are now looming upon us. I will read extracts from letters written by two Irish prelates who seem to take a different view of the case to that held by the Bishop of Derry. The Bishop of Down and Connor says:—

"I am a strong advocate for introducing the lay element into the Convocation of the English Church. It will add years to its existence as an establishment."

The Bishop of Limerick, in 1870, writes:—

"I trust that a wise and timely settlement of the question which you have in hand may save the Church of England from some of the grievous troubles and dangers by which we are surrounded. Had our laity been better prepared to take part in the work of re-organisation, the proceedings of our general Convocation would have been more orderly, and its conclusion more accordant with the history and the spirit of our Church."

I therefore earnestly trust that their lordships the Bishops will take such counsels as they think fit for moving Parliament on this question—and I do not think it can be done without going to Parliament—so that we may have a third independent house associated with Convocation, which will then speak and act truly in the name of the whole Church.

DISCUSSION.

C. Mortimer, Esq., Victoria-park, London.

I feel myself almost guilty of presumption in rising to address an assembly containing men so much more able to deserve its attention, but I cannot help saying that after all I have heard I am the more confirmed in the conviction I have entertained for years, that it is almost impossible to introduce the lay element into Convocation. There are so many difficulties in the way, and so many obstacles that I think the best course would be to start on an entirely new basis. Some years ago I proposed a scheme, by which I would give to the Church a government composed of general councils, diocesan councils, and local councils. The general councils to be composed of two houses—viz., a house of Bishops, composed of the

prelates of both provinces, and a house of representatives, consisting of clergy and laity in equal proportions. To them I proposed to transfer all the power over the Church now exercised by Parliament, and also the power of dealing with all matters of doctrine and discipline, as fully as now practised by any body of Non-conformists in the kingdom. In order to preserve the national character of the Church I would make provision for guiding her legislation so as to protect the rights of the minority. I would have this general council opened periodically by the Queen in person or by Royal Commissioners. With regard to the election of the lower house, I would allow no one to vote who did not claim to be a member of the Church of England, and subscribed at the least 10s. a year to the maintenance of the Church services. The diocesan councils should be composed of clergy and laity in equal proportions, one in each rural deanery under the presidency of the Bishop. I would restore to the Church the right of choosing her own Bishops; but, as it is not likely that the State would allow Bishops so elected to have a contingent right to sit in the House of Lords, the Church would do well to consent to give up that right. I come now to the local councils, which should be composed of three members from each division, to retire annually by rotation, but eligible to be re-elected. It should be a body corporate with a perpetual succession, with powers to hold property; and to it I would commit all the temporalities of each parish. The churchwardens should be parishwardens, and to them should be committed all matters connected with the maintenance of public worship.

The Ven. Dr. Reichel, Archdeacon of Meath.

I am sensible that I have no other ground for speaking to-day than that I have had some experience of these representative assemblies in the Church of Ireland, and therefore the results of my experience may be considered of some value in offering suggestions for the introduction of representative assemblies into the Church of England. I confess that I entertain somewhat different opinions from some who have preceded me, but I do not think if I had not heard the Bishop of Derry speak as he did I should have expressed those differences of opinion. I, however, am encouraged by Archdeacon Prest quoting in my favour the opinions of two Irish Bishops in answer to the Lord Bishop of Derry, to assure this assembly that the Church of England need not look upon lay co-operation with so much fear as the Bishop of Derry's speech would seem to indicate there was a necessity of feeling. No doubt in Ireland we were suddenly called upon to act upon an emergency for which we were little prepared, and of necessity to meet great difficulties. Long may it be before such a necessity is imposed on you in this country! There are those within the pale of the Church of England who clamour for her disestablishment, but they are little aware of what they want. Still the time may come when such a necessity may be imposed upon you, and I hope in the meantime you may be wise enough to anticipate the co-operation of the faithful laity before it becomes necessary for your bare life. But there are objections; and I would ask first of all on what grounds can there be denied to a synod of the whole Church that which is admitted in diocesan synods? What difference is there between the government of a single diocese and that of an agglomeration of dioceses? The distinction is too refined for my plain uneducated mind. One of those two Bishops quoted by Archdeacon Prest expresses regret that the laity in Ireland were not better educated for the work so suddenly thrust upon them, and that consequently many things were said and some things done in the General Convention in settling the constitution in 1870,

which might not have been done if the laity had had some experience; but may not the same thing be said of the clergy? Were no expressions used by the clergy which had to be retracted and apologised for?—and that even by clergy of the highest position. Are these ebullitions of temper and zealous fervency not counter-balanced by the greatness of the work they had to do; and was it by the worst of things that the action of a great Church ought to be judged? I think not. I think that Bishops, priests and people, all sitting together for the first time, and debating the important questions on which they had to decide, the result did not throw discredit on the principle of allowing the lay element to form a part of that general synod. I cannot even admit the slur that they dared to tamper with one of the great Catholic Creeds. The allusion is known to every one in this room; but what will be said when I state the simple fact that in the committee whose business it was to consider certain matters about the Prayer Book, and that particular matter was fully discussed, it was decided, with only one dissentient voice, that the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed should not be read in public? All the Bishops were there. But we did less than the Episcopal Church of America (of which I do not wish to speak one word of censure), which not merely struck it out of the service, but expunged it from the Prayer Book, and obliterated all reference to it in the Eighth Article. We have not gone so far. All we decided was that the damnatory words should not be said of any who might not believe the whole of the Creed. What I say is by way of encouragement rather than determent. I do not want you to do what we did. All I want to point out is that there is no danger in allowing the laity of the English Church to have their say in these matters. Well, the question is how to secure the co-operation of the faithful laity, and this may best be done now than under such a pressure as that which came upon the Irish Church. Recollect that in the first council at Jerusalem—and you cannot take a better model, since it was constituted by inspired authority—the whole Church was included. If the Church is to have a real and vital organisation it must express the convictions of the Church, and the only way to ensure that is to enable the laity in Convocation to say what they have to say with freedom, and in nine cases out of ten all objections will be smoothed down and got rid of by the mere process of candid discussion.

The Bishop of Derry.

Allow me to make a personal explanation. I beg to say that I did not mean to state that the laity were non-admissible to the general representative assemblies of the Church; still less did I mean to pass an unworthy censure on the conclusion come to as to the Athanasian Creed; but I simply meant that that conclusion was arrived at by putting the clauses of the Creed one by one, and "aye" or "no" being said to them.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester.

As Archdeacon Emery began by making me responsible for something I said twenty-five years ago, and also ended his paper with an allusion to me, I can hardly avoid saying in a few words what are my opinions and feelings on this subject at the present day. The question divides itself in this way. There are three principal things to be borne in mind with regard to these assemblies. The provincial synods

down to the thirteenth century were constituted of Bishops alone. There is no example of a provincial synod up to that date in which Presbyters *qua* Presbyters sat; though some were introduced as representing absent Bishops. That is the form in which they were held in the middle ages; and from the time of the Apostles to the present day in the Continental Churches. In our Convocations Presbyters were first introduced in the thirteenth century rather on national than ecclesiastical principles, and they have remained much in the same form until now. I have sat in Convocation for a quarter of a century, and the Lower House has always done its work exceedingly well. I think it does fairly represent the feelings of the clergy. It may be anomalous, but it is virtually and practically a fair representation; and the question is whether we had better not leave it alone since it has always worked well, and it is an integral part of the constitution of the land in Church and State. Well, if you are not satisfied to do that, and not willing to restore Convocation to its old form as our Reformers intended—the *Reformatio Legum* abundantly proves that—then what is to be done? The Bishop of Derry has referred to the fifteenth chapter of the Acts, and I admit that it is doubtful what that twenty-second verse means; but I do not think it is quite certain that it does not include the laity—it is a moot point and a difficult question—but the general tenor of the chapter goes to show that the whole Church met together, Apostles, Presbyters, and Laymen. Well, then, if we are not to keep our present constitution, and not to go back to that of Provincial councils as established throughout the world, why not go back to the first council of Apostles, Presbyters, and Laymen? I differ from Archdeacon Reichel in thinking that diocesan councils were prior to general councils. St. Cyprian does not allude to diocesan councils. All that he says is that it was his habit to call in his clergy and laity and consult with them. That was neither a Diocesan nor a Provincial Synod. Still it was in favour of having a consultative body of Laymen. I am not quite prepared to advocate the admission of a body of Laymen into Convocation—I see the difficulties that would arise—but I think there could be no objection to a consultative body answering to the ancient practice of calling in some Laymen to answer for the laity. Thus at the great Council of Orange, A.D. 529, there were twenty or twenty-five Bishops, I forget which, and thirteen very eminent Laymen, who signed as consenting—*consentientes*. Therefore there is more than primitive authority for an introduction of Laymen in that way into our present constitution of Convocation; and I do not think that would tend to disestablishment. Such an addition would give greater weight to the deliberations of Convocation and make Parliament give more attention to what it said on religious questions. The House of Commons does not now thoroughly represent the religious laity of the Church of England; it is never elected on religious principles. I mean that secular and political considerations almost exclusively guide the electors; and, therefore, Parliament is not calculated, and is not unwisely unwilling now, to deal with Church questions. If, however, this consultative body were constituted it would add to the strength of Convocation itself, and give it more influence with Parliament. Next, I think it would be of immense advantage if the present houses could debate in one chamber instead of two. We in the Upper House should feel freer. Nothing in the world can be duller than a discussion in the Upper House of Convocation. Many of the right rev. prelates are, no doubt endowed, with great eloquence, but to speak only to ten or twelve Bishops and the reporters is a most depressing thing; it is like having a wet blanket thrown over you: and, again, the Lower House would probably speak with a greater sense of responsibility and more self-restraint, so that both houses would be gainers. With regard to the union of the two provinces, I think that they are naturally distinct. Provincial Synods are the ancient form of Church representation, and cannot well be disturbed. It would be of immense advantage to have a consultative body of Laymen to debate with Convocation,

to meet in one body, voting, however, in different orders; but I think the two provinces had better be kept apart and not united in one.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Sydney.

The Bishop of Winchester has well illustrated the old maxim, "if you want eloquence you must have an audience," and if the want of an audience rather dulls the debates in the Upper House, the right rev. prelate has certainly spoken with great force and freedom to this audience. With regard to the admission of the lay element into the councils of the Church, all those who are in favour of it must feel that the movement is making considerable progress. The great Frenchman who has just passed away tells us that the Abbé Sieyes in making institutions, forgot that "they never are made, but grow," and so with this revolution in Convocation —it is growing. I have not the least doubt but that some of the younger members of this Congress will see one day the prelates of the Church of England with the clergy duly elected, and laymen, all sitting to deliberate on Church matters in one chamber. In Australia eleven Bishops, the representatives of the clergy and of the laity, meet together, and consult and debate together; giving their votes each as a separate house. The greatest possible good, we find, results from discussing all questions in the presence of each other. The admission of the laity into the assemblies of the Church has been the great means by which the Australian Church has reached its present position, and is likely to reach a much higher position than it has yet attained. I have not the slightest hesitation in wishing "God speed" to the admission of laity into Convocation. Indeed, I believe it is impossible to stay the revolution—in fact, it began long ago. It began with the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, the abolition of the disabilities of the Jews, and the admission of Dissenters into Parliament. The Convocation of the two provinces will become a real representative of the Church of England by the admission of the faithful laity in due proportions. I will not thrash that straw over again, but commend it to the prayerful consideration of every earnest member of the Church of England. The time will come, and it may not be far distant, when great advantages will be seen from the admission of the laity into the deliberative assemblies of the Church, not to discuss theological questions, but to consider such practical matters as questions of finance, questions of Church government, the administration of patronage—and what a happy thing it would be if, as Bishop Perry said, they could get rid of patronage and the sale of livings. We in Australia have settled all these things for ourselves long ago, and we hope that a speedy and satisfactory settlement will be found for them in the Church at home.

Rev. H. B. Tristram, LL.D., F.R.S., Canon of Durham.

We have had impassioned utterances on this subject which have not quite shown us the living voice of the Church in perfect harmony; and even if we get the laity into Convocation, we shall be neither more nor less harmonious than we are at present. We have had a disestablished Bishop of the Church of Ireland raising with all his force his eloquent voice against the admission of the laity, and then the Metropolitan Bishop of Australia giving a different experience in a colonial Church. I believe both as an abstract question and as a practical one, we are right in endeavouring to introduce the laity into our assemblies. The work of the clergy is the administration of God's Word and sacraments, and the laity

will probably prove better judges and make better organizers both as regards finance and other important questions which bring us into difficulties with other religious bodies outside. No doubt that when such a convocation is called together, it may be called a "miscellaneous assemblage," and it certainly was a very harsh treatment of a creed to put it sentence by sentence to such an assembly. As a member of the Convocation of York, I have always supported motions for the admission of the laity, and for consulting them on all practical questions connected with the Church. Their claim is coming much more to the front, and attracts more interest amongst the large masses of the population in that province than many clergymen suspect. The Archbishop a little while ago told us that "those who held the purse-strings would expect to have a voice in the management of affairs." And it will not do to have the laity standing, as it were, outside the door of Convocation to be admitted now and again as a consultative body. If we are to have them, let them sit with us, or in a separate house with equal rights and privileges. I was struck with the way in which the union of the two Convocations has been spoken of. We of York have no desire to be united at present, for there is one great and preliminary objection. In the province of York the elected representative proctors are in an actual majority, while in Canterbury they are only a comparatively small minority. I do not think York would consent to a union until there is in Canterbury as fair a representation of the parochial clergy as there is in York. There is also the objection that a historical body like York ought not to be lightly extinguished, and the independence of a Province absorbed without grave cause. As to the rights of the laity, I am surprised that there should be any doubt as to the meaning of the passage in the xv. of Acts, the words being—"Then pleased it the Apostles and Elders with the whole Church," and it appears to me that all the three must stand or fall together. In the present troubled state of the Church do not let us increase our difficulties by rejecting the strongest materials. When I was travelling in Russia the other day an eminent politician of that country told me that since the time of Peter the Great they had removed every "buffer" between the Czar and socialism; and is not the Church now acting on a similar principle, and running the like risk by depriving herself of the aid of the great lay element by which alone she can surmount the advancing stream of a social proletariat?

Rev. R. D. Cocking.

I venture very humbly to say that I do not think that the laity ought to be admitted to Convocation because they, as a body, are not educated in such a manner as to enable them to take part in its discussions. I mean that the laity are educated generally, but not technically, and I venture to say further that it would be undesirable, so long as Parliament keeps in its own hands its power of legislation for the Church, and denies all such power to the Church herself. I think we ought to be very careful about setting up another Parliament composed of exactly the selfsame elements as that which now exists. I beg further to say that I do not think of late we have had sufficient reason to justify any increased confidence in the disposition of the laity towards the Church. Look at the late decision of the House of Lords on the burial question. By all means let us have the laity in our diocesan synods; let us meet in the presence of the Bishops and some good must certainly result. We shall, at least, be called to order if we speak too long. I think it would be an insult to the laity merely to admit them as a consultative body. I say it with all boldness and all humility, let the clergy legislate for the Church; let them keep the doctrines and formularies of the Church in their own

hands, and let us weigh well the words of the Bishop of Derry, based upon his Irish experience, that we may (if we move too fast in this direction) have cause to repent when it is too late.

A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P.

Ten minutes ago I had no idea of addressing the Congress, but an expression fell from Archdeacon Reichel to which I felt bound to give a firm but respectful denial; and it was to my great surprise that I heard the same phrase fall from the last speaker (Mr. Cocking). I rise to deprecate the treatment given to the well-thought-out scheme put before us of a consultative house of laity. I object to its being thrust aside under the false and flippant pretence of its being an insult to the laity. A layman myself, I deny that. Certainly, the very form under which such consultees would be elected contradicts the idea. In the first place, they will be laymen; in the second they will be Churchmen; and in the third place they will be gentlemen, and they will not feel that insult can be meant when they find that, after 600 years, the old constitution of Convocation is to pass through the crucible so as to admit the benefit of their opinions. Well, it is a great experiment for Convocation to invite laymen to consult with it; and why? Because it is felt that their consultative voice is worth listening to. The scheme may be wise or it may be unwise; it may work well or ill, but it must be considered not an insult but a compliment, and it ought to be tried. It may fail, and then Convocation will resume its purely ecclesiastical character, or—*absit omen*—it will be replaced by a mixed assembly, and the historical *convocatio cleri* will go. In these days it is important that a scheme recommended as this has been should be tried, and not pushed aside on this platform by the most illogical and most illusive of accusations—that of an insult.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 10th.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ely took the Chair at Half-past Seven o'clock.

INTEMPERANCE—LEGISLATIVE REMEDIES; CHURCH ACTION.

PAPERS.

Canon Duckworth.

The memorial signed by over 14,000 clergy of the Church of England which under your Grace's auspices called into existence the select committee of the House of Lords on intemperance, stands for an expression of the despair to which we, the working clergy, feel ourselves reduced by the present state of the liquor traffic and the

drinking customs which it fosters. It stands also for an expression of our belief that it lies within the power and the province of legislation greatly to modify, if not to remove, the conditions there described, which are rendering the work of the Church to a vast extent fruitless. We feel that we may multiply as we will the agencies of moral and religious suasion ; we may bring the influence of the Church to a focus in our temperance societies ; we may promote to the utmost all elevating counter-attractions to the popular vice ; we may educate the minds as well as the consciences of the people, and remove the dense ignorance of all classes in regard to the use and action of stimulants ; all this we may do, and by God's help are trying to do : but we are convinced that we can make no real and lasting impression unless the law comes to our aid. As it now stands, the law sanctions temptation on a colossal scale. It feeds the disease which the Church is commissioned to heal. What hope is there of curing that disease while we cannot reach its cause ?

The Church of England Temperance Society, with its double platform of total abstinence and strict moderation, is making a noble stand at this moment in every part of the land ; it is bringing all the influence of the religious motive, the strongest and most hopeful of all, to bear upon the prevalent excess ; but it is cruelly handicapped in its career, like every other temperance society. "Our national intemperance," to quote the closing words of Canon Ellison's invaluable evidence before the Lords' Committee, "is like a great fortress ; it must be attacked by investment, by mine, by sap, and by direct attack." But whatever we may hope from the action of the Church and the other religious bodies in the country, we can have no permanent reform till we are backed by material aid from legislation. A vast mass of evidence on the subject of this evening's discussion has now been laid before that committee to which I have referred, over which the Duke of Westminster has presided with such admirable patience and sagacity. Upwards of 10,000 questions have been put and have drawn from the most competent witnesses answers which throw light upon every aspect of the temperance question. But in gauging the extent of the evil, I maintain that there are no witnesses so entitled to a hearing as the parochial clergy and the medical profession. The clergy and the doctors come to closer quarters with it than any other men. How bitterly that evil is realised by many a minister of Christ eager at the outset "to make full proof of his ministry," but soon forced to abandon his lofty ideal of spiritual work, and to divert his best energies into the serving of tables, transformed into a mere relieving officer, and regarded in no higher light by those whose dependence or destitution he has to trace in the large majority of cases to intemperance—their own or that of others. And, to say nothing of the open alienation from all religion directly due to drinking habits, what ceaseless revelations of strife and sorrow due to the same cause are made to us ! Of how much blighted promise and wasted power and ruined peace we are compelled to know ! Those tremendous figures of the drink traffic so often before our eyes make no impression to compare

with that which we whose work lies in the great centres of population daily gather in the routine of pastoral duty.

And when we compare notes with the doctors, we find that their experience entirely coincides with our own. Their professional work brings them into contact with it at every turn. They tell us that the same evil which empties our churches, fills our hospitals and our lunatic asylums. That which from our point of view is the prevalent poison of the spiritual life is from theirs the deadliest enemy of physical life. Listen to the evidence of an illustrious physician, Sir William Gull, a man warped by no theory, but simply recording what he sees with his own eyes in the course of a wide and varied practice—"I hardly know (he says) any more potent cause of disease than alcohol, leaving out of view the fact that it is a frequent source of crime of all descriptions." And again—"A very large number of people in society are dying day by day, poisoned by alcohol, but not supposed to be poisoned by it."

And here let me say that in estimating the prospects of a temperance reformation, there is no symptom more cheering than the marked revolution now going forward in medical opinion in regard to the use of stimulants. The Church in her temperance work may well take courage from the fact that she will have warm allies in a new and enlightened school of practitioners, who have unlearnt the error of the last generation. I may take Sir William Gull to represent the highest medical culture of the hour, and while he upholds the value of alcohol as a drug, he is decidedly of opinion that its use in disease may still be diminished. He is distinctly opposed to the daily use of it as *food*. He holds that even in exhaustion it is much better not to have recourse to it. He exposes the fatal but almost universal fallacy that *strong drink makes strong*. He insists that great injury is done by it even to moderate drinkers, in whom it produces degeneration of nervous tissue and impoverishment of mind. He condemns absolutely all drinking between meals, and in so doing condemns one of the most pernicious habits of modern society. But on no point is his testimony more emphatic than on one of special interest to a company like the present, largely composed of professional men, that intellectual work can be better done without the aid of alcohol, which quickens the brain for the time, but inevitably deteriorates it. And so impressed is he with the lamentable results of popular ignorance on these matters that, in answer to a question from the Archbishop of York, he says, "I am persuaded myself that nothing could be better than that lecturers should go about the country lecturing to people of the middle and upper-middle classes upon the disadvantages of alcohol as it is daily used." That great body of evidence to which these words belong may be equivocal on some points, but unhappily it proves beyond all question that drunkenness is on the increase in the great centres of population. In 1857 there were 76,000 committals for drunkenness in England. In 1875 there were 204,000; of which 150,000, or 75 per cent., were contributed by the seven most densely populated counties, and those which contain the largest towns—viz., Lancashire, Middlesex, Durham, York, Stafford, Northumberland, and Cheshire.

In eight agricultural counties the average rate of committals was 2·9 per 1,000. In eight industrial and mining counties it was 13·6 per 1,000. That is to say, the present insobriety of our industrial population is five times as great as that of our agricultural, while that of our agricultural population is about one-third greater than that of Frenchmen of all classes. Scotland is ten times as drunken as France, and Ireland nine times, so far as committals are to be regarded as a fair test of general intemperance. Taking into account the increase of population during the eighteen years between 1857 and 1875, the committals, according to Professor Leone Levi, have increased by fully 71 per cent. throughout the country. And when we remember that it is in the crowded centres of national life, where the Church is overworked and undermanned, that the worst growth of excess is going on, the prospect seems gloomy indeed. I will now repeat my conviction that the Church must invoke the Legislature to stem this swelling tide of intemperance. And the policy which I venture to advocate is a policy of *progressive restriction*. We have all heard *ad nauseam* the commonplace that you cannot make men sober by Act of Parliament. Those of us who have eyes to see and ears to hear with, know that, if this is a *truism*, it is certainly not a *truth*. Who can follow the varying results of Legislation, restrictive and the reverse—*e.g.*, the Beerhouse Act of 1830 and the Forbes Mackenzie Act, without discovering that Acts of Parliament can most powerfully promote or check intemperance? Acts of Parliament cannot instil morality, but they can provide or remove the means of immorality. They cannot abolish *sin*, but they can reduce *crime*.

I believe it to be fully proved that what is called "free licensing" or "free trade in licenses" has utterly failed; and we may now take it as an axiom that drinking increases *pari passu* with the facilities offered for it. The most obvious remedy, therefore, for the existing evil lies, as I have said, in progressive restriction; and I believe that the Church cannot take better action than in stimulating the demand for this. The main principle of the Permissive Bill I hold to be thoroughly sound—viz., the putting the control of the drink traffic into the hands of the people. But with the deepest respect for the advocates of that Bill, and the heartiest sympathy with their general object, I think it has a fatal defect. It contemplates *total prohibition* only. It makes no provision for reduction in the number of public-houses or for the control of hours. It is thus, on the one hand, too limited a measure, while on the other it is too sweeping, for it gives the majority the power of banishing the liquor trade in every form from a whole locality; it enables them not only to close all public-houses, but to turn out all brewers and wine-merchants without any compensation. For total abstainers like myself such an exercise of power could have no terrors. But I cannot think it quite fair, nor, in the present state of public opinion, does it seem to me to lie within the sphere of practical politics.

Such a modified or graduated Permissive Bill as was drafted a few years ago by the National Association for Promoting Amendment in the Laws Relating to the Liquor Traffic, appears to me

far sounder in principle and far less likely to excite opposition. That Bill vests in the ratepayers of each locality the control in the issue and regulation of licenses by means of Licensing Boards elected by them.

It ensures a gradual reduction of the number of public-houses in four different ways—(1) By absolute forfeiture of the license on the second or third conviction; (2) by providing that the beer-house license shall expire with the vacation of the personal license, whether from death, insolvency, or any other cause; (3) it empowers the board to determine how many licenses shall be issued or renewed, adopting the scale of Mr. Bruce's ill-fated Bill of 1871—viz., of one to 1,000 or one to 1,500, according to the size of the population; (4) it provides for the voluntary sale, or compulsory purchase of existing interests.

Again, it provides that the board shall impose a license rental in addition to the excise rental upon the remaining houses. The expenses of the board are made the first charge upon this rental, and the remainder is to be capitalised and applied to compensation of the deprived license-holders.

It is obvious that the action of the board would create a monopoly; and therefore the Bill guards against the risk of favouritism by requiring all fresh licenses to be tendered for by public competition; the basis of tender to be the advance on the license-rental as fixed by the board.

The next provision in the Bill, making the licensed victualler's license the only retail license, would effect a reform of the greatest value by repealing the well-meant Acts of 1861 and 1862, commonly called the "Gladstone Acts," which I, for one, believe to have produced disastrous social and moral effects. We know for a fact that between the years 1860 and 1872, the consumption of wine nearly doubled, while the consumption of beer and spirits, so far from being diminished, increased in nearly equal proportion. The shopkeepers' licenses are already over 10,000 in number, and rapidly increasing, as tradesmen of every description yield to the temptation of grafting upon their original and proper business the most noxious but most lucrative of all trades. Facility for drinking is thus offered in its most decent but therefore most insidious form, especially to women, among whom there is good reason to believe that secret drinking has been promoted to a terrible extent. No testimony on this subject can be more alarming than that borne by the large body of medical practitioners who signed the memorial lately circulated by the *Lancet*. We cannot agitate too loudly for an entire reversal of legislation which is productive of evils out of all proportion to the benefits intended. Anything short of the entire repeal of the acts in question—*e.g.*, the stereotyping the existing licenses, by putting them under the power of the magistrates, would only create a new monopoly and perpetuate the evil.

The next important provision is the separation of all licensed houses from music-halls and dancing-saloons. Such places of amusement must exist, but there is no hope of checking the demoralization they spread so long as they are bound up with the drink traffic.

The Bill provides for the closing of all public-houses on Sundays, except for two hours in the middle of the day and two hours in the evening, when they would be open for the sale of beer only, not to be consumed on the premises. But the Local Board would have the power of closing altogether on Sundays in cases where the ratepayers demand it. On ordinary days it is proposed to close the houses from 11 p.m to 7 a.m. in London, and from 10 p.m. to 7 a.m. in the country. The hours of sale may, however, be shortened still further by the Local Board, or in exceptional cases extended, should the Secretary of State approve. The Board would have the services of a clerk and an inspector; the clerk to conduct prosecutions under the Act before the magistrates; the inspector to visit houses, lay informations, and report to the Board all cases of conviction. Among offences under the Act are enumerated the adulteration of drinks, the selling to intoxicated persons, or permitting intoxication on the premises, harbouring disorderly and immoral characters, selling to young persons under fifteen years of age. By the present law spirits cannot be sold legally to any one under sixteen. Those who know how great are the incentives to juvenile intemperance would gladly extend this prohibition to all alcoholic drinks.

Lastly, the Bill makes illegal the recovery of debts incurred by the purchase of intoxicating liquors.

Such is an outline of a measure which is at once sufficiently considerate of existing interests, and calculated largely to reduce our national intemperance—indeed, I firmly believe to change the whole face of English society. There are other measures of relief which we may well press for. The granting of "occasional licenses," now obtained with such dangerous ease, should be in the hands of a licensing board, and guarded by stringent rules. Spirits, in the consumption of which there is so great an increase, ought to be much more heavily taxed, and a graduated duty ought to be levied upon the strength of all other alcoholic liquors. Inducement would thus be held out for the manufacture and consumption of lighter and less hurtful beverages.

It will be said that it is easy to sketch out remedial legislation, but that the paramount influence of the brewing and distilling interests in Parliament and throughout the country must render any appreciable reform indefinitely remote. The compulsory withdrawal of so moderate a measure as Mr. Bruce's Bill through the vehement pressure brought to bear by those interests did indeed reveal the magnitude of the task undertaken by temperance reformers. But happily we cannot forget that a great and hopeful education of public opinion has since been going forward. The Church, in rising up at last to grapple mightily with the monster evil which paralyses her action, has allies outside her pale in all who have at heart the moral and physical well-being of the people, and the removal of an inveterate blot upon the national name. Earnest men of all beliefs and all classes are drawing together on this great question. They are demanding more and more loudly that the State shall recognise its responsibility and be true to the principle to which it stands committed by the imperfect legislation of the past. They are

demanding that it shall resolutely tighten its grasp upon the traffic it has taken in hand, and compress it within ever narrower limits, till the scandal of those excesses which disgrace our Christianity and our civilisation is wiped away.

Through the labours of such patriotic thinkers and workers the question before us to-night has attained vast dimensions. I crave all indulgence if within the brief space allotted to me I shall seem to have made scanty contribution to an almost boundless subject.

Dr. Alfred Carpenter.

I shall reverse the order in which it is proposed to consider the subject of intemperance. The action of the Church is of greater importance than the legislative remedies which are required. "Men cannot be made sober by Act of Parliament" said a noted statesman, and to some extent I agree with him, but they can be made sober by producing a change in their mental state, a change which it is the duty of the Church to bring about. The religious and the moral welfare of this country was committed to the care of the Church when the parochial system was instituted. A greater development of that system is required to arrest the further inroads of intemperance. That development in the direction I now propose to to point out is of much greater importance than legislative action or the infliction of punishments. It is not to be denied that advantage may be derived from further State aid ; nay, it is a necessity in the case, but the greatest power of resistance to the results of strong drink must be obtained by an appeal for help to the Supreme Being, and to a more energetic assistance from those who claim to be His ambassadors on earth. Some may ask, "Is further any action necessary in addition to all that the Church is now doing?"

A simple enumeration of the evils which result from Intemperance will be a sufficient answer to that question, and tell us most conclusively that present plans cannot cope with those evils or prevent a tithe of the effects of strong drink.

The Church cannot be content to let the Satanic influences of intoxicating liquors work their way comparatively unchecked among the people. I will enumerate those influences in as few words as possible.

They are misunderstandings leading to quarrels, distorted views, erroneous and defective judgments, sudden and violent actions, vice of all kinds, human beings acting as wild beasts, wife beatings and violence towards the nearest relations, child-murder by design or misadventure, at least one-tenth of all the children born in the land dying shortly after birth from causes which strong drink has produced. We express horror at the conduct of Herod in slaughtering little children ; his act was once only, whilst an analagous result in our own land is of daily occurrence, and we make no national sign of objection. Truly indeed will the men of Nineveh rise up in judgment against this generation and condemn it, and even Herod

himself might attempt to justify his conduct as venial compared with that which is now afforded by this so-called Christian nation.

Then there other sequences of intoxication such as fires, collisions, explosions, shipwrecks, railway accidents, bankruptcies—ruin to tens of thousands of innocent persons, full workhouses, fuller casual wards, police required in all our streets, full lunatic asylums, more idiot asylums wanted, high poor-rates, jails and convict prisons—in which the majority of the inmates acknowledge that their residence in them is due to the effect of strong drink, the widow and the orphan, the poor and helpless ground down by this Moloch of custom, and every necessary of life enormously increased in price in consequence of the national sin. The effect of intoxicating drinks increases the price of every article in common use. If it were not for the losses entailed by it everything in ordinary use would be immensely cheaper; those with limited incomes would be much less hardly pressed upon than they are now. Intoxicating drinks by their effects entail a loss upon the general public which is incalculable. It is therefore the source of enormous evil to the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of the people of this land for whom, as the Psalmist says, "A net is spread abroad with cords, and traps are set in his way"—Psalm cxl., 53.

The Church has a duty under these circumstances which is not fully performed. It is true the Church of England Temperance Association has been established to break "The Devil's Chain" which binds us—and I rejoice to think that the present Spiritual Head of our Church is foremost among its supporters—but in the majority of parishes it is doing nothing. I hesitate as a layman in the presence of so many officers of the Church to speak of duty. They know what is their duty better than I do. Nevertheless I would most respectfully suggest that it is not to advise the infliction of or to administer punishment. It is not to crush the wrongdoer by heavy worldly penalties. It is not to call upon the legislature to root out the tares and burn them up at once, as too many Christians are quite ready to do, but it is to see that the tares are not mistaken for wheat, that they do not pull down the wheat before the time of harvest and destroy it in the field, that the seeds of evil are not sown as good seeds, and the produce of these seeds spoken of as good produce.

The vice of intemperance is a disease affecting the spiritual essence of man; an immorality which it is the duty of the Church to try and prevent to the utmost in its power by persuasion and example. The duty is somewhat analagous to that of the medical man, who points out the causes of disease as well as suggests means for their cure. Whether drunkenness is a vice, a disease or a crime, does not, as far as we are concerned, require a single moment's waste of time. Too much has already been lost in considering this really unimportant matter. Under either view prevention is better than cure, and the same course must be followed under either aspect.

The present age has seen the development of a system for the prevention of the bodily disease, which may well be copied in opposing the progress of intemperance. The parochial system

has been introduced into the region of preventive medicine, and Medical Officers are appointed in every parish in the kingdom for the purpose of preventing disease as well as curing it. If a form of disease which is dangerous to others makes its appearance in any particular house, it is the duty of the Medical Officer of Health to go to that house, and advise as to how the disease may be isolated, its effects limited, and its extension prevented. It is only by the personal supervision of the individual house that sanitary work can be thoroughly effectual; and without that supervision, Medical Officers of Health will not effect the object for which they have been appointed.

It has been found impossible for the Medical Officer himself to supervise every departure from sanitary law; he has his army of sanitary inspectors who assist him, and it is in this personal supervision, and in this sanitary army, that the Church may take a leaf out of her half-brother's book.

It may be said that the plan I advocate is already in operation, that the vicar of the parish is the Officer of Spiritual Health; and his visitors are his sanitary inspectors. In theory this is so, but it is not so in practice. It is true the vicar declaims from the pulpit, as well as among those to whom his visits are agreeable, against the sin of drunkenness; and the visitors are equally condemnatory of the vice among the poor. But the drunkard does not go to church, his relations rarely enter the sacred edifice, his friends are not the vicar's friends, and they seldom enter any place of worship, and the district visitor rarely goes to the house of the drunkard. When once the vice is thoroughly established, the visitor too often avoids that house as hopeless. It is true that there are many notable exceptions to this general rule, but as a rule the home of the drunkard, which is generally the abode of the harlot, is unvisited by either vicar or visitor. The place at which the drunkard is manufactured is also unvisited in that regular manner in which it is desirable that it should be. It is to the place at which the disease is manufactured so to speak, and to the victims of the disease, that the Medical Officer of Health personally devotes most of his energy. Until our spiritual Officer of Health takes personally in hand the home of the drunkard, and the public-house in which he is manufactured, it is not likely that the vice (or the disease, take it as you like), will be materially lessened in our land. I am sometimes met with the statement that those are not the places which can be frequented by the minister of the gospel or his visitors; that they will be exposed to insult if they attempt to enter such haunts of vice; that drinking bars and music halls are not fit for decent people to go into, much less for clergymen and female visitors. My answer is that I have been a promoter of sanitary measures among the people for the past 25 years, and I know full well what this means. I have had as much insult from those I have wished to benefit as most private individuals. I know (at times) how crushing, how galling it is, and am not therefore speaking about a matter which I do not understand; and having felt it, I yet say advisedly, that it is only by going to the fount of

evil, to the public-house itself, that it is possible for it to be isolated and restrained.

I shall be asked how the evil is to be restrained when the spiritua l health officer is there. It is not by threats, not by the terrors of the law, not by bribes and promises of personal advantage; but by the great Christian virtues of love, forbearance, and charity; by gentle conversation, by pointing out at the right season in each case the way to escape from the chain with which the poor wretch is bound. I hear some one say—"but what right has one man to enter another man's house to talk to him about drunkenness, and to speak to him of misconduct?"—I answer—every right in the cases to which I allude. If a man has proved himself to be a drunkard in the eye of the law, it becomes the duty of the Church to look after that man. Nearly 38,000 persons were convicted of drunkenness last year in the police courts of the metropolitan area. The names and addresses of every one of those persons appear in the police sheets, and have been published in the court in which the case was heard; there would therefore be no difficulty in reaching the larger number of those who inhabit the haunts of vice; whilst every public-house is open to the clergyman and district visitor as well as to anyone else.

If each of those 38,000 drunkards were visited and reasoned with at the proper season, that is especially just after their conviction, and if those visits were followed up by very frequent interviews, a blow would be struck at the root of the upas tree which now overshadows us; which, repeated again and again, would, in due time, do more to arrest the growth of drunkenness than all the sermons which have ever been preached in all the pulpits of Great Britain. The London City Mission is doing some good among these people, Ragged Schools are doing some good, Temperance Societies are doing some good, and in some of our parishes the Church is at work in the direction indicated, with marvellous results. It is supposed to be at work in all, especially by the aid of district visitors; but in far too many cases they tend by their work to increase the evil, rather than to diminish it, by a lavish use of wine and spirits. It is true in theory that stimulants are not generally given without a doctor's certificate, stating that they are required; but in a large number of cases the visitor finds her way made easier by an injudicious distribution of wine and spirits, and language is used by some of them as if such things were necessaries of life. This is a serious evil. The poor are led to suppose by the conversation of one moving in a superior station in life, that strong drink is a remedy for every ailment; but as a medical man, I say advisedly, and that not without experience, that in 95 cases out of every hundred, they are worse than useless. I urge most strongly upon all district visitors, that any recommendation which appears to suggest that stimulants would be provided if they were prescribed is helping the enemy at a time when enormous injury can be done to the cause of temperance. Stimulants as a rule are unnecessary in the treatment of disease. I urge, therefore, as a duty upon the Officer of Spiritual Health, that he resolutely discourage their

distribution by district visitors. It will be said by some that they may as well give up district visiting at once, as be without the power to distribute stimulants; without that power they will be unable to gain admission to the houses of the poor. If the district visitor be not acceptable to those among whom she ministers without that power, the sooner she resigns her post the better it will be for sobriety. Her example is increasing the belief among the poor that stimulants are necessaries of life. They are no more necessaries than are satin dresses or a carriage and four. Useful they may be in proper seasons, but quite capable of being left out of account in the production of muscular power or nerve force; nay more, they are decidedly hurtful in the majority of instances in which they are used. Urge district visitors, therefore, to discountenance their use in sickness as well as health. Teach children that they are not necessaries of life. Visit the drunkard in his home; keep him and his family under daily supervision; be known to him personally, known as feeling for his weakness, and known as ready at all times to give a word of advice and caution. We may then hope some day that we may beat back the torrent of vice which now almost overwhelms us, which is already bringing down much misery upon us, and will do so still more upon our posterity, if it continue unchecked.

Above all, encourage the formation of a class of visitors from among the poor themselves. Get as much lay help as possible from amongst the poor, and no better aid can be obtained than that which a genuine teetotaller will afford. They are more earnest than the moderate drinker, and if they can be persuaded to have charity, and recollect that they are only one branch of Christ's army and not the whole of it, they will render the most efficient aid. There is too much room for assistance for any to be refused, and all schools of thought among Christians must be pressed into service; but the Spiritual Health Officer will be the commander upon whom should rest the glory of success or the disgrace of defeat.

Time will fail me to say much upon the legislative remedies which are required to assist the Church in the battle in which she must engage. I put my suggestions forward to you as to citizens of a great nation rather than as to Churchmen. I strongly object to the Church as such using or promoting any other power than that which arises from a cultivation of the principles contained in Christ's Sermon on the Mount. I do not advocate Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill, because I believe it is not a possible measure. So also with the Gothenburg System, it will not work among a free people. Many vote for it now, not because it will ever become law, but because it is an engine by means of which they think the bulwarks of intemperance may be broken down ready for other assaults.

We must bear in mind that the conflict is one in which various interests are engaged, in which various shades of thought are entitled to consideration, and in which various weapons must be used. A commanding officer who trusts entirely to his artillery only, or to his cavalry, or his bayonets, will probably suffer a defeat. He must look

at all sides of the field. He sometimes sends out a contingent to test the power of the enemy, and such a force many consider Sir Wilfrid Lawson's measure to be, and support it accordingly. We, as warriors against intemperance, must consider all the sides on which it may be attacked. We must prevent its evils by rendering it evident to our children that strong drink is not a necessary of life, and education of the young in this fact is of the first importance. No publican ought to be allowed to sell strong drink to a child under any pretence whatever. I see children who have been sent to the public-house with the bottle or the jug openly or slyly drinking from it as they take it home, thus early in life getting a taste for the noxious thing. I see little children in the bars of public-houses invited by half-fuddled idiots to drink the poison as if it were a sweetmeat, and I see mothers in the same bar giving the infant at the breast a drink out of the pewter as if they were doing the little innocent a kindness. I, too, often see the same children ragged and breadless about to become the inmates of the workhouse, or presented in the dock of our police court as offenders against the laws.

The sale of strong drink should be entirely prohibited to children, and they ought not to be admitted to the bar of the public-house except in the charge of their parents, and no parent with proper feelings of humanity ought to take his child there.

Again, no public-house ought to be open for the sale of stimulants on the Sunday except to actual travellers. There should be a class of refreshment-houses also encouraged, in which the sale should not be allowed except to those who have taken food with their fire-water, and without an order for food no liquor should be provided.

Six-day licenses should be pressed upon the attention of the public-house keeper, and every effort made to stay the evils of Sunday drinking; and publicans as well as other tradesmen should be allowed to close their houses when they like. Those who frequent our police courts are fully aware of the fact that the cases which are brought up for hearing on Monday mornings are considerably more than double the number which are presented as an average of the other days in the week.

A strong representation should also be made to the Government against a power which is now most unjustly used by the excise of granting licenses to sell liquor to be consumed off the premises to every applicant who is able to pay the fees. The person may have been refused by the local bench of magistrates, but the decision of the bench against the applicant is treated as nothing. The excise ought not to have any power to distribute licenses at all. The county licensing boards are doing much to stop the increase of public-houses, although another dangerous evil is springing up as a consequence—viz., the idea of monopoly and right to compensation.

An alteration of the law is also required so that it should be illegal for a publican to supply anyone with drink who has been convicted of drunkenness, or to admit that person to his bar, and it ought to be the duty of the police to visit drinking bars and caution the bar

keeper when they find a drunkard there. If one half the convicted cases could be brought home to the publican who had supplied the drink, and a quadruple penalty put on him, it would make publicans more careful, and lead to some arrest in the wholesale intoxication of the frequenters of such houses.

The present law must be also more efficiently rendered. The spectacle of an officer of police not proceeding against a man because he belongs to the *upper ten* must not be possible, and the law which calls upon the police to take proceedings against every man who is found drunk in the public streets must not be a dead letter. Every man, whatever his position in life, who reels home in a state of intoxication, is a public scandal, and ought not to be allowed without remonstrance.

Lastly, every person convicted in a police court on several occasions for drunkenness ought to be committed to a reformatory for a long period. The Habitual Drunkards Bill, introduced last session by Dr. Cameron, must be passed into law, so that medical men may have a chance of curing an undoubted disease, which, by its public exhibition and by continued familiarity, tends to render drunkenness less repulsive, and but too often the one drunkard makes many. Let us hope that the next session of Parliament will not pass over without some of the points I have mentioned becoming the law of the land, and thus, by preventing the evil, by properly protecting our children and teaching them aright, by diminishing the net which is now spread abroad to catch men in the shape of an increased number of drinking shops, and by giving medical men power to cure disease when it is actually established in the case of the habitual drunkards, we may hope for better things. Let us ask for some blessing on these our honest endeavours.

Rev. Canon Butler, Vicar of Wantage.

In this assembly I first must plead for mercy. I rise with a strong sense of my audacity in venturing to express views somewhat differing from those of a majority like that which I see before me, wherein zeal, intelligence, and experience far greater than my own are amply represented. I trust, however, that I may be allowed the privilege which Englishmen, *indocti doctique*, are apt to claim, that I may think for myself, and especially since, as I may truly say, I have been somewhat more than invited into the discussion of this evening, that I may be permitted to speak my mind. Let me before all else at once say that I would not in the very least degree even *appear* to underrate the extreme gravity, I may almost say the solemnity, of the subject. I yield to no one in my sense of the tremendous evils with which in intemperance we have to deal, of the hideous ruin which the indulgence in strong drink entails on both body and soul. No one, as I think, with common observation, and common good feeling, can be indifferent to it, or cease to echo the

words of the wise man, "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging, and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." In all that has been so well and earnestly said on this subject, both here and elsewhere, I do most heartily agree. It is in regard to the remedies proposed to meet the evil that I confess that I hesitate. I do not see my way to invoke further legislative action than that which already exists, except in one point, which I fear is not what some men present would accept; nor am I inclined to advocate the formation of societies for the single purpose of maintaining that portion of the virtue of temperance which has to do with drink. Still less can I cast in my lot with those who, in their most praiseworthy desire to reclaim drunkards, assert that it is the duty of everyone to abstain altogether from any form of alcoholic beverage, however diluted and innocuous.

These being the three chief remedies proposed, at least those on which the public attention most naturally rests, let me take them separately, and endeavour to show where, as I think, they fail. And first as to legislative action. Is there not a strong, and on the whole, a healthy feeling, in a free country like this of ours, against all directly personal restrictions, those only excepted without which society could not possibly hold together; such, for instance, as offences against person, property, and the peace of the realm? If once we pass beyond this line, we involve ourselves in a maze of difficulty. Sumptuary laws have had their day. They belong to that against which the free heart of England will ever rebel, which is called a *paternal government*. Let us not forget that while swaddling clothes no doubt keep children out of mischief, they also restrain the free growth of the limbs. And I venture to contend that there is a certain disciplining of man's nature, which is to be found in resisting temptation, and which cannot be obtained when temptation is altogether withdrawn. There is a striking passage in the "*Avenir Politique d'Angleterre*," written by the observant Montalembert, in which he contrasts a Jesuit college —such as is seen in France—where the boys are strictly watched and kept as it were by main force out of the way of evil—with an English public school, where freedom is the order of the day. I need scarcely say to which of these he gives the preference. Of course I am not pretending that there is no danger in freedom; but that the balance of advantage is on that side. This too, I think is certain, that if men are resolved to drink, no law will restrain them.

Naturam expellas furcâ, tamen usque recurret.

Often there is even a certain piquancy, a special gratification in getting hold of that which is forbidden or difficult to obtain. What is needed—as I think—is to deal with the inner man, and to work through the intelligence, the conscience, and the will, rather than through the restrictive action of the law.

But is not this, it may be said, the very purpose of Temperance societies? Is not the very object of these to stimulate the conscience, to turn the will from evil to good, to create a kind of moral atmosphere which will give strength to the weaker natures, and enable them to hold their own against this grievous and persistent

foe? All this may be granted; and yet there is one objection to them which, I submit, mars them at the very root. Why are societies to be formed with a view to this rather than to any other sin? Why are we to inculate temperance only in drink? Does not the Apostle bid us "Be temperate in all things?" What is there special in drunkenness which places it in a category outside all other sins? Are we prepared to have separate and special associations against lying, selfishness, or that sin of the flesh which, if drunkenness slay its thousands, may truly be said to slay its tens of thousands—I mean the sin of unchastity? If it be said that, provided only we can deliver people from the plague of drink, we shall have done a great work, well worthy of any effort, however eccentric, I reply that there is no small danger lest we thus induce them to imagine that to abstain from drink is the *summum bonum* of life—lest they make a sort of religion in simply not getting drunk, and

> Compound for sins they are inclined to,
> By damning those they have no mind to.

No one can have had much to do with such societies without encountering this tendency. And I own that I feel some jealousy lest the Church should appear to oppose this one special sin, not so much because it is an offence to Him who loved us and gave Himself for us, as because it happens to be exactly that which most hinders worldly success,—lest while she sets herself to free men from that which ruins the body, she should seem to pass by other sins equally ruinous to the soul. It may be very well for the various Dissenting bodies to form these separate associations, but, as has been well said, the Church herself is the National Temperance Association, and all special temperance societies set up within her, tend, I humbly submit, to obscure that attribute which equally with "One," "Catholic," and Apostolic, is hers,—viz., that of Holiness, her right to exact from her members to be holy, not in one thing only, but in all.

I pass on to consider total abstinence. It is useless to disguise the fact; scarcely a temperance meeting is held where some earnest upholder of the cause does not blurt out that which he has in his heart—viz., that total abstinence is the only right and reasonable course, and that moderation in the use of alcoholic drinks is almost as great an evil as drunkenness, if not actually worse. I would not use a hard word, but I cannot but think that it is just this element of fanaticism which gives weight and popularity to the temperance movement, and that without it it would soon collapse. And yet the evil of it seems to me to be manifold. I see on all sides excellent men who have abjured all beverages, however faintly imbued with alcohol, breaking down in health, and unable to fulfil their proper duties; others forced to make up to themselves for the loss of that moderate stimulant to which they have been accustomed, by eating an enormous quantity of animal food, or indulging in that which, if we may trust medical opinion, is quite as injurious to many constitutions as alcohol—the immoderate use of tobacco. I hear of some who even refuse to approach the Lord's Table because wine,

although by His own appointment, is there "taken and received." Let me not, however, be misunderstood. I am quite ready to admit—having over and over again tested the fact by experience—that there is a condition from which nothing but total abstinence can deliver—when the only chance lies in steady and persistent refusal of all, even the slightest form of alcoholic drink. Even here, this is what is called a "kill or cure" remedy; not unfrequently, as physicians well know, the strain is too great for the enervated frame. But then here it may reasonably be argued that in such a case, if the sudden and total privation weaken the body or even cause death, it is better, *at all hazards*, to be sober, than to live and to die a victim to the degrading influence of drink. But that which I venture to deprecate is the belief that it is necessary or even right that they who would induce others to be sober should themselves entirely abstain. It is said, I am aware, on high medical authority, that alcohol, however diluted, however moderately taken into the system, is so absolutely evil that, even independently of philanthropic motives, it should, never under any circumstances be used. Here I confess that I always feel inclined to doubt the wisdom of those who set themselves against the instincts of collective humanity. In other matters besides Church doctrine, it is, I think, dangerous to oppose *quod semper, quod ubique, quad ab omnibus*. And further, is not this a fact—at least I am assured of it by one of the highest medical authorities in this land—that the nations who do most work are alcohol consumers, and that the English nation is finer, as certainly it is far more numerous, than at at any previous time? I think that results have hardly justified the following extract from "A Friendly Admonition to the Drinkers of Gin, Brandy, and other Distilled Spirituous Liquors," by Stephen Hales, D.D., published by the S.P.C.K. in 1818:—

"If it be certain that since the introduction of spirituous liquors the number of births yearly have been for some time decreasing, so that it is now a fourth part less than it was thirty years backwards, and the burials increasing at a dreadful rate, so that the nation, in London only, has lost near 15,000 people every three years; if it be certain, as it is affirmed by the tradesmen of the City, that working men are not able to carry two-thirds of what they formerly could carry with ease; if it be certain that the weekly consumption of wheat within the City is now many thousands of bushels short of what it used to be; if the number of the poor be, through the effect of an universal debauchery, daily increasing and the consumption of food, clothing, and household furniture lessening, and our home trade and manufactures sinking; if health and life and soul are all going to destruction, gibbets groaning with the load of increasing malefactors, brought to a dreadful end by the force of this maddening drink; if," &c., &c.

This series of dreadful hypotheses, reminding one not a little of the style of what we have heard delivered in very modern times at certain meetings in the cause of temperance, was written, observe, sixty years ago; and we may, I think, congratulate ourselves that the state of things is not, even now, with all the additional drink that has been consumed, quite so gloomy as the writer's picture of his own times. No one, I think, will assert that our population has decreased since 1818, or that manufactures have become extinct or have perished. I speak under correction of medical authority, but may it not be the fact that the moderate use of some fermented

drinks may be beneficial, not, perhaps, *because* of the alcohol itself which they contain, but because this alcohol serves to hold in combination certain constituents such as silica, phosphorus, iron, and other ingredients which make the blood and muscle of the human frame?

But another and even higher ground has been taken. Whether, it has been said, alcoholic drinks produce evil, or, under certain circumstances, may be beneficial to the body, this is quite certain—that they bring ruin to thousands of souls. Surely then all Christians, and more particularly the clergy, are bound—even at some cost to themselves—to refuse all participation in the "unclean thing." Is it not said by so great an authority as the Apostle St. Paul, "It is good neither to eat flesh nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." And again, "If meat make my brother to offend I will eat no meat so long as the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend." First of all, in considering this, let it be understood what is the nature of the offence which the Apostle bids us avoid. It was this—that even though certain people, being, as his word is, "strong," saw the nothingness of idols, and ate meat which had been offered to them like any other meat, as most of us now would do, yet this created misunderstanding, and induced weaker brethren to eat the same, who held the idea that it was specially sacred, thus involving themselves once more in heathen superstition. Does this apply to the present case? Does any one, do drinkers themselves, venture to *defend* the immoderate use of wine, or argue that because others take a little they are *therefore justified* in taking too much? I should be glad to know from those who use this which may be called the Scripture argument, how far they mean to press it. Will they abjure everything that thus causes offence, that leads men to do wrong? If so, what becomes of that, the love of which St. Paul calls "the root of all evil," viz., *money*, the most fruitful cause of every kind of crime. Perhaps some here present will hardly agree with the strong words of John Wesley in regard to a certain well-known and much-accepted beverage. After arguing that it is a duty to abstain from it for the sake of those miserables who will not believe that the poison which it contains will hurt, "O throw it away," he cries in the fervour of his heart; "let there be one plea less for destroying the body, if not the soul, before the time;" and he accuses those who indulge in it of "adding sin to sin" and "grieving the Holy Spirit of God." Will any be surprised to hear that the obnoxious liquor, thus earnestly denounced, is that whose praises are sung on every side—the refreshing and inoffensive tea? On the other hand he calls wine "one of nature's most noble cordials." It is ever dangerous to strain passages of Holy Scripture, or else might it not be said that Our Lord's Miracle at the Marriage Feast is a sanctifying of the right use of wine for even convivial purposes; and St. Paul's command to Timothy, at least a sanction of it, when the body feels its need? And is there not a danger of the Manichean error of denouncing as evil in itself that which, with His other gifts, the good God has given us, freely to use and not to abuse, yet, nevertheless, "richly to enjoy?"

But I would venture one further step, and express my belief that Total Abstinence on the part of the sober is not the true way to reform the drunkard, or, in the true sense of the words, to bring him back to God. For let us face this fact, which is, I think, sometimes lost sight of by philanthropists, that drunkenness is not only a detriment, like disease, to man, but a very great sin, and that the drunkard is a grievous sinner, and should be dealt with as such. But how is sin to be met? Gently if you will, lovingly, tenderly, but at the same time straightforwardly and directly. Sin in the soul can be overcome only by the grace of God, bestowed on the broken and contrite heart. Any method which does not start from this will assuredly fail of a good result. It may, perhaps, help a man to get rid of one sin; but at the same time it will sow in his heart the seed of other not less dangerous sins. And to give the drunkard a kind of claim on the sober man, or to allow him to defend himself on the plea that the sober man takes some stimulant, is certain, as I think, to teach him to be arrogant instead of humble, and to blind him to the amount of his guilt. In point of fact, is there not too often to be observed in drunkards thus—to use the word—reclaimed, a singularly pragmatical and conceited tone of mind and talk, directly opposed to that which, as we are assured, "God will not despise?"

Do you then, it may be asked, propose nothing? Are we to sit down contentedly and see our brethren perish? Surely not. Much, I rejoice to think, is doing, and much more may and must be done. Higher intelligence, higher education, bringing with them higher taste and refinement, have greatly aided the cause of Temperance. No one, I suppose, will deny that, in those which are called the upper classes, since the beginning of this century a great change for the better has taken place. Without legislative action, without temperance associations, this has come about. Who now ever hears of men drinking their three bottles of heavy port? or gentlemen entering ladies' society in a state of intoxication? And why should not the same state of things work its way downwards, as, indeed, I see daily proofs that it is already doing, and thus, if time be given, drunkenness, like other coarse forms of vice, become contemptible and odious? Nor would I stop here waiting and hoping. By all means let preachers preach against the sin, let those who will, endeavour to form societies to promote holy living generally, taking care, however, to keep them as handmaids and in subordination to the Church. Let reading rooms and workmen's clubs be established —not on too straitlaced principles—but where men may read and enjoy themselves, and, if you will, take their glass of beer, freed from the degrading influences of the public-house; let lectures be given, explaining how the conditions of happiness lie in habits of self-control, and how, without this, all will be wrecked; provide two things which too often are not to be obtained—good pure water (only yesterday I saw painted on the walls of a mews in Park Lane, those ominous words, "Beware of the water")—and real honest beer, such as our brethren in Germany enjoy, making it penal—*so far only* I would invoke the aid of legislation—to sell the poisonous

concoctions which more than anything cause the drunkenness of the working classes; and, lastly, inculcate early in life that the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, and not for fleshy defilement of any kind whatever—but "for the Lord, and the Lord for the body." Thus I believe that you will have done all that can legitimately and safely be done, and that little by little—not by leaps but gradually—this great vice, not as is sometimes asserted, special to England—but found in all the northern nations of Europe, will, so far as it can be called a national sin, become a thing of the past.

ADDRESSES.

The Right Rev. Harvey Goodwin, D.D., Lord Bishop of Carlisle.

I have undertaken the somewhat herculean task of dealing with the liquor traffic in fifteen minutes, and I have come 300 miles to discharge that duty. If I had time I should have liked to run down the very lively hare started by Canon Butler. And the more so as I have thought it my duty to support, as far as I can, a branch of the Church of England Temperance Society in my diocese, and I felt rather hit by some of Canon Butler's remarks; but, on the whole, I think I had better pursue the course I originally designed. I was a member of the House of Lords Committee, and I think that some of the conclusions which were elicited in the course of examination may be of some value. There are, however, some points on which I was not convinced, and I deal with them first. The first is the theory of free trade in licenses. The thing was tried some time ago at Liverpool; but after a time it was altogether given up because it was regarded as a failure. Some persons maintained that it had not had a fair trial, and ought to be tried again. Now the conclusion I came to was that, although a good deal might possibly be said for this free trade on other grounds, on the ground of promoting temperance it had broken down altogether. Then there was the Gothenburg scheme, and we had the great advantage of having the matter explained to us by Mr. Chamberlain, the member for Birmingham, and another gentleman acquainted with it as practised in Gothenburg itself; but the conclusion I came to was that their case was not proven on the ground of temperance, although a good deal might be said for it on other grounds. It was, however, I must say, a very modified form of the system which was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Chamberlain. In Gothenburg they had a *bolag*, which means a company, and all the authorities did was to hand over the houses to this company. Mr. Chamberlain, however, proposed that the Mayor, Aldermen, and Corporation should be the *bolag*. I have, I hope, a proper respect for mayors and aldermen, but I should be sorry to trust them with the business of supplying a town with beer, and with reference to temperance I should not think that a judicious measure. Then another scheme came before us, that of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill. I have said before that I do not believe in that bill. It is a well-intentioned plan, and affords Sir Wilfrid Lawson an opportunity of delivering an extremely amusing speech every two or three weeks, but beyond that I do not think it has any practical value. Canon Duckworth to-night has given us a sketch of a sort of moderate permissive bill of a different kind, of which I shall say nothing, as it did not come before the committee, except that it seemed to

me to be extremely complicated and involved so much ingenuity in carrying it out that no practical legislation could be made out of it. Then strong language has been used this evening with regard to Mr. Gladstone's Act, more commonly called the Grocers' License Act. We heard that those licenses were most monstrous things and had done a great deal of mischief, and yet the witnesses found it difficult to say how and where the mischief arose. One gentleman who gave some valuable evidence was perfectly persuaded of the mischief done, but, on being pressed, said candidly that he could only tell of one actual case, that of a workman's wife, who had run him into debt by buying drink at the grocer's instead of necessaries; beyond that he could tell us nothing. Another gentleman spoke very strongly on the subject. He lived in a town in the central part of England, and it was the only town with which he was conversant, but we found that in that town only one single license had been taken out. There is, however, a general belief that a great deal of mischief is being done, but a marvellous want of proof of any mischief being done. Then another scheme came before the committee to limit the number of licenses to a certain number of the population—say one to every five hundred. This, however, is not a satisfactory plan. In the adjoining vast metropolis 500 means nothing at all. If so many were to disappear altogether they would hardly be missed, but in the mountain valleys of my diocese such a loss would be an astounding portent. Some of you know the pretty village of Nether Wastdale; there are there two very nice comfortable inns at which it is a pleasure to be a guest, but under this plan one would be at once knocked up, because there would not be a sufficient amount of population for two. The fact is the plan would not apply to sparse populations like mine.

I will now mention two or three points on which, in my opinion, legislation might take place. With respect to one I have been anticipated by Dr. Carpenter. I cannot see why there should be any difference between licenses for liquor to be drunk "on the premises" and those for "off the premises." As the matter now stands, if a person applies for an "off license," and makes certain points clear, the magistrates have no option at all, but must grant the license. I do not see why the magistrates should not have full discretion in all cases. You must put confidence in your magistrates, and your licensing power, whatever it may be, should have as great an authority as possible to restrain licenses, whether on or off the premises. Then, secondly, I think something should be done as to Sunday closing. Some of the large towns have been polled on this point, and the results have been most astonishing. In Liverpool, in which a poll had been taken, all the poorer parts of the town were for Sunday closing, while the richer people, to whom it did not signify personally, voted against further restrictions, apparently because they thought it would be doing an unkindness to their poorer brethren. The feeling on this subject is growing —witness what has taken place in Ireland; but whether we have complete closing or not there is no reason for public-houses to be open to the extent they now are. Then comes the question of the *bonâ fide* traveller, and never was there such a lot of *mala fides* on any subject as on this. A man cannot get drunk where he lives, but if he hire a fly and goes three miles he is a *bonâ fide* traveller and may get drunk. I admit that there is a good deal of difficulty in defining what a *bonâ fide* traveller is, and perhaps if we could abolish him altogether it would be a good riddance. Then there is a strong feeling in favour of the police keeping a list of habitual drunkards. There would be no difficulty in defining them by law. If a man were convicted, say three times, of drunkenness, he might be placed on a list, a copy of which should be sent to every publican. He might say he did not know the delinquents, and in large towns there would be some difficulty in consequence; but in small there would be no difficulty. But I don't think there would anywhere be any systematic evasion of the law. I may

be misinformed, but I do not think publicans like to serve persons whose drunkenness is habitual. At any rate, the list would hang up, and there would be a penalty for serving drink to any of the persons named. I believe such a law would be observed, and no one would be more thankful for the change than the publican himself. Another very important question is the medical treatment of inebriates. English statesmen would feel a difficulty in putting the personal liberty of inebriates into the hands of relatives and doctors. No doubt such a law might be abused, and hence there will be much hesitation before it is passed; but if a man puts himself under restraint, I see no reason why the law should not say that man may be kept under restraint till he be cured. These are specimens of the points on which I have been convinced, by the evidence brought before the committee, that the aid of the Legislature might be sought. I will conclude with some practical advice. I say, do not abuse the publicans. I have seen temperance speeches, which were very intemperate, in which brewers and publicans have been abused in no measured terms. I daresay there are black sheep amongst them as there are in other trades, but there are very respectable men amongst them. Our true policy is to make them friends and not turn them into enemies by saying things which cannot be proved. Next, I advise you to try all other things before you trust to legislation. That may do something, but more may be done in other ways. I do not say give up the question of legislation; the legislature, having taken the matter in hand, and already made laws, is bound to complete those laws and render them the best possible. Trust more, however, to education—to bringing up children in the nurture and fear of the Lord. Trust to good mothers—trust to the influence the clergy can bring to bear on children, and especially when preparing our youth of both sexes for Confirmation. Canon Butler says there are other sins to be guarded against besides intemperance. That is true; but I do not like comparing one sin with another. Intemperance, however, is the prolific parent of many sins. Once more, if we want to get the Legislature to do anything, we must agree amongst ourselves on the nature and extent of what we think should be done. If we do not we cannot expect the Legislature to take the matter in hand, or that we shall be successful. If, on the other hand, we put before the Legislature some reasonable plan—something practicable—then I have no doubt with public opinion on our side, we shall be able to carry measures through Parliament. I have received this evening an anonymous letter on this subject. It draws my attention to luncheons after church opening services, at which it says there are sometimes lists of twelve or fifteen toasts. Well, I believe that day by day the matter of toast drinking becomes more and more a form. I have observed that when the toast-master says "Charge your glasses," very few of the guests obey him, and that, although they may put the glasses to their lips, still fewer drink. I would, therefore, preserve the good old custom of toasts and use as little liquor as possible. I have seen a good many Church openings, but I never remember anything to be regretted, and if the gentleman who wrote the letter will come into the diocese of Carlisle we will show him how we do the thing there.

Rev. Canon Alcock, Vicar of Ashford, Kent.

I have been thinking of the gratifying change which has taken place, and is still taking place, in public opinion on the subject of temperance. Thirty-five years ago I first attended a temperance meeting. A Quaker was in the chair, no speaker was allowed to be heard. A drunken man was brought in and the meeting was broken up. Now, the subject is thought

worthy of discussion in the Church Congress. We have a Bishop in the chair, another Bishop a speaker, and other Bishops and this large assembly listeners.

Canon Butler objects to total abstinence, and seems to think that total abstainers are weak and unhealthy. I may, therefore, state that I have been a total abstainer more than 26 years. Whether I am strong and healthy I leave the audience to judge by my appearance, and I challenge Canon Butler to do a day's work with him whenever he pleases, and I think I am 20 years older than he is. The Bishop of Carlisle objected to Sir Wilfrid Lawson's Permissive Bill. I wish Sir Wilfrid were a Churchman, and that he were present to take part in the discussion; I am sure he would amuse and I think instruct us. If the House of Commons would let his Bill go into Committee, it might then be improved and produce the best effects through the length and breadth of the land. Everybody must be willing to admit that 18,500 public-houses in London are far too many; and I regret to say that things are nearly as bad in the country. I was lately driving through a town in Kent, and I counted on one side of the street only, 34 public-houses. I hold in my hand a return made by the Superintendent of Police, for the sessional division of the county in which I dwell. There are 23 parishes. I find in them 44 butchers' shops, 57 bakers' shops, 92 ale-houses, 32 beer-houses, 7 licensed refreshment houses, and 26 grocers' licenses. Thus there are 101 shops to provide bread and meat for the inhabitants, and 157 shops to provide them with alcoholic drinks; and in one parish there is no butcher's shop, and there are four public-houses. Can anyone say that nothing should be done? Again, I think that one and all will agree that drunkenness is the great and crying sin of Christian England: that there are other great and crying sins no one can doubt; but surely that is no reason why we should not, to the utmost of our ability, strive to lessen the great and crying sin of drunkenness. It is no argument to say that because there are three sins we should not endeavour to check one of them. In this large assembly I venture to say there is not one who has not known a friend, a relative, or an acquaintance who has not been the worse for the love of drink. I would earnestly exhort my reverend brethren to scatter the good seed by their own example. Those who are total abstainers can speak to drunkards with more hope through God's blessing of changing their hearts than the moderate drinker can. I am speaking more particularly of the mechanic and labouring class, and we all know how many wretched homes, beaten wives, and half-starved children are caused by the drinking habits of these men; and would it not be a blessed thing if we could get them into habits of sobriety? These men say "we work hard, and therefore need our drink; but you parsons do but little or nothing, and yet you drink; but if you will become total abstainers, in order to set us an example, perhaps we may follow you." Then another argument is used by the drunkard of which I can give an example from my own parish. I was insulted by a man I knew well, but in the state he was it was useless to say a word. Two days after, I met him in the churchyard, and said, "Harry, I was grieved to see you drunk the other day at 11 o'clock in the morning." "Ah, sir," he said, "I am afraid I am getting worse." "I fear you are," I said, "for there's no standing still in the drunkard's career; its down, down, down to destruction. Why don't you do as I do," I said. "Why, you see, sir, you takes yours regular, and I takes mine all in a lump." By that answer he thought he had "shut up the parson." I replied, "but I have not tasted a drop for years." "You ha'nt," he said, "why, surely if you can do without it, I might." "You could," I said, "if you would but try. Try for three months, and I am sure you will come to me a better and a happier man, and with a better coat on your back." I am sorry to say he did not change. He shortly had to leave the parish for fear of apprehension for an assault. He was absent several years, and then came back worse, if possible, than before. He had

to be sent to the County Lunatic Asylum for a time, and the last of poor Harry was, he was found frozen to death by the side of the turnpike road in an adjoining parish.

But it may be said that he was an ignorant and uneducated man. I have laboured for 50 years in the great work of educating the children of the poor, and have done everything in my power to promote a good sound religious education among all classes. But it is not education alone that will prevent a man becoming a drunkard. It is the Grace of God alone can change the heart; and I therefore say to the educated, "Be not high-minded but fear." I will give you a sad example of an educated man. He was the most talented young man I ever knew. He took high honours at Cambridge, and would have been elected a Fellow of his College but for his intemperate habits. His abilities gained him a situation of £1,500 a year, but his drinking habits did not allow him to keep it. He then became the locomotive superintendent of a railway, and his habits became so degraded that he would drink with the drivers and stokers, and the end of that man was, he was scalded to death, drunk, on the tender of a locomotive engine. I sometimes visit the solitary grave of that young man, and think that but for the Grace of God I might have been laid in a similar one. It is not education, then, alone, that will save a man from becoming a drunkard. I am thankful to say that many of my brethren of the clergy are similarly minded to myself. I hear that six of the Dover clergy are total abstainers, and among the clergy there is a large army of total abstainers, and it is increasing month by month and year by year. I would say to those who are thinking about joining this noble army, do not be afraid of being called "weak-minded" and other names; "calling names breaks no bones." If the clergy could go to the drunkards in their parishes, not with a "do as I say," but a "do as I do," I believe that God will bless them in their work. We all know that it is our duty faithfully to preach the Gospel; but we do not get the drunkards to Church. I would ask Canon Butler if he ever converted a drunkard by preaching to him at Church? I never heard of one: but I believe my example has had a good effect in the parish in which I live. Last night I rejoiced to hear Canon Ryle speaking on labourers' unions. In naming the blessings of his parish, he said there was no railway. I thought he was going on to tell us there was no dissenting chapel and no public-house; but he told us there was no lawyer. I am pleased to say there is a lawyer in my parish, who, for the sake of example, became a total abstainer in his latter years, and he is all the better in health. He may be seen every Sunday in the union workhouse teaching the children, and reading to and exhorting the inmates.

DISCUSSION.

Rev. Hugh Smyth.

I have been, I suppose, called on thus early amongst the unannounced speakers because it is known to your lordship that I have been engaged, with others, in an ardent battle against the gigantic evils of intemperance, and one which has not been entirely unsuccessful. I have seen so much of those evils and so much of the personal degradation they produce, in all stages, from the boy brought up, ashamed of himself, for the first time for his first debauch, to the greyheaded man convicted 50 times, with no answer except that he was drunk and that he would get drunk till the end, that I feel constrained to fight against it by every means in my power. How much misery have I seen it produce in families. Nothing is so pitiable as to see the drunkard's wife with the marks of his ill-usage on her face coming up to

pay her husband's fine, and to know the life of misery it discloses. I have seen so much that I would join the societies who call for total abstinence, but that there meets me on the threshold a great fact. While I believe, on a balance of its good and evil, that it would be a blessing to this nation and to the whole world if by the wave of a hand the use of alcohol could be obliterated, I do not see at all that the progress made by all the societies which advocate total abstinence gives any promise of doing anything more than just touching this great and tremendous evil. We must all respect their efforts and their energy in the cause, but in spite of them all drunkenness continues as rife as ever, and it is evident that something more is required. In fact, it is necessary that the nation should take the matter in hand as a national question. Canon Butler objects to legislation on such a subject because it would be the act of a parental as opposed to a free government; but I put it to him and to you that there is no other vice which can be put on a level with drunkenness. Canon Butler says it is a corresponding evil if a man eats too much, but in that case the man would only become quieter and heavier than before, whereas men who drink to excess often disregard all laws, human and divine; and that other sin to which he particularly alluded is repressed as far as legislation can touch it. There are two points on which legislation would be practicable. In the first place, the number of public-houses is in excess of what is necessary, and that excess is one great cause of the evils of intemperance. No one denies that as the Legislature has by its licensing system called them into existence, it has the power and ought to limit them. Then, secondly, there ought to be a further diminution in the number of hours such places are open. The most dangerous and deadly practice of drinking takes place in the last hour before closing. The drunkard takes then his final step. In that last hour the wife of the drunkard and his children sit trembling at home doubting in what state he will arrive, and fearing that it may be a state of madness, and what may be the result of that drunken madness.

Rev. Ernest Wilberforce, Vicar of Seaforth.

It was not my intention to have opened my lips this evening, but I cannot let such a paper as that of my friend, Canon Butler. go by without attempting to give an answer to it, so far as it can be answered in seven minutes. It was in my judgment, an utterly mischievous paper, though I was somewhat amused to see the spirit of Balak breaking out at last in the blessing of Balaam, when Canon Butler spoke in high terms of good water. I propose to take a few of the points brought forward by Canon Butler, in the order in which he mentioned them. And first as to legislation in the matter of intemperance. I would ask is this a Christian State or is it not? If it is, then I say, that the State ought not abundantly to surround its citizens with legalized temptations, until it has erased from its prayers the divinely taught formula "lead us not into temptation." It has been said with high authority it is the duty of the State to make it easy for people to do right, and hard for them to do wrong, this applies to all and not to only one or two matters. Next the Canon said we require everyone to become total abstainers; I can only say that I have stood on many Church of England Temperance Society platforms, and this is the first time I have heard the expression used there—why the very constitution of the society, which is a union in equal terms between abstainers and non-abstainers, proves the contradiction of the Canon's statement. Then as to singling out this one sin, I will tell him why we do so; it is because this is the mother of nine-tenths of the other sins and crimes. He spoke of impurity, but let anyone cognizant of the facts, tell me if the flames of impurity be not generally kindled in the furnace of alcohol in the first instance, and maintained afterwards

by the fuel alcohol supplies? He accused us of inordinate eating, but let me ask him one question; Did he ever hear of a man kicking his wife to death because he had had an extra slice of mutton—Did he ever know of an over indulgence in veal leading a man to play skittles with his children—Did he ever hear of a man under the gallows saying "I should never have been here if it had not been for those accursed pork pies"? Canon Butler spoke of the Church of England as the true Temperance Society, and argued that there is no need of special societies to deal with intemperance. But is not the Church the true Missionary Society, yet have we not special Missionary Societies within her pale? Is it not her duty to instruct the young, yet have not Sunday School Associations? Is not the Church the true society for penitents to join? yet is not the work of the Church in this direction supplemented by those penitentiaries with which Canon Butler's name will ever be so honourably connected? penitentiaries in which the minister preaches total abstinence from all old associations, and all that led them astray before? Canon Butler quoted St. Paul's advice to Timothy as of universal obligation. Did he ever consider whether if the advice had been to take a little senna tea or rhubarb, gigantic establishments for supplying every variety of these articles would have confronted him at almost every corner of every street? Why Timothy was so strict an abstainer that it required an apostolic letter to make him give up his practice, and indeed the best answer to so specious an argument is that once given by a working man, "My name aint Timothy, and there's nothing the matter with my digestion;" while if all advice given to a particular man is to be strictly obeyed to the letter by us, let the Canon go and sell *all* that he has, and give to the poor. Canon Butler spoke of total abstinence and health, and was challenged on the spot to a day's work by a total abstainer twenty years older than himself. He appealed to science, but cold calm reasoning science is increasingly against him; and if that is not enough, experience is against him too. I do not suppose Canon Butler has ever been in prison, except on some errand of mercy and love, but is he ignorant that all prisoners are total abstainers by compulsion, and that it is found they increase in weight, and strength and health during their enforced abandonment of alcohol? He asserted that all nations have ever used alcohol, and prostituted the old formula of "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*," by applying it to the use of alcohol; but I absolutely deny his statement. What of the great Mohammedan nations? What of the four million total abstainers now living in this country, and doing their work perfectly well without alcohol? I am sorry Canon Butler has chalked up "No total abstinence," "No temperance society," and has now gone away. I could speak more plainly if he were present. He spoke of Manichean error, but it is, I gather, a long time since he read his Augustine; or is he ignorant of the fact that in his book against the Manichean heresy, St. Augustine points out that it is not the nature of the thing abstained from that makes it either right or wrong to abstain, but the motive for which we abstain. Would he call those who abstain from the use of tobacco Manicheans? Canon Butler is not, I should imagine, in the habit of using arsenic. Arsenic is a gift of God. Is he, therefore, a Manichean because he abstain from the use of this gift? There is a fallacy underlying all this, which my time will not allow me to expose thoroughly; but I maintain that he is an enemy to the well-being of the State, to the Church of England, and to the cause of Christ in this land, who seeks to hinder the work of the Church of England Temperance Society. The true answer to all the objections we have heard lies in the work that society has done and is doing by the grace of God; that work has been eminently blessed, and is abundantly fruitful. In that society we claim the true Christian liberty, either to use in strict moderation, or to abstain from using altogether alcoholic liquors, and we call on

all true friends of temperance to help us. We know, my Lord, that it is by the grace of God alone that anyone is kept from falling, be he bishop or curate, priest or layman; yet we know who it was who said to mortal men, "Take ye away the stone" when he was about to work a mighty miracle; we seek to carry out the Lord's words now, to take away the stone of this deadly blighting intemperance, so that the buried may come forth, and God may heal the sinning soul; and we bid you one and all stretch forth your hand and aid us in our work, that God himself may check the intemperance of our land.

A. Sargent, Esq., Secretary of the Church of England Temperance Society.

It has been said to-night that in a great number of years the Church of England Temperance Society has not taken root, and that its work has not been so progressive as it ought to have been. My business, therefore, is to tell you of some of the results of its action in parishes where it has taken some root. A few facts are worth a good many arguments, and I will give them as briefly as possible. We have many conclusive proofs as to the fact that the reclamation of drunkards is not impossible. We are all prepared to admit that there are cases in which total abstinence is the only cure, and in our society it is in such cases only that total abstinence is enjoined. We have four police-courts regularly under visitation by agents of the society. They attend those courts with the consent of the magistrates, and interview and deal with those who are charged with drunkenness and convicted. The two agents who visit those courts are both, the one preserved from, and the other reclaimed from drunkenness, and they are all the more successful in their work for this reason, and bring many under the influence of the society, because they can appeal to their former habits and degradation. Then in connection with my own parish we have a flourishing branch. We have a kindly circular especially drawn up for the purpose, which we send to every drunkard reported by our district visitors. If they do not come after three invitations, they are visited; and we seldom have parochial meetings without there being some one present who is casting off, or has cast off, his evil habit. At our last meeting we had four men who were known as having been habitual drunkards. Then, too, Church action has raised up in many of the parishes of England a *public opinion against the vice of drunkenness*. A clergyman told me that three years ago it was no uncommon thing in his parish to see one or two drunkards asleep on a Sunday by the roadside, but that since the establishment of a branch of our society there, such a thing is utterly unknown. I think that if ever we are to rescue the working men of this country from the curse of drunkenness, it will be by the force of public opinion, so as to make them feel that drunkenness is degrading and disgraceful to them.

Rev. Dr. Payne, R.N., Royal Dockyard, Sheerness.

I have a long experience of the temperance movement, though not quite so old an one as Canon Alcock. For the last twenty-two years, during which I have served in the Royal Navy, the question has engaged my attention on account of the miserable end to which the career of some officers and men has been brought through drunkenness. The change that has taken place in the Navy in this respect since I joined the service is most remarkable. At that time drunkenness was scarcely considered a crime unless a man got drunk on duty. A man went ashore on leave confessedly to get drunk. But the tone is now raised through the high

education given to officers and men. We have about 4,000 boys in our training ships under religious instruction, and the conduct of these when they become men is remarkably civilised as compared with that of the old style of seamen, who had not similar advantages.

To this education I principally attribute the sobriety of our men, rather than to the temperance movement in which I have felt a great interest during all these years.

When I used to attend temperance meetings many years ago there was a great prejudice against them partly on account of the nonsense spoken by the advocates of the system, and partly on account of the intemperance of the language.

This perversion of Scripture; this Manichean dread of wine even in the Holy Sacrament; this disregard of the feelings of Churchmen in parading the streets with bands and banners on Good Friday; all repelled the Churchman from even giving them a hearing. But all this is now altered.

The question has been forced on the mind of the Church, and the formation of the Church of England Temperance Society, with the Bishops at its head, is to me as clearly the voice of the Church calling the attention of all its members to the expediency of assisting to lessen the prevailing drunkenness of the people, as any more formal expression since the time of the apostles.

The clergy especially are bound as officers of the Church to take a prominent part. I felt myself bound to become a total abstainer, because I am a clergyman of a church, which by the establishment of the society I mentioned, declares that there is the same expediency now to abstain from intoxicating drinks as there was to abstain from marriage, when St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians. But though I am a total abstainer, I am careful not to let the cause suffer through my enthusiasm like the ardent Mr. Wilberforce, who has just addressed you. One of his arguments to disgust people with alcoholic drinks is an allusion to the processes they undergo in manufacture, and he states it is not a creature of God. The one statement is answered by saying that scarcely anything we eat or touch is free from defilement. It is difficult even to get a breath of pure air. And the other by saying you might as well say a *boiled* potato was not a creature of God.

But notwithstanding all the extravagances of the enthusiastic, I am persuaded that if the temperance movement be carried on according to the principles of the Church of England Temperance Society, it must do good.

Rev. R. C. Billing, M.A., Vicar of Holy Trinity, Barnsbury.

There are a few words I should like to say before this meeting is brought to a conclusion, in reference to the statement of Dr. Carpenter concerning district visitors supplying the poor improperly and inconsiderately with alcoholic drinks. No doubt there are discreet and indiscreet district visitors (and I have before now heard of indiscreet medical men), but the ladies referred to are not as a body amenable to the charge. I wish Canon Butler had not left the platform, because I should like to have told him that such institutions as he advocated, in which intoxicating drink is procurable, have been tried and always proved a failure, but on the other hand such institutions as "The British Workman Public-house" have always flourished when under proper and liberal management. The Bishop of Carlisle has expressed himself as unconvinced by evidence of the evil resulting from the grocers' licenses. It is difficult, very difficult, to get evidence of the evil of drunkenness thus introduced into the home, when every effort is made to conceal the shame and avoid exposure; but the parochial clergy know, and the medical

men know too well, what has been the result of the system. To what the Bishop said of toast-drinking, I should like to add that there is no compulsion to use an alcoholic beverage, and that our gracious Queen would not suspect any man's loyalty because he declined the "bumper" of champagne when her health is drunk.

It is sometimes charged against us that we are very intemperate in our judgment of others and in our words. Doubtless the cause has been thus prejudiced. I desire never to forget that could we banish all intoxicants we should not make this world a paradise. It is not an *absence* but a *presence* we want—the grace of God in men's hearts now, and the glorious presence of Him who shall banish all sin and evil and reign in righteousness.

Section Room.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 10th.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Dover took the Chair at Ten o'clock.

PAUPER AND TRUANT CHILDREN.

PAPERS.

Mr. Francis Peek.

I much regret that the subject of truant children has been bracketed with that of pauper children, for the subject of pauper children alone is of such great consequence to the country that it really deserves exclusive attention. In the few remarks I have to offer I shall confine myself entirely to "pauper children," which is a question of the greatest importance, for surely every one who gives the slightest attention to the subject must feel that it is a disgrace and danger to this country that there is such wide-spread pauperism. I find from the last Government report that there are at the present time in England 752,887 paupers, who are maintained at a cost of no less than £7,335,858 each year. Surely this mass of pauperism and this enormous expenditure of money is a subject which deserves the most earnest and close attention of every philanthropist and every statesman. Now the question presents itself how is this mass of pauperism connected with the training of pauper children? Of course a large amount of it has no reference to the children. There is a tendency in all highly civilised states, for the weak, both in mind and body, to fall into poverty and want. Then there are the lunatics, idiots, and some other classes, who must be in probably every civilised State supported either by charity or out of the rates. But after allowing for all these there still is a very large amount of pauperism,

which I maintain is a home-made pauperism, the existence of which is due to our own acts. I need not call attention to the well-known fact that early impressions last the longest, it has become proverbial that the way the twig is bent the tree inclines, and I think it was Horace who said that the new cask long retains the odour of that which was first placed in it. Whatever it may be in other cases this is undoubtedly the case with regard to pauperism. Universal testimony is to the effect that when once the pauper taint is imbibed it is never thoroughly eradicated. Once bring up a child in connection with pauper surroundings, once let the pauper spirit enter into it, and the child grows up a pauper and remains a pauper in spirit to the end of its days. I think the figures relating to pauper children will astonish most here. We have at the present time 48,000 children indoor paupers. The idea seems to be that most of these are either brought up in district schools, or boarded out; but this is far from the case. Out of these, 40,000 are still being brought up in connection with the Workhouses. According to the last Government report there are 48,511 pauper children indoor paupers, 32,362 being orphans, or children of persons not able-bodied, which means that they are permanently under the care of the State, and 16,000 odd are children of able-bodied parents, and may, therefore, be casuals; of those 5,817 were in district schools, 27,000 attending Workhouse Schools, and 15,568 attending no school at all. Of course this number includes very young infants. Besides these, there were about 2,800 children boarded out. Now, if the fact that bringing up children in Workhouses is to make them paupers, is not, as I believe it will not be, disputed, every ten years we are sending out some 30,000 or 40,000 children to perpetuate the spirit of hereditary pauperism. Perhaps there are some here who may believe that after all the Workhouse is not such a bad place. The idea is prevalent that it is a sort of almshouse, where all destitute people may in their last extremity find a refuge; and this is true. But unfortunately it is a refuge for destitute people without regard to character, the respectable poor avoid it, and it becomes the last refuge of all abandoned characters, the very cesspool of our civilisation. Now, if we remember that we are bringing up generation after generation of children in connection with Workhouses, how can it be wondered that if we thus sow the wind that we reap that whirlwind in such a mass of pauperism as is wholly appalling, 755,000 paupers managed at a cost of £7,000,000 a year. What makes this still more extraordinary is that the State takes such care of its juvenile criminals, and its children difficult to manage in its fine Industrial Schools and in its Reformatories, where every care is taken to try and reclaim those classes. But its orphan wards, and these 30,000 or 40,000 children whom God in His Providence has committed to its care, a portion of whom only are children of paupers, a portion being children of respectable parents who have died early, it makes paupers, it makes criminals, and in fact destroys their young lives. This would perhaps be easier to understand if no other system were in existence; but there are three systems in existence, either of which is infinitely preferable to Workhouse training, and all of which

have many advantages. The first is the district school system, a specimen of which you may see at Anerley, and it is perfect in its way, and undoubtedly its success is very great, especially with boys, but there are some few objections to it. In the first place the very congregation of large numbers in one place is a danger. Unless great care is taken virulent outbreaks of disease take place among them, such as ophthalmia. They are costly to build and costly to maintain, and they must be maintained at great cost if they are to do good, because these large masses of children when grouped together require careful training to prevent the evil that is in them corrupting the whole mass. There is also the danger that these splendid buildings and advantages may make parents paupers. Many a parent comes and says, "How can I get my child all these advantages?" and the reply is, "Only by yourself becoming a pauper." Time fails me to go more fully into this subject. I would only say that while infinitely better than the Workhouses there are disadvantages regarding the district schools. The next plan is the boarding out of pauper children in cottage homes. This has been carried out to some extent in England, and universally in Scotland, and where it is done under proper supervision the reports are all favourable. The children are placed with respectable cottagers, under a Boarding Out Committee, consisting of two or three ladies and gentlemen who become responsible that the homes are suitable, that the children are well cared for, attend school, and have proper places found for them when they leave. The result in Scotland has been most successful. The Poor Law Inspector at Glasgow says, "It is rare that a child brought up in this way ever comes back to the Workhouses, and as a fact affection springs up between the foster parent and the foster children, so that the child feels after it leaves school that in its foster parents house it has a home. The influence of the ladies and gentlemen who watch over the children is very beneficial when they start in life." The third plan is what I may describe as the village home, a good example of which is at Mettray, in France. That was established for children whose parents had been convicted of crime. It consists of a group of cottages, each under what are called the father and mother, a man and his wife, selected for their good qualities, who stand in the relation of parents to the twenty children in each home. There is a central school and workshops, so that it combines the advantages of the district school with those of the cottage home. The result has been most remarkable. Before it was established 49 per cent. of these children relapsed into crime, since they have been placed at Mettray there have been only 4 per cent. In other words, of the children of criminals brought into these village homes 96 per cent. have done well and only 4 per cent have failed. These results compare most advantageously with those of our system, and show how necessary it is at once to cut off the entail of pauperism by taking the children out of our Workhouses which are corrupting and destroying them.

Mr. R. Norton.

Leaving the question of truant children to be dealt with by Mr. Rodgers and others who have had occasion specially to give their attention to it, I propose to confine the few remarks which I have to make to the subject of the education and training of our pauper children.

It will not, I think, be difficult to show that the general condition of a considerable portion of them is far from satisfactory.

In round numbers there are upwards of 40,000 union children in England and Wales. Of these, 5,817 are in the nine large "District" schools, comprising 44 Unions:—4,232 in 42 "separate" schools; 2,250 boarding out, and 22,894 in 408 Unions,* where they are under the same roof with the adult paupers. In addition to these there are 79 Unions with a population in 1871 of about a million and a half where the children are sent either to "Board," "National," "Village," or "British" Schools; and 54 Unions with a population of over a million, where they either "go out" to school, or there are "no schools," and in some instances "no workhouses."

When we consider then, the fact that, in spite of all the efforts which have been made in special instances to improve the condition of these children, *upwards of* 20,000 *of them are still educated in the same building with the adult paupers*, most of whom it may fairly be assumed are intellectually weak, or of low moral character. We must admit that this state of things is little creditable to our boasted civilization. Setting aside the obligations which the State is under *in loco parentis* to these children, and the direct interest which the country at large has in the result of their education, I believe the system pursued in the 408 Unions referred to, is a wasteful one as regards teaching power, and is out of all proportion to the results obtained.

In these schools are children of every description—some whose education has been entirely neglected; others partially educated; street arabs, and infants of tender years; and I find on reference to the Local Government Board Directory for the current year, that in *no less than* 227 schools there is only *one mistress* to take sole charge of both boys and girls.

However strict the classification may be, it is virtually impossible to prevent the children from being brought in contact, in various ways, with the inmates of the house.

I wish here distinctly to state that I do not intend to imply that *all* these schools are bad, or that the children turn out badly as a matter of course.

It is the *system* as a *whole*, which I condemn. The industrial training which has been so successfully carried out in the larger schools, must necessarily be very limited here, whilst in most instances drill and gymnastics are entirely neglected.

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* Fifth Annual Report L.G.B., appendix E.

The practical question, then, to be considered is how to educate these children, both physically and morally, up to such a standard as shall enable them to start fairly in the world, without danger of falling back into pauperism, and the best means of doing this at the least cost to the ratepayers.

A great effort has been made during the past few years to introduce what is known as the "Boarding Out System."

At first sight the plan appears very attractive. Nothing would seem more natural and desirable than to bring up the children in comfortable cottage homes, under the superintendence of local committees specially appointed for the purpose, but I am afraid that when the question is considered in all its bearings, it will be found impossible to carry it out as a national system.

In the first place a staff of teachers would still be required for the children located in the Unions for short periods from various causes, such as the temporary illness or imprisonment of one or both their parents. There would remain also the sickly ones and those suffering from chronic diseases of different kinds. But the main difficulty, I apprehend, would consist in finding suitable committees to carry out the work of superintendence thoroughly and efficiently.

The elaborate report of Mr. Doyle, Local Government Board Inspector, on the condition of the children "boarded out" in the Swansea Union, dated April, 1875, shows how easily the system may be disgracefully abused, and the recent painful exposure connected with the two girls "boarded out" at Nantwich, leads one to fear that similar cases would be always liable to occur. I do not propose to revert here in detail to the social and economic reasons urged against "boarding out" by Professor Fawcett in his well-known book, but will merely state that, although in Scotland and in some of our smaller rural unions, the efforts made may have been fairly successful, the "boarding out system" is, in my opinion, entirely unsuited to the larger and more populous unions throughout the country. Time will not allow of more than a brief allusion to what is known as "The Mettray System," which has proved so successful in France and elsewhere, and which has been recommended by Mr. Doyle and others, as suitable to some English districts. The system of bringing up a small number of children to agricultural work in separate cottages, upon the domestic principle, each under a superintendent, who is to act as the "father" of the family, is the chief feature of the scheme. Its success at Mettray appears to be due in a great measure to the magnetic influence and unceasing energy of Mons. Demetz, the chief founder of the colony, but without some such influence, there would probably be a great danger of rivalry and discord springing up between the "fathers" of the different cottages.

I now come to the consideration of what I believe to be the best means of dealing with this difficult question, viz.: The formation of district schools (by compulsion, if necessary), each containing from 200 to 300 children. I use the word *compulsion* advisedly, for I have little hope of much success so long as the matter is left entirely in the hands of the Guardians, and this, not so much

owing to a disinclination on their part to do their duty, as from a general want of knowledge and experience in such matters. Feelings of mutual distrust would also probably stand in the way of any united action on the part of neighbouring boards.

I would, therefore, suggest that a "committee of inquiry" should, in the first instance, be appointed by the President of the Local Government Board, to investigate all the circumstances connected with the 408 above-mentioned schools, and to report as to the best means of grouping them into districts.

The benefits of the proposed reforms and the desirability of carrying them out voluntarily might be then urged upon the various boards, accompanied by an intimation that application would be made to Parliament for compulsory power, in the event of their declining to take action in the matter.

There are, probably, many of the existing "separate" schools, in which sufficient accommodation might be found for some of the smaller adjoining unions. The advantages to be gained in the way of education, and physical and industrial training, are too numerous to be dwelt upon here. To those who may have doubts on the subject, I would suggest a visit to the North Surrey District Schools, where upwards of 800 children are being reared under a system, which, so far as regards the results to the children themselves, is more perfect than anything which I have yet seen.

The bright, happy faces, especially of the infants, speak for themselves. The usual characteristics of apathy, stupidity, &c., which are typical of pauper children in general, appear to have been almost entirely obliterated, and the large per centage, who have been placed out successfully in the world, proves the amount of care and attention which has been bestowed upon them.

The sanitary arrangements are such that the hospital is nearly if not quite empty, and two deaths *only* have occurred during the past year.

I should like to quote here a short extract which Mr. Edwin Chadwick was good enough to send to me from his recent address on "sanitation," delivered at the Social Science Congress at Aberdeen. Speaking of the state of health of the children in several large orphan institutions, he says:—"Cases of typhus, at one time scarcely ever absent, have not been seen for several years. The mean death-rate in these institutions has been steadily reduced to about three in 1,000—that it is to say, to nearly one-fourth of the general death-rate of children of the school ages, including the children of the well-to-do classes of the population. It was recently stated, as evidencing the success of the 'boarding-out system,' that the deaths had not exceeded 2 per cent.; and this probably may be taken as an average children's death-rate for the cottage—that is to say, 20 per 1,000, as against three per 1,000 in the district orphan institution, with little variation in the separate institutions. Medical officers in charge of them, but who are in private practice, have repeatedly expressed to me their astonishment at these results of 'sanitation,' as surprising and wonderful to them."

It would be an impertinence on my part to attempt to criticise the

balance-sheet of the North Surrey District Schools without sufficiently understanding the whole of the circumstances connected with their erection and completion, but I may, nevertheless, record an opinion with regard to these schools in general, that the strictest economy should on all occasions be enforced, and that in their zeal for the success of their respective schools, the managers should not lose sight of the fact that many of the small ratepayers, whose money they are expending, have oftentimes a hard struggle to educate their *own* families.

The difficulty of providing suitable teachers, owing to the prejudice generally felt against living within the union walls, and the objection which many of them have to serve under the master of the union (who has sometimes been found to act tyrannically in the exercise of his superior authority) would both be removed by the adoption of the "District School System."

A large reduction might also be made in the number of teachers at present employed, thus enabling the managers to secure the services of a more competent staff for the superintendence both of the school and of the industrial work.

The duties of the national schoolmaster cease when the school closes for the day, but the *moral influence* which the union teacher should exercise over his children when *out* of school is almost of more importance than the knowledge acquired during school hours. He should, as much as possible, identify himself with their interests and pleasures, and endeavour in some degree to compensate them for the loss of home and parents.

The proposal to use compulsory power may meet with objections, but I see no valid reason why the authority recently given to the Education Department for the enforcement of the Act of 1870, and to the Local Government Board in a similar manner with regard to the Sanitary Acts, should not be extended in favour of these unfortunate and helpless children.

During the past two years I have, in connection with others, endeavoured to call public attention to the advantages likely to ensue both to the army and to the boys in our union, industrial and other schools, by the establishment of "army training schools" at some or all of the brigade depôts, or, in the event of this scheme being considered too costly, by the formation of Cadet companies to be attached to the regiments serving at home.

The wonderful success which has attended the "training ships" for the navy is generally recognised. Under the "short service system" (which comes into full operation during this and the following years), an additional 8,000 or 9,000 recruits will be annually required. The necessary number was obtained last year, owing chiefly, perhaps, to the general stagnation of trade, but I very much fear that we shall have great difficulty in enlisting annually nearly 30,000 recruits, when the prosperity of the country begins (as we may hope it shortly will do) to revive.

In the autumn of last year a committee was appointed by the Secretary of State for War, under the presidency of General Taylor, Inspector General of Recruiting, to enquire into the question,

and their unanimous report was strongly in favour of "boy enlistment."

The discipline, courage, and bravery displayed by the boys at the burning of the "Goliath" must be fresh in the memory of us all, and there can be little doubt that boys thus specially trained might eventually become, as non-commissioned officers, the *backbone* of our future army.

Nor is the army, as at present organised, with its prospect of foreign service, deferred pay, and its improved internal arrangements, in the shape of recreation rooms, &c., &c., a profession to be despised.

It is the rule in our unions not to keep the boys as inmates after the age of 15, and therefore the Army Training School scheme would offer to them special advantages, as they would thus be provided for at a period of their lives when care and supervision are most desirable.

If the country will not tolerate the idea of conscription, I see no better way of bridging over the difficulty of obtaining the additional number of recruits required, than by the adoption of a scheme of the kind above suggested.

I will conclude by expressing an earnest hope that the day is not far distant, when the claims of these 20,000 children, whose case I have been endeavouring to lay before you, will be recognised by the government, and by the country at large.

Rev. John Rodgers.

The previous speakers have confined themselves to pauper children, but pauper children and truant children are now connected in the programme. As my friend, Mr. Peek, has said, I do not see the reason for bringing them together; but I propose, in the few remarks that I have to make, to confine myself to the subject of truant children; and, by the term truant, I would not limit myself to the general meaning of the word, as referring to children who are sent to school by their parents and do not go. I would rather take a more comprehensive view of the subject, and consider those children, generally, who do not go to school. There are two classes, but the first I would divide into two parts: those whose parents are vicious, and, therefore, careless about their children, or, not only careless, but positively object to their going to school, and prefer them, in fact, running about the streets. These children, having a bad example in their homes and their parents—having no good parental influence brought to bear upon them, are left to run about the streets, and associate with children of vicious propensities. They are laid hold of by the Industrial Schools' officer, taken before a magistrate, and sent to an Industrial School. That is the only thing, I think, we can do with such children. It is well to take them from the influence of their parents, and it is well to separate them from their old associates. There is nothing, therefore, that I

can see but to send them to our Industrial Schools. It is rather a heavy expense upon the public at large; nevertheless, if we leave them to run about the streets, and grow up criminals, the ultimate expense will be greater.

Then there is a second class: those who have respectable, sober, hard-working parents, but, somehow or other, whose parents do not exercise the influence over them which parents ought to do, and let their children run about the streets instead of going to school, and, against the wish of their parents, they become associated with vicious children, and are, in fact, *quasi* criminals. These, too, are laid hold of by the Industrial Schools' officer, taken before the magistrate, and also sent to an Industrial School. As far as the influence of their parents is concerned, if they could be induced to live under the roof of their parents continually and follow the guidance of their parents, we might leave them to their parents, but inasmuch as the parents fail to exercise this influence, and the children are found in the streets when they should be at school, I do no not see what we can do with these children but to send them to an Industrial School. During the last seven years, in connection with the School Board, we have sent several such children to the Industrial schools scattered up and down the country, and at this present moment we have about 2,500 children in 42 schools in and about London, and some in other parts of the country. Although we mourn over the fact that these children are obliged to be separated from their parents, and the fact that they cost the country so large a sum of money, yet we must look at the other side of the question, the good that we are doing in taking these children away from the evil influence with which they are becoming connected. If they had been permitted to remain in the streets as our Industrial Schools' officers found them, the chances are that they would have been found in our prisons, and consequently they would have cost the country a great deal more, not only in the destruction of property, but in their keep while in prison. It is satisfactory to us to know that our efforts in that direction have been attended with very wonderful results. We have that testimony of the magistrates of London; the police authorities, and the prison authorities, to the effect that gangs of young thieves have been broken up and children that were found about the streets—vicious and criminal children—are much fewer than they were. We have, in fact, the testimony of the governor of Holloway Prison in a report which he has recently sent to the Chairman of the School Board, and it is highly satisfactory to the London School Board to know that such results have followed their efforts. But we have to do this morning with truants specially, that is to say with children who have no vicious propensities beyond those of ordinary children, but who will not go to school—who dislike school. Their parents send them to school, but instead of going there they play about the streets. We have the parents before us, and they tell us, "I use all the means I can; I punish the boy and so forth; but I cannot persuade him to go to school." Now the only thing we have been able to do with these children hitherto has been to send them to an Industrial School.

We summon the parent; the parent appears before the magistrate and is warned. The boy goes to school perhaps for a week, and then he begins to play truant again. Again we have to summon the parent. The magistrate says, "What can be done with this boy; you have no control over him; he is running about the streets instead of going to school; his education is being neglected; I must send him to an Industrial School." Here is this boy sent to School at a cost of £17 to £20 a year to the country—separated from the influence of his father and mother and brought into association with boys who have been *quasi* criminals.

We consider this to be an evil, and we have been thinking for sometime back how to deal with these truant boys who will not go to school. The principal of our Board being abroad last summer, visited a school in Hamburg called "The Truants' School," and this school very much struck my friend, who wrote a letter about it to one of the newspapers, and when he came back he introduced the subject at our Board. The result is that now we have determined to open a truant school. We have taken a house in Hackney—we have engaged a matron and a master, and we hope in a few weeks to open it. It will be a school for all the children in the metropolis in voluntary and in Board schools. The principle will be this. We shall summon the parent in the ordinary way before a magistrate, and the child will be sent to an Industrial School, but that Industrial School will be our truant school, and instead of going for five years to an Industrial School at the cost of £17 to £20 a year, will take him for a week to our truant school. There he will be subjected to very strict discipline—of course nothing like cruelty—but he will not be fed on the fat of the land. He will receive food enough to keep him alive. I suppose the cane will not be used more than necessary, but the one feature of the school is to be entire silence. From entering the school to going out the boy is never to speak day or night, except to his teacher in saying his lessons. We shall have about 100 boys gathered together, and for one week they will be entirely prohibited from speaking to one another both in school, in the drill ground, or in their dormitories at night—they must be perfectly silent. This was the principle of the Hamburg school, and we expect that this will exercise such an influence on the mind of each child that a week's confinement of that sort will induce him when he comes out to obey the wish of his parents, and the wish of the public generally, and attend school. If not and he is sent back, we shall prolong his imprisonment—we shall extend it to a fortnight or even a month, but it is not proposed to go beyond a month. We hope that this school will be a success, and save a large sum of money to the public. Besides this it will keep the child at home under the influence of his parents. This seems to be a want to be supplied. It does not seem a right thing to separate a child who has no vice in him, but who simply does not like school, for four or five years, entirely from his father and mother's influence. In the case of vicious children it is well to do it, but in the case of a mere truant child if we can keep the child at home and make him go to school, I think we shall have accomplished a great thing.

There is another point I would suggest with respect to the cure of truancy. I think we ought to make our schools attractive, bright and cheerful. Instead of having the cane always in view of the boy—let us put away the cane and the birch rod altogether. Corporal punishment I think might be done away with, if the teachers would take the pains to do it, and instead of letting a child feel that it is going to a place of punishment when it is going to school, let it realise as far as possible that it is going to a place of enjoyment; let all the surroundings of the school be bright; let there be plenty of daylight; let the walls be adorned with pictures, maps, and everything cheerful about it. I think if we can thus make the school attractive we shall very much destroy truancy.

There is another point with respect to the child himself. It should be the object of all who deal with children to bring out the good disposition of the child; instead of threatening the child, and seeking to punish him, try and develope the good that is in him. I was very much struck the other day in visiting a training ship. The captain told me a group of boys were brought to him from some workhouse, and the man who brought them said "There is one boy you must be very careful about. If he has the chance he will run away; we have had the greatest difficulty in keeping him." The captain of the training ship thanked this person, and as soon as he was gone there was occasion to send a boy on shore for the letters. The captain selected this boy—he said "Go on shore in a boat and bring the letters." This boy he had just been told would run away if he had the chance; so he gave him the chance, but he gave it him with this feeling on his mind, "The captain has confided in me—he has confided in me," and the boy with that feeling went and brought the letters, and the commander of the ship never had the slightest occasion to put any restraint upon him; the expression of confidence in the boy cured him. The point that I wish to impress upon this audience is that in dealing with truants we must do away with sending them to Industrial Schools, and that a short confinement, such as I have referred to, will do; and moreover we must make our schools attractive and seek to develope that which is good in the child.

Rev. W. Benham.

I was very much interested in the question concerning the boarding out in workhouses; at the same time I wish to avoid that question this morning. It has always happened in my life that I have never lived within five miles of a workhouse, and I have never, therefore, been able to judge with my own eyes, so that I think it right to pass that question by and come to a question in which I am somewhat interested, though I do not know whether it is quite within the limits of our present subject, viz., pauper children. By pauper children we certainly, as far as the etymology of the word goes, mean poor children. We know there are certain provisions by which children, whose parents are poor, can be educated at the expense of the ratepayers. It is expressly said they are not to be reckoned as pauper children, and very properly so. We all must feel that when people are forced to send their children to school, if they be poor, the least we can

do is not to make it costly. Under the Act of 1870 there was the famous 25th clause, by which School Boards were empowered to pay fees. I believe that acted very well. I know it did at the School Board of which I have the honour to be chairman. We never have the least difference of opinion. My next door neighbour, a Baptist minister, was always ready to vote that the fees should be paid to the denominational school, and things were working well, when all of a sudden there came a new Act—Lord Sandon's—by which that was put aside, and I wish to say a word of objection to that new Act in the hope that one of these days it will be repealed. The case at present is, these School Boards may remit fees in their own schools; but outside in the denominational schools the School Board has no such power, and the people have to apply to the Board of Guardians. Now that is very hard. You find many persons who have never made an application for help, and would sooner starve, who are told, "If you want your children to go to school you must apply"—and they have got to go to the relieving-officer. Then I am afraid the thing is made more bitter for them in this way. Some officious guardian takes up the case and says, "I will enquire into that myself." He goes and enquiries are made into the wages and all the proceedings of that particular family. In one case I am told, though I hope it is not true, a guardian, who was a clergyman, lifted off a woman's pot lid to see what she had there, to ascertain whether she could afford to pay for her daughter. I should like to see that Act repealed and go back to the old system again. I say it is a great cruelty now that the hard-working poor are put to this. I know a widow with eight children, in whose case a guardian tried to prevent her fees being paid. Therefore I hope that this particular portion of the Act may be amended, and things may go back to where they were before.

With regard to truant children, I thought I had a scheme for which I would take out a patent, but Mr. Rogers has taken it out of my hands, and has made a woeful hole in it—I thought it was all my own. I was very much inclined for an industrial school in Margate. I thought by some means or other we might have an industrial school there. I do not know how to classify particular boys. I think they go off sometimes between the vicious and the non-vicious; but at all events for two or three months in the year, I believe all the folly of London discharges itself into the seaport of Margate. The people congregate on the pier, and there are certain young gentlemen who play truant from school, who are called "Jacks-in-the-water," who turn their trousers up to their knees and dive for half-pence, so that it becomes the most difficult thing to get the children to school. I am afraid the parents somewhat encourage them in this, as they get such a lot of money. What I would do is this—take a boy and send him to the union for a week—that is very much like Mr. Rogers' plan of the truant school. He would get skilly, and if he asked for more I would treat him as the gentleman in the white waistcoat did Oliver Twist. I think one week would do it. Let him pay for it; but if the parents cannot help it we will make it easy for them to pay the money. Still I do think if we could catch hold of a young gentleman and send him off there, he would not like it, and I am sure when he got out he would not play truant any more. That is the scheme I was about to propound, and I do hope that this plan of mine will be taken into consideration.

Rev. Goodrich Langley.

I have been invited to speak at this Congress on the question of pauper and truant children. Let me, then, without any further preliminaries, plunge at once "*in medias res.*" First, then, with regard to pauper children, who are they? They are not workhouse children, as many people suppose from the

name; these latter have schools of their own and are attended to there, and with them we have not now to do. Who, then, are meant by pauper children? The children of parents receiving out-door relief. The question requiring to be solved is, how best and most effectively to deal with such children. The parent is most usually a mother, either a widow or else a woman deserted by her husband. She is in receipt of a small weekly allowance from the union, and ekes it out by some scanty earnings of her own labour; she has no means to pay for the education of her children (who often are many in number), yet the State cannot and ought not to allow such children to grow up in ignorance and vice. What, then, is to be done? The matter is often arranged in this way: the Guardians give the parent a small increase to her weekly allowance in order to pay the school fees for the children; but immediately comes in this difficulty to confront us—how are we to make sure that this money is properly applied to the purpose for which it was given? Think what sore temptations there often are to use this little extra sum for other things, to keep one or other of the children at home, and then to use the few pence to purchase some much-needed article in the poor dwelling. There are, then, certain grave objections, I think, to this course of giving an increased allowance to pay the school fees. There are two great temptations attendant upon it, viz., to misuse the money and to defraud the children of their education. But there is another plan which may be pursued, and it is this, that the school authorities should take these pauper children "free of payment;" make no school charges at all upon them. Well, this would no doubt get rid of the difficulty of parents misusing the school money, but this course has also some objections inherent to it. It soon becomes found out that these pauper children do not pay the school fees as the other children do, and so these latter begin to look down upon them; they are not thought so respectable as the others, they are often jeered at and made game of, and so these free children "soon begin to dislike their school, and we cannot wonder at it; a sense of inferiority is felt by them to their companions; they become looked down upon (to use an American phrase) as "Mean Whites." So, then, the method of remitting the school fees and taking these pauper children free of charge is not free, I think, from objections. But can any other plan be adopted? If an increased allowance should not be given on account of its temptations, if the school fees ought not to be remitted, because this impairs the spirit of independence and fosters discontent, what is to be done? The method that I would counsel is this, that an account should be kept of the number of such pauper children attending school, and that the fees for their schooling should not be given to the parents, should not be remitted, but should be paid *direct* by the Guardians to the school authorities. This course, I believe, would get rid of the chief difficulties before-named; there could be no misappropriation; the money would not come into the parents' hands; there would be no sense of inferiority: these children would pay their schooling as the others. There is one further remark on this part of the subject which I would make, and it is this—I do not like the term "pauper" children. It has a bad sound to the masses of the people; it suggests to their mind the idea of "workhouse children"—children who are wholly chargeable to the rates. These are not so; these are not total paupers, they are only aided by "relief"; and I would rather, then, have them termed "relief children." Next, with regard to truant children. Here we approach the very "*crux*" of School Boards—a very citadel of difficulty to those engaged in educational work. Children who truant, how are they best to be dealt with? The answer often given is summon the parents. This appears a speedy and easy remedy—a facile solution of the problem; but I think that these easy solutions by "rule of thumb" are not always the most lasting or satisfactory. For we must recollect that there are two kinds of truancy; one kind in spite of the parents, the other kind with their connivance or

through their indifference and neglect. Take a case of the former kind. A child is found truanting from school, the father is summoned, but he wishes his child to go to school, he desires it to do so, corrects it for not obeying, but the child is wilful and will play truant continually. It is hard to fine that parent, but it is and must be done; nevertheless, the child truants still. In the latter case, where a parent is neglectful, there need be no compunction in punishing him, but his child also truants still. It has been suggested, and by some School Boards acted on, to apply to the parents of such children for a "written consent" to chastise them; but this has not been found to work well; the parents themselves grumble often at the chastisement inflicted with their own consent; they say it has been too severe; the child truants more than ever, and the parents wink at it. How, then, are we to act? The School Board has to go to the magistrates and obtain an order from them to send these children to an "industrial school," yet it is often a hard measure so to do, hard on striving parents to remove their child away from them; often hard upon the child to take it from the surroundings of home life. But what is the best course to be pursued for the community at large? This, I suppose, is what the State has chiefly to consider. If a child become uncontrollable, growing up ignorant or vicious, it is surely better to place that child somewhere under control, where it will be properly disciplined, controlled, and taught; so the general remedy for all these truant cases is to send them to an industrial school. But what is the consequence of this mode of action? These industrial schools are becoming flooded with truant children, for whom they were not originally intended; they are becoming a source of great and increasing expense and a heavy burden on State aid. And, again, it is thought by many reflecting persons that for small school offences (which are not actual crimes) it is not expedient that children should be sent away from their homes for long periods at an annual expense of £10 or £20 to the country.

Is there any better course to be adopted? I think there is, and it is this, to have *special truant schools*, where such children can be compelled to attend, and where they be kept, if necessary, so to do—not allowed to go home, in fact become "boarders;" thus they would be absolutely prevented from truanting. They might be kept as "indoor scholars" for a certain number of weeks, and then, if signs of amendment are shewn, a "license" might be granted to them to return to their homes on good behaviour, and they might become "outdoor scholars"; but if any fresh truancy took place the license to be revoked, the child to be brought back again as an indoor scholar. By some such plan as this I believe that truancy would be very much decreased, and would ultimately almost disappear. But what as to the expenses of these special truant schools? Well, I think in our large towns and centres of population, amongst the buildings belonging to the Boards one might be arranged as a branch truant school or "truant wing," it might be called, where such children might be disciplined and taught; where such of them as would be requisite might be kept as indoor scholars for certain periods. Such schools would require to have in them an eating, and one or two sleeping rooms also, but not of any large or extensive proportions, as, practically, I believe the number of indoor scholars would be but small. The "indoor system" would soon reduce truancy, the children would tell each other "Don't you play truant or else you will be taken away from father and mother and put in there." I would advocate, then, where practicable, the erection or arrangement of branch truant schools either for towns or districts. I think this would be found a very effectual remedy. Such schools would have a very deterrent influence on truanting children, and yet the method pursued would be a salutary one; there would be detention and yet not too lengthened detention, and there would be the "premium" of the license to be obtained to return home and to be outdoor scholars once again, and at the same time

there would be the wholesome check of the recall of such license if not regular at school or if truanting again.

In conclusion, such are a few ideas on this interesting and yet perplexing subject which I have ventured to lay before this Congress, and though, in endeavouring to solve the great educational problem, we may, from time to time, make many mistakes and commit many blunders, yet I thoroughly think that all who are engaged in this question, whether by way of voluntary or School Board schools, should be actuated by one and the same spirit, the desire of bringing up England's youthful generation to fear their God and become good and useful citizens. I would say, then, let the watchword of those who interest themselves in education be the utterance of a great and intellectual German (namely Goethe), *Licht mehr licht*, "Light, more light."

Rev. F. Storer Clark.

My lord,—I think we must remember we are a Church Congress, and we must ask "What is the Church going to do with these children?" We have been told this morning what Boards are doing, and are going to do, but we all know that Boards are very hard things; they always have been and always will be, and I am sure that the remarks that have been made by two clergymen, one a chairman of a Board and the other the vice-chairman of a Board, would not have been made if they had been outside those Boards. They tell us that these children are not vicious children, but are wayward children; perhaps on their way to school they meet a friend who leads them away, or as that great man, Edwards, whose name is so much honoured in our land, may have preferred going abroad to seeing unpleasant schools. There may be a very great deal of harsh treatment there—this children do not like and they prefer being away. We have been told that either they are to be sent as *quasi* criminals into a prison, or else sent as paupers to the union workhouse. Now I think of all cruel things ever devised, this silent system would be to many children the most cruel of all. I know some truant players, boys like Edwards, in whom it might destroy the whole power of the mind, to be in a silent school for a whole week, or for several weeks, as we are told. The horror of many sensitive children with regard to that is very great, while to others it would be no punishment at all. There are children who like sulking, and there are some silent children who would like to have their own thoughts for a week in a nice quiet retirement. Therefore we find that this, as in the case of all punishments, is very unequal in its operation—it depends so much on the disposition of the children. All punishments must produce certain evils, but may produce certain benefits. I do feel, as a Church Congress, apart from police courts and School Boards, that we ought to see whether moral influence may not be used and religious principles brought in. Those of us who know truant children, and I know a great deal of them, know that they have hearts within them not broken by School Boards, and they may become useful members of society, and useful members of Christ's Church. I know that this must be stopped, for I know that truant playing soon passes away into vice. Last year I was at a reformatory, and in speaking to eighty boys I asked if any of them knew me; three of them held up their hands. I traced them out and each of them had been truant players. Therefore, no doubt, this must be checked in the very commencement, for they do not become inveterate truant players all of a sudden. Very often this truant playing has been going on for weeks or months before it is stopped. The London School Board comes in and says there must be this enquiry and that enquiry—there is notice A and notice B: The Board are to meet, but they

are away on a holiday perhaps—for two or three months—and then by that time the truancy has become inveterate. Now what do I find useful in our own schools? We have a godly woman, a kindly woman, who comes to our school in the morning and in the afternoon, and asks who are the absentees; their names are given—she goes to their homes: they prefer a visit from a woman to a visit from a man backed up by these police courts. She talks to them kindly, and then at once the parents know it. If the School Board visitor goes and says "Your son was away last Tuesday fortnight," the parent says "Well, I am quite sure he was not." But here if they say "John is at school," they are told he is not, and they may go and see. I do wish for Christian influence. We who are members of the Church Congress must think what would our Lord and Master do. Here are these sheep wandering from his fold; what would He do? He went after the stray sheep; He did not go with police courts at his back. He went in love to try and win them back; and these children have hearts. Let us get hold of them, ladies may do something. Find out these truant players. Plead with them face to face, and bring all the kindly influence of the Gospel to bear upon them and win their hearts by the love of the Saviour. These poor children, who are always being thrashed at home, know nothing of parents' love—they know nothing of Christian principles. Bring those to bear upon their minds, and then let us take them down upon their knees, and with them plead to God and lead them to plead to God, and I know some of those hardened stubborn hearts, which would have been ruined and destroyed in silent schools, will melt into tears under such influences. Here is work in which ladies may help. I do not myself care to see ladies in a legislative assembly, fighting side by side with men, but I do like in the schools to see the ladies and children getting to know each other. I say, therefore, let us take up this matter in that way, and then I feel sure that those silent schools, and Industrial Schools, will no longer be needed for our truant children.

Rev. Geo. Crowther Smith, Chaplain of the South Metropolitan District Schools, Sutton, Surrey.

As I hold the appointment of chaplain to the largest of the district schools, I should like to take the opportunity to say a few words respecting them. I was very much pleased to find that Mr. Peek, from whom I expected something rather opposed to our schools, only brought forward three objections to these schools, which were: 1st,—That there was a great cost connected with them, which of course we must admit; but at the same time the answer to it is clearly found in this, that no great good can be accomplished without some cost and some outlay. His next objection was the aggregation of numbers, which may cause some evils. There may be something in that, but as our schools are I believe the largest in England, if not in the world, I do not myself find that there is any evil arising from the aggregation of numbers, and the reason of there being no great evil is the admirable system of management. For instance, there is one separate department for infants, another for junior boys, another for girls, and another for senior boys. They never come across each other, and we never know or hear of any bad words, or of any but a good kind of religious influence being exercised on the children. Then I think a third objection to the district schools was that they were likely to induce parents to become paupers in order that their children might go to those schools. Now I know myself from coming in contact with the parents that they value these schools very highly—in fact they speak of their children going to boarding school—that is their common phrase; but although they value them so highly I do not think that they value them

sufficiently highly to induce them to become paupers. I wish to confine my observations to the district schools. I think we are all agreed upon this point, that the district schools are to be regarded as remedial, to induce the children to turn from pauperism, to lead a life of respectability, and establish their position in society. I must say from my constant experience of these schools that I have been very much struck with their great success; with their discipline; with their means of training, and with the influences which are brought to bear upon the children. The children are under good and kind influences; they are well clothed, well fed, well educated to a point, even beyond that of the board schools. They are well grounded in good English of every kind, so that they go out from our schools, as regards their education, in a very high state of proficiency. The boys are taught various trades. The girls are trained likewise for servants, and from day to day and year to year, we are sending out from the country some hundreds well disciplined under religious influences, fitted to become useful and successful members of society. From my constant experience of these children, I am glad to say that the schools are a great success. I am prepared to endorse the statement of one whom we may regard if not as the founder in some measure of these schools—certainly as the father of them; who has, to the great regret of most of us retired from his work—Mr. Carleton Tufnell, when he said some years ago that the failures in these schools were only to the extent of about three per cent. That is my experience from constant supervision of these children, not only in the schools, but when they go out in the world. I have carefully estimated the failures, and I am prepared to maintain that they are only to about the extent of three per cent., and I ask what other school or other system can show such results as these—even measured by the results in some of our best schools in a higher station in society? I could tell you of many who have obtained the highest position in society, who have gone out from our schools. Many of our boys are prepared for the army, and they are very much sought after because they are highly educated, especially in arithmetic. Many of them when they go into the army schools are at once made monitors, and they advance from one position to another, some becoming army schoolmasters. One boy especially, who went to Natal, was one day engaged in working out a problem following out the education he had received in algebra in the school. It was a very difficult problem which he could not solve. He went to a clergyman of the parish where he was, who was a high dignitary, a Canon. The Canon looked at the problem again and again, and was at last obliged to confide in the boy, "Well, really I have not attended much to mathematics, I cannot give you the solution, but there is that fellow Colenso, you can go to him, he will solve it for you." He gave him an introduction. The boy went to Colenso, and he was so delighted with him that he took him up, and now he is the principal of a large college out there. I can speak of another who holds a high position as assistant inspector, who has taken his B.A. degree at the London University. I can speak of another who is in Holy Orders—and our boys and girls are so well trained and fitted that they are able to carry on their education after they leave our school, especially the pupil teachers, because they are more highly educated than the others. From the ranks of the children we get our pupil teachers, and they being so educated pass on from our schools and so become schoolmasters and mistresses, and many of them rise to a much higher position. I have only to say how thoroughly I endorse the proposition of Mr. Norton that these schools should be made compulsory. I think a better thing could not be than to compel the guardians of our parishes who will not do it without, to establish district schools throughout the country, and I feel quite sure that if they are managed as ours and others are managed, there would be great results, and we should soon see pauperism stamped out of our country.

Rev. W. W. Edwards.

I am rather sorry personally that the course of the discussion this morning has not been kept more within the limits of the papers which were read by the two readers. Without at all deprecating what other speakers have said I cannot help saying that I think the last speaker has acted very wisely in bringing back the discussion to what appears was intended by the framers of the programme. There is a vast amount of pauperism in the country and we have got a large number of pauper children to deal with. I say what we have to do is to get rid of pauper children altogether, but how are we to get rid of them? Stamp them out. We cannot do it in the present generation, but we ought to remember that our first rule in dealing with all pauper questions is to get rid of pauperism if we can. A great many of the schemes proposed are very admirable and excellent in their way, but they all have to my mind this fatal defect that they tend to perpetuate a system of pauperism. One of the greatest political economists of modern times, Mr. Ricardo, has distinctly held this rule up for all students of political economy, that there is harm in a poor law since it must have an evil effect upon the people, and if it has an evil effect upon grown up persons it is evident it must have a still more evil effect upon the young and tender. Now, how are we to get rid of pauperism? The first thing you can do is to try and find some system by which you can get rid of pauperism, and if you do that you will get rid of the results of pauperism, and amongst others, pauper children. You must restrict out-door relief. When you have done what you can in that direction you will find that you have checked very materially, for instance, improvident marriages, and I say it with all due respect, that not only is it the best possible check to increase of population in the country, but it is the only moral check. But we ought to remember that the State should never do anything under any circumstances which should teach parents to neglect their children. It is only too often the case that we find the State stepping in between the parents and their children, and telling the parents that they may practically neglect their children. The State comes in and says we will support your children, we will provide them with medical relief, we will provide them with education, we will provide them, if you cannot do it, for years with happy homes and every possible thing that a child can want from the cradle to the grave. The result is that pauper children, instead of diminishing in number, are increasing, as I believe they will increase as long as the present system goes on. The poor law reformers of the present day are always met when they talk about restricting out-door relief by the Elberfeld system. I happen to have spent some time in Elberfeld recently and I have got some curious statistics with regard to it. That system is entirely out-door relief, and there are enormous numbers of pauper children there. The result of this system is that while in Scotland the pauperism is only 2.9 of the population, or about one in forty, in England it is 3.4, or one in thirty, and Elberfeld it is 3.68, or one in twenty-six. That is the result of the out-door system. But how are we to deal with the children?—the fact remains that we have an enormous number of children that as Christian churchmen and human beings we must treat properly and without cruelty. Mr. Peek in his admirable address told us of a good many systems. We shall all agree, I think, that the education of pauper children in the workhouse is thoroughly bad and it must be done away with—we ought all to put our shoulders to the wheel to do away with it. This Church Congress will have done something if it has helped to do away with the abominable system of bringing up young and tender children in the workhouses. Next we come to the question of boarding out. Mr. Peek spoke of the boarding out system as if it had been entirely approved of in Scotland. I think he is a little mistaken there; it is not approved of altogether, and the evils of the boarding out system are perfectly understood there as well as they are in England. I do not want to detain you with entering

into those arguments against boarding out which are admirably enumerated in Mr. Fawcett's book on pauperism, but I cannot help observing that the boarding out system offers a higher premium to pauperism than any other system. With regard to village homes I think the same thing may be said—the tendency of all these schemes is distinctly to encourage parents in the idea that the State has got to do what they do not choose to do, or are too idle to do, or too careless to do for themselves. But still bearing in mind the fact that we cannot be cruel to the children, that we cannot cast them out, and that we must as far as possible prevent the sins of the fathers being visited upon the children, even to the third and fourth generation, we must adopt some scheme—I consider there are fewest objections to the system of district schools. The last speaker told us how exceedingly well those schools are managed, and how well they answer, and I will only say in conclusion that there are fewer objections to pauper district schools than to other systems.

Rev. John Toone, S. Peter's Vicarage, Battersea.

My lord, my apology as one so young for sending in my card to you, which I had no thought of doing an hour ago, must be that I am a Guardian of the large Metropolitan Union of Wandsworth and Clapham, and so know something of pauper children, and am manager of several National Schools, and correspondent of one National and one Board School in the extensive parish of Battersea. Now, first with regard to pauper children. I cannot agree with a former speaker who alludes to the time when we shall have no pauper children. There must always be children whom it is the duty of the guardians of the poor to maintain. What shall we do with these children? I fully allow that many children turn out exceedingly well who have been brought up in district schools, but I maintain that far too large a number turn out very badly. The children in these schools are congregated in large numbers, and immorality and trickery are readily extended. In my own Church, a lad from out of these schools, apprenticed in my parish and employed as organ blower, caused disturbance during service by feigning that he was attacked with a fit. A medical man upon examining him stated that it was all a sham, and his employer tells me that the lad acknowledges to him that he was taught how to do it by other boys in the school. Further, these children when in the school are but as parts of a great machine, kept going under strict discipline, as soon as the motive power is removed, the children placed out in the world, the child is quite at a loss how to proceed, quite unprepared to move with the world in the ordinary relations of daily life. I am, then, my lord, a strong advocate for boarding out. Be the home ever so poor a one in which the child is placed, I am persuaded that being brought up with some home influences around it, and mixing daily at school with children who are *not* paupers, it is more likely to grow up self-reliant and ready to discharge the duties of an honest citizen. Upon the necessity of those in authority seeing that a due inspection of the children and the homes in which they are placed is made from time to time it is unnecessary for me to dwell.

And now, my lord, to turn to the truants. I do not propose to dwell upon the case of those who have been called vicious—*for these* we feel that some place must be provided where actual restraint is continuously exercised. I will say a few words upon the case of those truants who cannot be called vicious, and offer some practical suggestion as to the promotion of regularity of school attendance. When I came with Canon Erskine Clarke to the Parish of Battersea, about seven years ago, we found the Parochial Schools had an attendance so irregular that the proportion of children who had made a sufficient number of attendances for

presentation at the inspection was lamentably low, and as a necessary consequence a yearly increasing adverse balance in the school accounts.

We adopted Mr. Parrish's plan, which has come to be known as the "Selmeston Plan." According to this plan, so soon as a child has made 250 attendances (the minimum number which a child must make in a school year to qualify it for presentation at the annual inspection) it is credited in the school books with a certain proportion of the weekly fee for each week it has attended. To put our own case—the weekly fee is fourpence, so soon as a child has made 250 attendances, it is credited in the school books with twopence for each week's attendance. If the child is present on the day of inspection, it is further credited with sixpence for each pass in reading, writing and arithmetic. Upon the receipt of the Government grant the amount credited to each child is paid to it in a lump sum. Should the child be absent upon the day of inspection, it loses all claim to the return of fees. This is the Selmeston plan. This plan we found it necessary to modify, and the necessity became apparent thus. I started a night school on the Selmeston plan. The plan was most successful in securing regularity of attendance up to the time of the inspection—a thing specially difficult to secure in a night school. We gave one shilling on each pass in reading, writing and arithmetic. When the time for returning the money arrived, the weakness of the plan became self-evident: those lads who had attended the minimum number of times requisite to qualify them for presentation had returned to them (including, remember, the three shillings given for passes) the full amount that they had paid in fees, while those who had attended absolutely regularly throughout the season, did not receive nearly the whole amount they had paid. In the Selmeston plan, then, no inducement is held out to the children to attend beyond the minimum number of times requisite to qualify them for presentation. We therefore modified the plan, and return the fees according to a sliding scale.

When a child has attended—

250	times,	he	is	credited	in	the	school	books	with 1d. for each week's attendance.
300	"	"	"	"	"	"	1½d.	"	" "
350	"	"	"	"	"	"	2d.	"	" "
400	"	"	"	"	"	"	2½d.	"	" "
450	"	"	"	"	"	"	3d.	"	" "

This modified plan which we may call the "Battersea plan" is now in operation, and we find it to work in every way well. Giving the parents and children alike a monetary interest in regularity has worked wonders in reducing the number of truants. We have now no complaints to make of children being absent on the day of inspection, the Government grant has greatly increased, and the adverse balance is diminishing steadily instead of increasing. The scholarship plan lately put forward by the Education Department seems to indicate a tendency on their part to reward by return of fees continuous regularity of attendance, and, my lord, it is my firm conviction that to give the children and their parents a monetary interest in regularity of school attendance will do more than anything else to reduce the number of truant children.

The Hon. and Rev. J. W. Leigh, Vicar of Leamington.

I venture to say a few words upon this subject, because for many years I have taken a great interest in boarding out pauper children, and about eight years ago was instrumental in introducing it before the Board of Guardians at Warwick. This union has in its district the towns of Warwick, Kenilworth and Leamington. At first I met with a good deal of opposition from the ratepayers, chiefly amongst the country farmers, and I am sorry to say I also met with some opposition from

officers in high places. I believe since then that the benefits resulting from boarding-out have been recognised. I may say that about four years ago I left England and have been absent ever since, only returning last February. On my return I was anxious to find out what were the results of the boarding-out. Only last Saturday I went into the school of the village of Stoneleigh, where I was formerly vicar for ten years, and in which village almost all the children had been boarded-out. I went into the schools and looked at the list of the boys. I saw there the two head scholars were Edward C— and Charles S—. I asked the schoolmaster, who was a stranger to me, how these boys were getting on. He said that they were very well behaved and he had no fault whatever to find with them. I was very glad to hear this, because these two head boys were two boys who were boarded-out from the Warwick Union eight years ago. I may say with regard to the first named, that he and his sister, who were then about four and five years old, were the children of a wretched man who murdered his wife through jealousy. His sentence of death was commuted to transportation for life, owing to certain aggravated circumstances on the part of the woman. Therefore you see that these poor children had had most wretched criminal parents. When these children were first taken out of the union they had a sullen look about them; had they been left in the union, it is my humble opinion that they must have turned out badly. When I saw them the other day all traces of sullenness had disappeared, and they were cheerful, intelligent looking children, and Edward C—, the son of the murderer, was head of the school at Stoneleigh, and is likely to do well in after life. I think that this is very satisfactory. There is no doubt in the world that leaving these orphan and deserted children in a workhouse must be very injurious to them; their morals are contaminated by coming in contact with the casual children who come into the house for a few weeks or a few days, and who have learnt every vice from their vagrant parents, and in their turn communicate those vices to these orphan and deserted children. I know there is a good deal of opposition to this boarding-out. It was only last week that I met with a gentleman, who is well known here and is well known throughout England for the great interest he has taken in the sanitary arrangements and education connected with the poor. I mean Mr. Edwin Chadwick. I had a long talk with him on the subject, and he, as you are aware, is against the boarding-out of the children, and is in favour of district schools. But I do not see why district schools and boarding-out should not go together. I think the district schools are admirable institutions for large towns; indeed it would be impossible to board out the children from London and other large towns; but I think at the same time that the boarding out system is peculiarly adapted to our smaller towns and country districts, where there is good cottage accommodation to be got in the immediate neighbourhood. One thing is quite certain, that it is most necessary to take these children out of the workhouse and to prevent them from being contaminated by the casual paupers. There are many excellent ladies who have written upon this subject, and have taken the deepest interest in the pauper children of the workhouses of England. I think it is almost a pity that we should not have had some of these ladies to address us on the subject. I mean such ladies as Mrs. Archer, Miss Senior, and Miss Florence Hill, who have done so much to depauperize these poor children. I venture merely to tell you my experiences, which, I think, are perhaps often better than theories, and I would conclude by reading this letter which I have just received from the Clerk to the Board of Guardians of Warwick. He says:—"In reply to your letter of the 7th inst., I shall be happy to give you what information I can upon so short a notice. We have now about 15 children boarded out at the present time, chiefly in the parishes of Stoneleigh and Kenilworth. The children, when old enough, are placed out, the girls to service and the boys apprenticed to some trade. I think in every instance

the boarded out children have done well, and I am not aware of a single case where they have returned to the workhouse." I think this last paragraph is very important, as it touches the pocket of the ratepayers, and the best argument to use with the majority of ratepayers in England is the argument which touches their pockets. The system of boarding out, so far as it has been adopted in the Warwick Union, has been very successful. We have never sent children into towns, but into country districts, when they can be under the eye of the clergyman of the parish; but to board out children in towns would be a mistake; of course, everything depends on proper supervision.

Section Room.

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 10th.

The Bishop of Dover took the Chair at Half-past Two o'clock.

CHARITY ORGANISATION IN ITS CHRISTIAN ASPECT, WITH REFERENCE TO ALMSGIVING; AND MEDICAL AND PROVIDENT INSTITUTIONS —THEIR USE AND ABUSE.

PAPERS.

Archdeacon Sir Lovelace T. Stamer, Bart.

"Charity Organisation:" The "Charity" with which we have to deal in this discussion, is the money which people voluntarily and privately bestow for the relief of the various forms of distress which appeal to them, as distinguished from that which is levied upon them in the shape of a public rate, to be expended strictly according to law in maintaining or assisting the poor.

And the "Organising" of this Charity I take to be the directing of it towards proper and deserving objects, to persons whose need has been ascertained, and in such a way as least to interfere with habits of self-reliance and prudence.

That Charity Organisation, so understood, is not a question for political economists or social-science investigators only, but is a matter of direct Christian concern, and worthy to occupy the attention of a Church Congress, will be seen at once from the briefest possible consideration of the *moral* mischief which ensues when alms are carelessly, and indiscriminately, and lavishly given. So

far from their being "twice blest—blessing him that gives, and him that takes," they have a precisely contrary effect. Instead of blessing the giver they actually do him harm, as pretences and unrealities of every sort do always act injuriously on the man who allows himself to practice them. He is well satisfied with himself for what he does, and deludes himself by calling it charity; but it is a wretched counterfeit of the true grace of charity. For he has not attempted to make himself acquainted with the circumstances of the man who presents himself for relief: he has been drawn to him by no lively feeling of sympathy: he has bestowed no time or thought on determining in what way his condition can best be ameliorated: he has no heart for all this trouble: but he commutes it for a ready-money payment. He gets rid of the applicant at his door, or silences the beggar in the street, or satisfies the importunate letter writer, with some random gift. Let him give after this fashion as largely as he may, it will be a selfish and inconsiderate act after all. I am assuming that the case is a genuine one. But he has been at no pains to ascertain its truth. Let it turn out, as too often it will happen, to have been an imposture, and let him come to know that he has been duped, the tendency of this will be to harden him against all claims of distress, and to make him vow that they shall receive no help from him in the future. And money so given is positively injurious to the receiver. It is a premium upon thriftlessness; it saps the foundations of manly independence, and confirms a too ready reliance on extraneous help. The poor so assisted will never rise out of the class of mendicants; to beg, when beggary is so easy and profitable, they will never be ashamed.

Equally, then, for the sake of those who give, and those who take alms, charity must be organised. The careless givers need it, that they may be taught a less wasteful and more Christian mode of bestowing their charity. The truly benevolent in intention need it, that they may be protected against the impostures to which they are exposed. The deserving poor claim it, that their wants, often overlooked through their own reticence, may be brought to light. For the professional beggar it is all important that his career of mendicancy, which may shortly pass into actual crime, may be cut short, and that he may be forced to learn the lesson, that "if he will not work, neither shall he eat."

And let me guard you against supposing that the sum to be thus dealt with is inconsiderable, and not worth this close attention. In the Metropolis alone, where the amount expended annually in legal relief is only a little in excess of two millions, the amount dispensed in private charity is computed at little less than seven millions. If, then, with all the care which legislation can devise, the operation of the Poor Laws, especially in the department of out-relief, is really mischievous, if, as it has been alleged, they are "prolific parents of misery and degradation," how much more is this likely to result from private charity, distributed without the same precautions, upon a much more gigantic scale!

Doubtless the most careful organisation of charity will not avail by itself to improve the condition of the poor; but it can do much

towards it, especially if, in addition to securing a wise distribution of alms, it makes it a part of its care to encourage provident habits, and to make more widely known the various ways in which the wage-earning classes may combine to help and protect themselves. Without dwelling further on the general question, which is rendered unnecessary by all that has been said and written on this subject, particularly under the auspices of "the Society for Organising Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicity," which has its Central Office in London, and is ready and anxious to extend its operations throughout the country, permit me to offer as my contribution to this discussion, some practical suggestions for the better administration of one particular description of charity: I mean the alms entrusted to us the Parochial Clergy for the relief of the sick and needy. I venture to think, and perhaps my brethren of the clergy who are present will agree with me in thinking, that the ordinary mode of distributing these alms admits of improvement.

It is as old as Christianity that the clergy have been deputed to act as almoners for the laity. "As many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them down at the Apostle's feet; and distribution was made to every man according as he had need." (Acts iv., 34-35.) But this did not prove to be an entirely satisfactory arrangement. Even under the direction of Apostles mistakes occurred; and complaints were heard of some being overlooked "in the daily ministration." (Acts vi., 1.) This showed the necessity for more careful investigation than the Apostles, with their higher ministry as preachers of the Word and rulers of the Church, had time to make; and led to the appointment of the Order of Deacons, who should give special attention to this business. In our Ordinal, you will remember, it is still declared to appertain to the Office of a Deacon that he should "search for the sick, poor, and infirm people of the parish, so as to intimate their estate, names, and places where they dwell to the curate, that by his exhortation they may be relieved with the alms of the parishioners or of others." (*Office for the Ordering of Deacons.*) This may be done, and doubtless ought to be done: and yet I am going to contend that, for many reasons, it is better that the parochial clergyman should stand in the back ground, and depute to lay persons the actual administration of this relief. My own experience has long since shown me how very undesirable it is that a clergyman's pastoral visits to the sick and needy of his flock should be associated with almsgiving. What parochial clergyman does not know this at least, how the expectation of a gift at the close of his visit leads to precious time being wasted over the repetition of the oft-told tale of want, and inability to procure the extra nourishment which the doctor has prescribed? Who has not been compelled at times to mistrust the warmth of his welcome through a not unfounded suspicion lest it was due to his coming in the character of a relieving officer, rather than as a Minister of God? And is it not certain that this system makes many hypocrites? There are those in every parish where it prevails, who come to Church, and are obsequious to the parson, for what he has to bestow, because they

believe that, when anything is to be given away, they will stand a better chance of being remembered by him. What can be more unfortunate, let me say in passing, as tending to this than the bread doles which in some parishes are required to be given away, according to the bequest of some deceased benefactor of pious memory, at the discretion of the Minister, in the vestry, after morning service? On the other hand such a mode of dispensing the alms acts disadvantageously to the better sort; for it exposes the faithful poor, the widows who are widows indeed, to the taunts of their irreligious neighbours, that they go to Church for what they can get.

The question of course arises, to whom are we to entrust the giving of the alms? I do not mention district visitors, for the same objection lies against their being the almoners as against the clergyman; and they are very liable, indeed, to be imposed upon. I have found them always very ready and confiding recipients of a tale of woe; and unless exceptionally cautious and self-restrained, they would soon outrun the share that you could place at their disposal. I would urge most strongly *the employment of a fully-trained parochial nurse;* and I say, confidently, that no large parish can be considered to be completely equipped without one. We have had one at work for the last ten years in the parish with which I am connected; and she has proved invaluable as an instrument of Charity Organisation. Her business is to visit and tend the sick poor at their own homes. She is thus enabled to ascertain, far more correctly than any clergyman can do, the real needs of each, and she is empowered to supply them. For the most part, assistance is given in kind. Under the nurse's direction, nourishing food, such as they severally require, is prepared at a house centrally situated, which answers the purpose of an invalid's kitchen, from whence it is fetched at an appointed hour. She has also at command a stock of necessary articles of bedding, clothing, and other requisites for sickness, to be lent to those who do not possess them of their own, or to be given if the case is urgent and deserving. The alms for the poor of the parish are dispensed almost entirely through her in this way. The cost of provisions is about £1 weekly. We find that it goes further and does more good than double that sum doled out as it would otherwise be in money by the clergy of the parish. Of course there are cases in which money is required. These are reported by the nurse, and she receives authority to give it. But the principle is uniformly adhered to, that it is given through her, and not by the clergy. Meanwhile, they are relieved from all anxiety about the temporal necessities of the sick, or infirm, or aged poor, and the whole time of each visit can be devoted to spiritual ministrations. If the case be known to the nurse, they are sure that it is properly attended to; or they can ascertain for themselves what assistance is being given from the book in which a daily record of each portion sent out is kept. If they find that it is not known to her, it is their duty to inform her of it. I must not forget to add that the nurse is ready to act as referee in the case of any unknown person applying for charity, so that residents in the town desirous to ascertain the truth of any statement made to them, can get it tested

by her, if they please. I do not conceal from you that, for such a post, a thoroughly discreet and trustworthy, as well as skilful and diligent nurse is required. But such may be had if they are sought for. Or, if they cannot be found in all points ready to hand, there is plenty of raw material that may be prepared for the purpose. The cost of a nurse of this sort will be from £50 to £70 a year, if she boards herself. It will be subscribed willingly when once her work is begun, and her value known. As I have said, in my judgment no large parish is complete without a nurse; and with her assistance, the distribution of the alms can be placed on a satisfactory and wholesome footing.

The case of a small parish, which is unable to maintain a nurse, offers greater difficulty. If the clergyman must be the almoner, I can only suggest that he should make a marked difference between his pastoral visits, and those in which he merely calls to leave some relief.

I have been speaking particularly of alms taken from the offertory, and entrusted to the clergyman for his sick and needy people; and my object has been to suggest a plan by which it may be distributed so as to do no harm, but rather the greatest amount of good, to the recipients. All may not be expended in this way, or he may have other funds placed at his disposal on which the whole of the flock may have claim. No good is done, but the very reverse, by giving this away as "*largesse*"—a shilling here, a half-crown there. It must be turned to account and made remunerative in the encouragement of habits of thrift. Out of this—*e.g.*, substantial additions may be made to the savings of the working people, either in a clothing or other club, or in a penny bank. The great point, as I have found, is to avoid too much strictness in the rules; not to tie up the money too tightly; to let the depositors feel that it is their own, and that they can draw it without question whenever they please or have need of it; though, of course, special advantages will belong to those who allow it to accumulate until the year's end, or then transfer it to the Post Office Savings Bank. In my own parish I consider some £60 or more as money well expended in making additions to the deposits in a clothing club and penny bank, which have amounted in the course of a year to £1,500.

I believe it is in our power to effect much good in the direction of Charity Organisation in another way, and that is by aiding the establishment of Provident Dispensaries. There is nothing in regard to which working people persuade themselves that they are entitled to become recipients of charity so readily as *medical* assistance. No matter what their earnings may be, if there is a hospital at hand, they will, without hesitation, ask for recommendations as in or out patients; and, strange to say, they succeed in getting them, although, probably, the ticket requires the subscriber to certify that he believes the person recommended by him to be a proper object of charity. To give medical attendance and medicine free of charge to those who might and ought to pay for it, is a weak-kneed benevolence, and is getting them into bad habits; and it is, moreover, unfair to the medical profession, some of whom give their valuable services to the

hospitals without payment, but on the understanding that they shall be called upon to prescribe for the really poor; while others are prepared to render their services on equitable terms of remuneration, according to the position in life and the means of those who seek their aid. The remedy for this is to be found in Provident Dispensaries, in which, for a small weekly payment, the members can claim medical attendance at their own homes. To prove that when the opportunity is given, and the case is put clearly before them, the working people will preserve their independence and pay their doctors, I may mention that in a neighbouring parish to my own in Staffordshire, a friend of mine organised such a dispensary, the payment being one penny weekly for each man, and a halfpenny for each woman or child. From the first, there was no lack of members, and at the end of five years, the receipts amounted to some £900 a year, to be divided among the medical men of the town who attended them.

I have been endeavouring to show how the parochial clergy have it in their power to contribute to the success of this important movement for Charity Organisation. Depend upon it, the abuses of which we are all well aware will be sure to disappear in proportion as we all cease from that careless and irrational almsgiving, which encourages idleness and improvidence, and do our best to provide institutions for securing the self-respect and independence of the people.

Dr. Fairlie Clarke.

"There is no class of medical institutions which are truer charities [than Provident Dispensaries], for they help the poor to help themselves, and they call out and foster one of the best instincts of human nature, viz., the desire of independence."—*Quarterly Review*, April, 1874.

As my professional work has brought me much in contact with hospitals and dispensaries, I shall confine myself to the latter part of the subject which has been announced for our consideration, and speak only of Charity in reference to medical and provident institutions.

Is it *Charity* to give people what they can afford to get for themselves? Is it *Charity* to weaken self-reliance, and to lead people to depend upon others in a matter of such importance as the care of their own health? In a word, is it *Charity* to turn men unnecessarily into paupers?

If this question is answered in the negative, then there is no difficulty in showing that much of the so-called Charity which is administered through our hospitals and dispensaries ought more properly to be described by some very different term. In London alone more than half a million of money is annually expended by the Medical Charities; and in no other department of Christian benevolence is so large a sum distributed in such a recklessly open-handed and unquestioning manner.

It has been clearly established of late years that the amount of gratuitous relief that is given at hospitals and dispensaries is out of

all proportion to what can be considered the real needs of the people. It has been found that a quarter of the population—at least in the larger towns—annually applies for medical charitable relief. This fact—this striking fact—has recently been brought prominently forward, and has been the starting point of the discussions which have taken place with regard to the Medical Charities, and of the reforms which have in some instances been introduced into their administration.

It is obviously impossible to believe that in a country which provides by its Poor Law for the medical necessities of the indigent classes there can remain anything like a quarter of the population who really need charitable relief. There must, therefore, be something wrong somewhere.

Where is the defect, and what is the remedy ?

A few years ago a careful inquiry was made into the social position of the out-patients at one of the London general hospitals (the Royal Free Hospital), and it was found that 49 per cent. were in a position to pay something for their own medical relief. In like manner, at the Children's Hospital in Great Ormond Street, it has been shown by inquiries spread over two years that more than half the out-patients could afford to contribute towards the expense of their own treatment. For practical purposes we may say that half the applicants at London hospitals could, without hardship, pay a few shillings a year for that which they are now seeking *in formâ pauperum*.

Yet it would be unjust to blame the well-to-do poor for resorting to charitable hospitals and dispensaries. These institutions have been multiplied to such an unnecessary extent, there is such a mischievous rivalry amongst them, so keenly are they bidding against one another for the patronage of the working man, that it is no wonder he has yielded to their solicitations ; the more so as there is no adequate system in existence to meet the peculiar circumstances of his case. *This is where the defect lies.* Some fresh system is needed for this section of the community. It may be defined as the section which lies between Poor Law relief on the one hand, and a doctor's ordinary charges on the other. At present the only choice that is offered is this : If a person cannot pay a doctor's bill, he must either apply to the parish, or resort to a charitable hospital. If he applies to the parish, he is regarded as a pauper : if he resorts to a charitable hospital, it is very apt (as has been proved in numberless cases), to break down his self-respect, and to become the first step in the downward path of pauperization.

What then is the remedy ?

As we have seen, when this section is closely scrutinized, it appears that half the individuals who compose it are able to pay a small sum for themselves, if only there were any means of obtaining the medical treatment they require on such terms.

Now we have not far to go in order to find a way of supplying their want. We have only to take the few shillings which each is willing to contribute, to make it a yearly payment, and upon this basis to found mutual assurance societies. Whether we call them Provident

Dispensaries, Sick Clubs, or anything else, the principle which underlies them is the same. In providing for himself and his family a man helps to provide for his whole class. Self-help becomes mutual assurance.

This seems very simple, very obvious; and yet it is only of late years that the want has been observed, and an attempt made to supply the remedy. But now some isolated and some combined efforts are being made which have at least attained such a measure of success as to show what could be effected, if only the advantages of the system were generally acknowledged.

I have no doubt that all whom I am addressing are familiar with the idea of a Provident Dispensary. It is an institution which receives all comers—men, women, young persons and children alike—who by small but regular payments secure for themselves medical attendance and medicine when they are ill. None are refused because their health is bad, or because their occupation is fraught with peculiar danger. The members can obtain prompt attention at the outset of an illness before it has laid a fatal hold upon them, and there is no doctor's bill to be a millstone round their necks when they are restored to health.

The scale of payments varies somewhat in different places according to the rate of wages and other circumstances. Speaking generally, we may say that a penny-half-penny a week for each adult and a half-penny a week for each child under 14, to the number of three, and a free pass for the rest of the family (if more numerous), is about the usual scale of charges. Thus, four pence half-penny a week, or 19 6 per year, will secure to a working man and his whole family the benefit of medical attendance. And if the Provident system became general, there can be no doubt these terms might be still further reduced, so as to bring them within the reach of almost all who are above the level of pauperism.

As Provident Dispensaries are intended to meet the wants of a particular class, it is obviously requisite to lay down some limits with regard to the social position of those who are eligible as members.

The limit, like the scale of payment, varies in different localities. Speaking generally, in rural districts none are admitted whose weekly wage exceeds 20/-; while in the cities 30/- is taken as the upward limit; but everywhere a liberal interpretation is put upon the rule. The downward limit is the same in all cases. None who are in receipt of parochial relief are eligible as members. It is better that such should be treated by the Poor Law medical officers.

It is forty years since attention was first called to this subject, and some of the Provident Dispensaries date from that period. Since then they have occasionally been established; but it is only within the last ten years that public attention has been aroused on the subject, and there is now some reason to hope that a wide-spread and general system may be introduced.

Isolated Provident Dispensaries scarcely have a fair chance. They cannot compete with Medical Charities. It is not in human nature to pay for that which we are urged to receive as a gift; and not a

few Provident Dispensaries have been literally run down by the charity which well-meaning but short-sighted persons have inflicted upon the working-man.

What is needed is such a concurrence of opinion amongst the managers of our Medical Charities that they shall lend their aid to the establishment of Provident Dispensaries, and be contented to confine their charitable relief to that moiety of the present applicants, who, being proper objects of charity, will not be degraded by receiving it.

In order to do this it is absolutely necessary that they should set up some machinery whereby a kindly but efficient inquiry may be made into the social position and malady of each applicant. This is the only way in which they can sift out the harm they are now doing while they preserve all that large share of their work which is truly beneficient. At the same time the existing free dispensaries ought to be converted into Provident Dispensaries, and fresh Provident Dispensaries ought to be opened where there is need of them.

At Manchester an effort has been made to establish something like a general system of this kind. Four years ago some influential gentlemen formed the "Manchester and Salford Provident Dispensaries Association," the object of which was to open a provident dispensary in each district, and, by friendly co-operation with the medical charitable institutions, to draft suitable cases into the dispensaries. Five of the medical charities in the town entered into alliance with the association, and undertook to send daily lists of their applicants for investigation and classification by the officers of the association. From the last report it appears that six such dispensaries have been opened in different districts. At the close of last year there were on their books 13,759 members, and the amount which they subscribed during the year was £2,880 16s. 3d. One of these dispensaries has been self-supporting for the last six months, and the managers have undertaken to relieve the central council of all pecuniary liability in respect to it for the current year.

Of those individuals who were referred for investigation 25 per cent. were found to be in a position to become members of the Provident Dispensaries, and were accordingly refused further charitable relief. It is, moreover, worthy of notice that the total number of applicants at the medical charities has diminished considerably. The patients at the five institutions which are in alliance with the association have decreased 41 per cent since 1872.

"It would seem, therefore," says the report, "that a great many persons abstained altogether from applying for medical relief, either because they were unwilling to have their right to charity investigated, or because the sentiment is gaining ground amongst them that it is better to rely upon their own exertions than upon the help of the rich." At the same time we are told that the Provident Dispensaries "are distinctly growing in favour with the class for whose benefit they were established." If only all the medical charities of Manchester and Salford would co-operate heartily with the association, the working men of the North would soon give a

fresh proof that they are foremost in every reform which affects the industrial classes.

Within the last few months Birmingham has determined to follow the example of Manchester, and Liverpool, Sunderland, and many other towns have been considering the question.

Though no concerted action has been taken in London, there are already 26 Provident Medical Institutions within the Metropolitan area. Of these seven have been converted from Free to Provident Dispensaries since 1870, and eight have been established since that date.

Amongst provincial towns there are successful Provident Dispensaries at Northampton, Coventry, Derby, Stony Stratford, Leamington, and elsewhere: while at the Royal Albert Hospital, Devonport, the out-patient department itself has been placed upon the Provident footing in a way which deserves the attention of hospital reformers.

As examples of the same system applied to rural districts I may mention the Labourers' Self-aiding Medical Club of the Grantham Union, and the newly established Suffolk Labourers' Medical Club.

Though I have spoken of some of these dispensaries as successful, yet there are very few which are as yet entirely self-supporting. Almost all need the aid of honorary subscribers. But we may hope that in time, as their advantages become better known, the industrial classes will enrol themselves in greater numbers, and then the system of mutual assurance would be more fully carried out.

It is well known to those who are present that there are, besides the benefit clubs, many sick clubs scattered throughout the country. Where these make provision for women and children as well as for men, and where due regard is paid to the interests of the medical officers, such sick clubs supply all that is required. But it is seldom that they fulfil these conditions. By far the greater number provide only for men, whereas it is the wives and children who most often require attendance; and unless the advantages are strictly confined to the class for whose benefit the club is supposed to exist, the doctors have cause to complain and cannot work cordially with the managers.

Satisfactory sick clubs are, indeed, few in number. There is great room and great need for an extension of the provident system; and there is no class who can help to advance this movement more than the clergy. This they can do in two ways. (1) They are often influential in the managing committees of hospitals, and can make their voices heard in favour of reform; and (2) they can help to set on foot Provident Dispensaries, and in their intercourse with working people they can explain to them their advantages. How great is the power of the clergy in this matter is shewn by the Metropolitan Hospital Sunday movement, and it is a subject of regret to many that this movement has not done more to carry out the suggestions of its own earliest report, and to encourage Provident Dispensaries; but has become a mere buttress of the existing system.

But it may be asked, if we are recommended to set on foot a general system of Provident Dispensaries, and if it is hoped that

these dispensaries may in time become self-supporting, where is the room for Christian charity in respect of them?

I answer, (1) pecuniary help is needed in establishing them, and for some time at least will be needed to aid in carrying them on.

(2) Christian Charity is not all money-giving. So far as it consists in *considering the poor* with a view to bettering their condition there is scope for it here. It has been found by experience that the provident system has a marked influence in developing habits of thrift, and in raising the moral tone of the working classes.

(3) There is the charity required in managing the Provident Dispensaries, and in maintaining them in friendly relation with the free hospitals. For while the Provident Dispensary would suffice for all ordinary sickness, the hospitals are wanted for severe cases and for accidents. The two systems, working side by side, would mutually support and supplement one another. But here the committees of both the hospitals and the Provident Dispensaries would be brought into relations which would make a never-ending demand for forbearance, consideration, and charity—that charity which is the most difficult to exercise, namely, a wise, thoughtful discriminating charity, which looks before and after.

If I am right in saying that Provident Medical Institutions are fully as much needed as Free Medical Institutions, would it not be well if the clergy were to divide their church collections between them, or were to give them alternately to each?

Though the class for whom these Provident Medical Institutions are needed is strictly limited, it is by no means small. A careful examination of the last census has led me to conclude that in London alone it amounts to over 1,700,000. Probably in England and Wales it numbers fully five millions. To develope in this large section of the nation a system which tends constantly to raise and strengthen, in place of one which tends constantly to debase and pauperise is surely an object of Christian charity, and, as such, worthy of the attention of ministers of the National Church.

ADDRESSES.

Rev. Harry Jones, Rectory, St. George's-in-the-East, London, E.

In addressing you upon the Christian aspects of charity organisation it must be remembered that the generosity of many persons had long been abused before we had become familiar with such a term, and that a thick crop of impostors had grown up, especially in our cities, who plundered the charitable giver, and cheated those who were really the neediest among the poor. In many cases money was given, not to relieve distress and set the weak upon their legs, but to support those, however sturdy, who desired to eat without work. Thus, a few years ago a general effort was made to check this evil. It has now taken the shape of a society for organising charitable relief and repressing mendicity. This has grown into an association exercising considerable influence, and attracting much public attention.

Naturally, in some places, the new broom of reformation has been used to sweep very clean, and the careless good nature of some donors has been

replaced by a suspicious sharpness of temper. Veteran impostors have been vivisected and their whining trade radically damaged. Casual and current applicants for relief have been clapped under the microscope and made to reveal their condition with accurate severity. No doubt some amateur investigators of distress have probed the sorrows of the poor with roughness, and occasionally made mistakes which have become known at least in the neighbourhood of their commission. This has promoted a certain amount of revulsion against the Charity Organisation Society.

Some have scornfully asked whether it is possible to organise charity, which is love, at all, forgetting it would seem that every work and gift of God must rest upon a law which cannot be broken with impunity. They have, however, urged that it is very proper for the official guardians of the poor, who are entrusted with public money, to investigate shrewdly the cases of applicants for parochial relief, and that use might well be made of the old Mendicity Society to expose and punish professional impostors, but that in ordinary cases of distress, though errors of judgment might occasionally be committed by charitable persons, the quality of mercy which blesses him that gives and him that takes might risk the dissipation of its subtle grace by the severe subjection of every suppliant to the formulated and deterrent processes of an investigating association. They would urge that when such aid in almsgiving is allowed to be interposed between the giver and receiver it mars the wholesomeness of actual contact with misery, and, as has been well said, "is only putting on a thick glove which, while it preserves from contagion, absorbs and deadens the kindly pressure of the hand."

Altogether it may be admitted that outcries at the occasionally harsh procedure of some inspectors of distress have been accompanied in some minds by an uneasy suspicion that it is difficult to apply relief through the help of a sharp-eyed committee without an unpleasant departure from the divine rule, "when thou doest alms let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." Thus, attention is wisely drawn to the Christian aspects of charity organisation. In attempting to treat of this I do not wish to dwell upon the special features and operation of almsgiving and medical and provident associations. I would rather ask what virtue the Charity Organisation Society tends to promote by the various branches of its machinery. It does not indeed affect to regulate those delicate kindnesses which the bestower would keep religiously secret—the spirit of which resents public formulation, and would evaporate under its procedure. But I hold that it tends to kindle and cherish distinctly Christian virtues. Of those which first present themselves to my mind as being promoted by this society I will take three—truth, providence, and respect to parents.

As I have said, the Charity Organisation Society does not pretend to formulate the secret springs of that love which does good by stealth. It concerns itself rather with those gifts which are always inevitably accompanied by more or less publicity—such, *e. g.*, as the doles and relief given to the poor by the almoner of a church or chapel, a record of which is always kept by those who dispense them. It also offers the assistance of its investigating machinery to such as set apart a portion of their income for what are loosely termed charitable purposes, and who, though they do not sound a trumpet before them, make no pretence of concealing their desire to have their money righteously and methodically applied. It tests the claims of any society which professes a charitable object, and yet seeks to promote it by such means as would be repudiated by the charitable if they were made public. It concerns itself with the open administration rather than the secret service of charity.

Take first the instance of an association suspected of questionable procedure. A society, so called, though under individual direction, may sow the land with circulars and press the charitable with agencies till rumours arise about its management. How satisfactory must it be to the individual

centre of enthusiasm to have his energy and usefulness vindicated; how satisfactory to the public must it be to learn the real *truth* about the business in question, however disappointing it may be shewn to be. How useful it is to the cause of public morality that an association should exist willing to undertake the invidious but wholesome work of ascertaining whether the claims of an association to be doing charitable deeds are radically true. We must remember that if there is some mischievous application *of* alms, there is some mischievous application *for* them. The way in which some institutions and some persons crowd the post office with appeals, cunningly pointed to prick the vein of generosity, brings discredit upon the whole cause of charitable procedure. With the exception of the Charity Organisation Society, I do not know of any agency which is calculated to reveal the different phases of corruption with which charity is cankered, and to reproduce a more wholesome way of asking for alms as well as a more wholesome way of giving them.

Take next the case of the clergy and other officials associated in the religious ministrations of a parish. They always know something of the condition of the poor with whom they deal, and in small country parishes, where everybody is everybody's cousin, and private life is public property, they know very much. But in districts where the very multitude of the folk creates peculiar opportunities for secrecy, and the crowd hides the doings of the individual, none but those whose work has lain in such places know how extremely difficult it is to become acquainted with the true condition of the people, and most especially of those who have fallen into, or profess to be in trouble. The parson and his assistants are keenly desirous to be just in the disposal of their own generosity or that of others; but it is often extremely repulsive to them to investigate, with suitable business-like accuracy, the real state of all such as apply to them for relief. They wish to know the truth, and yet the process of discovering it frequently threatens to mar the nice and sensitive relationship between the minister and the people, and mixes a most unpleasant taste with the messages of mercy. The minister wishes to be trustful, but he resents the suspicion of being simply soft and credulous. It is, however, not wholly given to him to know what is in man. In some instances, of course, the case is clear. In many it is obscure, demanding minute personal, domestic, and social enquiry, from which the minister shrinks. Here the Charity Organisation Society comes to his aid as a revealer of truth. He shifts the unpleasant duty of investigation to their hands, and many a parson has been surprised to see the results when a case has been explored by a process which he could not have conducted himself. He wishes, however, to know the truth; and though sometimes pained by the apparent transformation of a white sheep into a piebald or black one, he occasionally is compelled to admit that the Charity Organisation Society has put him in possession of facts his ignorance of which would have left him an unconscious though mischievous encourager of falsehood. The machinery of the old Mendicity Society would not have provided what he needs; it is too strictly repulsive and Scotland-yardish. Its employment indicates offensive suspicion rather than simple desire for truth. Thus I for one look on what is now understood by charity organisation as a very valuable aid to a clergyman in the righteous exercise of his ministry, which involves the application of public alms and the tending of those who are, or profess to be in trouble, with discrimination and true kindness. For surely he can best show mercy with cheerfulness when he knows that he is not being deceived.

What I have just said applies more or less in the case of those who are not brought into close relationship with the poor, and are yet desirous to improve their condition by almsgiving. These donors are mostly plied by personal petition and by letter. Their class is the pond in which professional beggars habitually fish, and into which the occasional angler for an alms is mostly tempted first to drop his hook. These donors know nothing more

of the case than what the applicant himself urges, but they know that many beggars are abroad who live by imposture. Here the Charity Organisation Society is invaluable. Viewed as an agent in the search for truth in that branch of almsgiving which does not affect rigid privacy, it surely presents a Christian aspect. It directly and distinctly checks a phase of that deceit which leaves the genuinely charitable soul disagreeably uncertain whether it has done good or evil, or, what is worse, even sometimes so nips the generous impulse that a man who would have grown in kindness and tenderness towards sufferers with much reflected blessing to himself, simply buttons up his pocket against the poor, lest he should be cheated.

But beside the tendency of charity organisation to promote truth and encourage wholesome generosity, it has another effect—it checks improvidence. The improvidence of some of the working class is a matter of notoriety, and this evil has grown to be as deep as it is wide. The time had come for a material protest which should indicate that the improvident might no longer rely upon the "charitable" to correct the mischief of their vice. There is a Christian law, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." Now one direct procedure of the Charity Organisation Society is to teach this—in no distant and oracular fashion, but in respect to commonplace matters in which men often forget that a divine law is working. A chief feature in its investigation of a case is to ascertain whether the applicant for relief has ever tried to make provision against distress while in the receipt of good wages; and when, on these grounds, it refuses or declines to recommend the giving of relief, it invariably draws the applicant's attention to his neglect, if he has not tried to lay by anything. Thus, where the Charity Organisation Society works, the impression must be repeated and deepened that it is well to put by against a rainy day, and that the man distinctly loses if he omits to do so. I admit that the procedure of the Charity Organisation Society in this respect is stringent, but it is not more stringent than the law of God, to which it calls the mind of the careless, and which it sometimes is instrumental in enforcing. I should add that it is deeply concerned not merely in censuring improvidence but in advising how people may be helped out of this vice. It is a chief promoter of sound provident associations, and protester against the rotten little clubs which, by their notorious failures, have done much to deter working people from putting by against a day of trouble.

Another Christian feature of its operation is seen in the efforts which it makes to correct the tendency of children to repudiate care for their poor parents. No one knows and deplores more than the parson the prevalence of this tendency. The Charity Organisation Society works with him in striving to assert the great law, "Honour thy father and thy mother." When the old ask for help it immediately enquires what children they have, and what means they possess; thus many a parent is aided who would otherwise have been allowed to drift into the workhouse, and many a son has been led to obey one of the great laws of God. In enquiring about the Christian aspect of charity organisation this fact may help to provide an answer.

The aspects of its work are manifold. I have touched on three—its promotion of truth, providence, and respect for parents; and though instances may occur in which sorrows are touched roughly, these are accidents of its procedure which its promoters deplore. Indeed, it is not the desire of the society to lessen relief where it is really needed, but to apply it where it is likely to encourage self-respect. In my own parish more help has been given to the poor in connection with the Charity Organisation Society than would have been given without its aid, and I believe that the result, wherever it is fairly in operation, is not only to set up an action of protest against imposture, improvidence, and neglect of parents, but to encourage righteous almsgiving, and give assistance to those

who really need it most. And thus, when I am asked about the Christian aspects of charity organisation, I can only say, so far as I have seen it applied, that while it does not touch the secret and delicate processes of individual mercy and love, it deserves to be ranked among the distinctly Christian works of our day.

Rev. R. Linklater.

It is a matter I am devoutly thankful for that the terms in which this subject is proposed narrow down the discussion of charity within its proper Christian limits.

(*a*) We are not treating of Poverty as a national evil, which as good citizens we must try to correct: although the awful poverty which in England is neighbour to unbounded wealth is a blot upon our fair fame as a nation.

(*b*) Nor on the broad principles of humanity do we set ourselves as philanthropists to alleviate the sufferings of our fellow-creatures.

(*c*) But as *Christians*, servants of that dear Incarnate Lord, who, when He was on earth, had not where to lay His head, the Divine Vagrant, we regard the poor as representing Him.

In giving to the poor the advantage is *ours*, for we lend to the Lord.

It is very wonderful how the Christian aspect of charity completely reverses the order and position of those concerned in it. "It is more blessed to give than to receive." "Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily, I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward." "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me."

Let us try to consider this question in its spiritual as well as its practical aspect; regard the Dives and Lazarus combination of life from the angels' point of view: and as members of the Catholic Church of Christ realise the fellowship between rich and poor, and value this precious legacy of our dying Lord.

But I must not be understood as classing under objects of Christian charity the shameful impostors and canting hypocrites who trade upon the tender hearts and religious feelings of the charitable. These in one sense are almost false Christs. It seems to me the most awful sacrilege against our Lord, and against God the Holy Ghost, this forgery of their credentials. The real poor have to be found out; the real poor suffer in silence, turn their starved, aching hearts to the wall and die. When you go into the presence of the Christian poor in humble reverence your heart recognizes the signature of Jesus; you feel that it is you who receive the benefit by their acceptance of your charity, it is of the King's favour to receive your gift; the tattered rags upon the poor bent figure that crouches over the small fire in the grate are transformed into raiment of needlework, the clothing all glorious within.

It is because of the absence of the true spirit and life of charity that our national provision for the poor is an offence and insult to them. The real evil of the workhouse system is that charity is robbed of that grace which alone made it honourable to accept; it is not offered in the name and love of Jesus: paid officials are the ministers of the begrudged bounty, and therefore the real poor hate it; they would rather starve and die than take it. The workhouse taint degrades a man from religion and from humanity. Some of the tangible evils of the system have been scathingly dragged to light by our great popular writer Dickens, and are mended; but the spirit of the thing is the same, and it is a fact that the great charity of this nation stinks in the nostrils of the poor.

Much as I value the Reformation of our Church of England, I consider the spoliation and suppression of religious houses in the sixteenth century the greatest calamity that ever happened in the chequered fortunes of our Church; not only because of the injury thus done to religion and learning, but also because thus the poor of the land were robbed. The Monastries were the alms-houses of the poor, the organization of Christian charity in those days. And their suppression gave rise to a most serious rebellion in England which, indeed, was only quieted by the perjury of the King.

Charity will never be properly administered until the spirit of charity is restored and the poor are relieved for the love of Jesus. We may give all our goods to feed the poor, and yet not have charity.

The Charity Organization Society has an important future before it in carrying out its programme of organizing charity and exposing imposture; but the Charity Organization Society cannot supersede the work of the Church: charity is the prerogative of the Church, and, apart from the Church, it ceases to be charity; sinks into philanthropy. In carrying on this work care must be taken not to cause unnecessary pain to those who, by reason of exceptional trouble, are obliged to apply for relief. I am glad to say that the branch in East London with which I am connected acts carefully in this matter. Not only are the officers persons of feeling hearts—in a word, Christian gentlemen—but they work on Church lines hand to hand with the clergy, sisters, or visitors of the parish.

Still it must be distinctly understood that the Charity Organization Society does not profess to *distribute alms*: it is merely an organization to prevent fraud, and to direct charity into its natural channel: to subscribe to it is a very important matter, *but it is not giving to the poor.*

With this general preface I apply myself to the orderly consideration of the subject:—

First. Christian almsgiving—

How little the rich realise the awful sufferings of the poor in this great and prosperous country of ours. In country districts, thank God, the ladies of the hall generally make it a labour of love to visit and relieve the sick and needy, and in this way the life of England has been held together; and I firmly believe that under God we owe it to their sweet ministry and to the life of the Church that things have held together under the late violent strain of the labour question. But in the great wilderness of London, and in the slums of the great cities of England, how little is known of the great cry of anguish that goes up before God from the sick and suffering hearts that beat out their wretched lives within the dark shadow of it. Cries, not only from tired and wearied hearts who have slipped away from all the hopes of life and have ceased to struggle against that which they have found to be inevitable, but from tender little lives that have never experienced anything but cruelty and want, and yet whose instinct mysteriously wrestles against the monstrous wrongs and inequalities of life. Oh, I could tell you such stories of want and suffering that would blanch your hearts; the awful wrongs of life; sufferings born with the fortitude of Christian heroes; poor little children, so winsome and gentle, crushed out of life by the heavy hand of famine. Think of one little child, aged five, driven by starvation to eat a cat. One feels more for the children than for the parents: the parents for the most part may be said to have brought their sufferings upon themselves. Charity is too Christ-like, it is true, to wait and take hard account of this, but yet it seems a harder case for the poor tender little ones who are simply the helpless victims of the selfishness and sin of others. It makes one's heart bleed to see these children coming to school in the winter time, famished and half naked, their poor little feet frozen with the slush which soddens their broken boots.

These are things we have to find out, or else learn when too late; and you

cannot think what agony it is to live in the midst of such sufferings and be unable to relieve them. I have returned this week from an enforced rest. I was so ill that I had to go away, and now, returning with renewed strength and zeal for God, what is my first greeting—that all the money in the bank is gone.

Ought this anxiety to be added to the physical and mental cares that break down the hearts of those who live and die for the poor of Christ.

Almsgiving is one of the most difficult duties of a Christian. To help so as not to pauperise; to give the things of *this world* so as not to clash with or obliterate the things *of the next*. It is most dreadful when you come with your heart full of the deep realities of religion to deal with some poor soul trembling on the brink of eternity; to find that the shrivelled hand is only itching for a shilling. As a rule, where it can be managed, the temporal help ought to be kept quite distinct from the spiritual ministration. It is very easy to place it in the hands of visitors, or Sisters of Charity. The clergyman, if necessary, regulating the amount and the recipient, but not being the direct administrator.

But I wish to take the word "almsgiving" in its broadest application, and I say that what we really want in England is the organization of *giving alms*. That it should not be left to a few generous hearts to satisfy the needs of all England, but that the giving should be distributed amongst *all* Christians; that men should be taught that it is a positive duty to give of their substance to the poor (to say nothing of the privilege).

It is a notorious fact that, in London, if you want to raise money for any charitable purpose there are half a dozen rich men who are always applied to. What a shame this is; what a trial of their faith. and how grand that their faith and charity survive it. The clergy are too often like Gehazi, who only valued Naaman for his talents of silver and changes of raiment. How many a noble, generous heart has thus had its charity frozen, because a clergyman never approached but for this purpose. We, the clergy, ought to feel that we approach men to *give* them something; we ought to protect with reverence such liberal hearts.

We must, therefore, try to distribute this responsibility in proper proportions, that every Christian layman should feel that he is called upon to bear his share. I see no way how this may be better accomplished than by the Scriptural way of tithes—the good old Christian custom of England—that every man should, of his own heart, between himself and God, give a tenth of his yearly income. The system of tithing was not swept away with the Mosaic Dispensation, for it is older than Moses, who paid tithes in Abraham to Melchisedeck, and it belongs rather to the Church of Jesus, who is the Priest after the order of Melchisideck, and it is part of the constitution of England. Here, alas, as in the case of religious houses, Gods money has been pilfered and wrested from the poor. I think I know all that can be said on their side, and that the wrong was with the Church at first, for generally the tithes were first alienated from parishes by religious houses, and at their dissolution, of course, they could be picked up by the King's commissioner, or anyone in the way of them; but I cannot understand how an honourable man, who prides himself on his lineage and blue blood, can reconcile it to his conscience to pocket the tithes of the Church merely because his ancestors stole them or received them from the king. The very title of it rises up in judgment. I hope to live to see the day when generally the tithes of England will be given back to their religious purposes, and the curse of sacrilege averted from our nation. True that the tithes properly belong to the clergy—as we cannot trade, that thus we are provided for; true that the poor curates of England, who, after 14 years' hard service, rejoice in £120 a year; true that we have home needs for the money; but yet in their name I make bold to say that the curates will not be behindhand in this great national restitution but will gladly relinquish their rights, and rejoice that th tithes be handed over to the poor.

I therefore propose that in each town-parish, and in each rural deanery in the country, a committee of communicants be formed to receive grants of tithes, and that, if possible, all the charity at home and abroad be distributed from this centre. In the meantime you must not let the existing works languish for lack of support. It is heart-breaking to have the wit to see how much might be done to make things better, at any rate to save the rising generation—if one had only a little money—and yet be unable to help from lack of means.

I would gladly acknowledge the incalculable benefits conferred upon the poor of East London by such institutions as *Convalescent Homes*—instancing the All Saints' Home, at Eastbourne; the Clewer Home; Mrs. Tait's Home, at Broadstairs; Mrs. Gladstone's, at Woodford. These Homes not only restore the physical powers and mental energies, but soften and subdue the hardest hearts, and prepare the soil to receive lessons of humanity and religion. We want more convalescent homes; also schools in the country for poor delicate children—savings banks and benefit societies to teach our people thrift.

I would conclude with the noble lines of one of the sweetest singers of our Church of England:—

Oh, the good old times of England, 'ere in her evil day,
From their Holy Faith and their ancient rites her people fell away;
When her gentlemen had hands to give, and her yeomen hearts to feel;
And they raised full many a bede-house, but never a bastile:
And the poor they honoured, for they knew, that He, who for us bled;
Had seldom when He came on earth whereon to lay His head.

* * * * * *

But times and things are altered now, and Englishmen begin
To class the beggar with the knave, and poverty with sin:
We shut them up from tree and flower, and from the blessed sun;
We tear in twain the hearts that God in wedlock had made one,
The hearts that beat so faithfully, reposing side by side
For fifty years of smiles and tears from eve till morning tide.

* * * * * *

And still our solemn festivals from age to age endure,
And wedded troth remains as firm, and wedded love as pure:
And many an earnest prayer ascends from many a hidden spot;
And England's Church is Catholic, tho' England's self be not!"

J. M. N.

Dr. Richardson, F.R.S.

When the secretary of this Congress invited me speak on the present occasion, he asked me to confine my remarks entirely to the medical aspect of the question before you. I confess, on hearing the admirable paper which Dr. Fairlie Clarke has read, I feel there is little scope for me to say anything on this important subject, but it has been a subject before my mind now for well nigh 30 years. In the earlier part of my life, before I was even qualified, I was engaged in the active duties of a large practice, of which a club practice and a parochial practice formed an important part. Later, I became surgeon to a Maternity Charity, and, when my course in life was quite settled, to be a physician in London, I attended, year by year, at four of the largest of our dispensaries. I attended for some years as physician, and for some time as senior physician at one of our special hospitals, and still I am connected, in some degree, as honorary physician, with several of these institutions. Once, also, in my life, it was my business, at the request of the proprietors of one of our medical papers, to go from town to town, for a long period, to inquire into the working of the different hospitals and medical charities and to collect

information, which was afterwards published, and would make a very large volume upon this subject. Therefore my experience has been of a kind which you may call essentially practical, and yet I do but feel that just as that experience has accumulated, so the difficulties with regard to the applications for relief in a right way, have seemed to increase. I will try, however, to point out where some improvements are required. I cannot conceal the fact that there is something out of joint in this question, that the present system of the Hospital and Dispensary is no longer in accord with the habits and thoughts of the people. I mean that the people do not accept the same view of hospital relief and hospital sesvice as they did 30 or 40 years ago. There is a greater encroachment now on the system of hospital relief, and there is a clear idea on the part of people generally, that much evil prevails in the administration of hospital relief. I should say, first, that some reforms of a telling kind are required in our larger hospitals. As it seems to me, the day has altogether gone by when the charities of this country should be devoted to the construction of very large hospitals. That is first on my mind as a point to press upon you. Hospitals now should never, in my opinion, be larger than to contain from 25 to 30 beds. When they become larger, they become wrong in every direction. They are wrong in regard to their sanitary requirements, and they are wrong in this respect, that people from a distance must be taken to the hospitals; whereas, the hospitals as small institutions, should be near to the afflicted. They are wrong in another sense that they give a monopoly of all the practice which is to be obtained in them, and which ought to fall to the whole body of medical men practising in the community, to a few individuals only in each hospital. Thus we get in our hospital system, men who, perhaps, are not superior in any degree, intellectually or skilfully, to their neighbours, but who, by their position, gain a monopoly of experience, which ought to be diffused through the whole profession. Again, I have seen, and I am sure you have all seen, with great distress, that certain hospitals have sprung up, of late years especially, and certain dispensaries, which really are not intended for the benefit of the poor at all, but are intended for the aid, assistance, and progress of those medical men who associate themselves with them. It has become a practice, not universal I am happy to say, but too common, that a man thinks if he can start a dispensary, or a small special institution, the people must directly flock to him as the authority upon that particular subject to which the hospital refers, and so there often grows up a sham hospital altogether, to carry out not those duties which true organisation of charity ought to carry out, but duties which are so entirely personal, that they should be at once put aside by all thinking and intelligent people.

Now I come to the most important part of all, and that which has affected me most during the whole of my career, the outdoor work which is performed at our hospitals and dispensaries. Dr. Fairlie Clarke has placed before you some very striking facts touching this subject. Mr. Gamgee, of Birmingham, one of the most able, learned and independent of English surgeons, in a late address, has shown some still more startling facts; he has shown that there was an increase equal to 56 per cent. in the number of applicants for relief at the medical charities in Birmingham during the years 1866 to 1876; he has shown that, whereas in the year 1867 the number of people who applied for relief, in relation to the population, was as 1 in 5, in 1876 it was as 1 in 3·5, and he has estimated that, if the population of Birmingham increases as it has increased in the last ten years, the number of applications for relief in Birmingham, in 1886, will be as 1 in 2·6; that is to say, at that time almost every other person in Birmingham, relatively speaking, will be applying to the hospitals for gratuitous relief in sickness. I think a more startling fact, with regard to one great English centre, can scarcely be placed before this meeting. Then comes the question, how is the evil to be met? I agree with

Dr. Fairlie Clarke in all that he has said upon this subject. I believe, in the first place, there must be united action on the part of the managers of the outdoor dispensaries of general hospitals, the managers of dispensaries apart from hospitals, and the managers of provident dispensaries, so that all may be brought under one system, and so that not only may there be the proper payment made for services done, but a proper return made for the payment that is given. It is not to be denied now that, in the outdoor system, those who ask for advice are as unfairly treated as those who give it. It is quite impossible for the limited number of physicians and surgeons attached to these institutions to give, in the time allotted to them for their work, that attention and care which belongs to every case of sickness that comes before the medical man. I know, in my life, it has been imposed upon me to see 250 persons in one afternoon, in a matter of from two to three hours, which was the longest time that I could give, and the longest time that people could be kept waiting. If you reckon that up, and think that it means something more than one individual a minute passing before the physician that he may investigate the case, you will see how absurd it is to suppose that the aggregation of suffering can be properly treated by an organisation conducted upon such principles.

I would propose at once, in respect to the practical administration of funds for hospital purposes, that no such funds should be given to outdoor dispensaries, where the admission is free, and where everyone can go without payment. It has been proved in Birmingham that the free system has invariably added to the number of applicants, and to the mischiefs which have arisen. Next, I should suggest that the issue of governors' tickets for all general hospitals should be suspended, in respect of the outdoor department; in fact I would suggest, as Dr. Fairlie Clarke has put it, that the hospital outside department, the general dispensary department, and the provident department, should from henceforth stand simply as a provident system. I would not alter the scale of the terms which Dr. Fairlie Clarke has named, with respect to this provident method, but I think there is one addition which would well work into this system. Practically, we find in hospitals that much of this work, which is imposed on the physicians and surgeons, arises from the circumstance of what seem to be the immediate necessities of sickness. Someone is brought in, and the case is urgent. It is very difficult for the governor who gives a letter, or for the physician who attends, to say "no" in such a case. I, therefore, would make this one addition to the provident system. I would distribute the medical appointments, so that every physician and surgeon in the neighbourhood had an opportunity of attending, and whenever an urgent application was made, I would say that the patient should be admitted at so small a fee that no possible reason could be given for not paying it—it might be a fee even of a penny so that the principle should be adopted. Then I would say, let that urgent case be attended to, but afterwards, when time had come for the proper investigation of the case to be carried out by the officers connected with the institution, the person must not come again, except in strict conformity with the rules of the institution, and payment of the proper and full sum. Before I sit down I would press upon those who are engaged in the work of distribution of funds for charitable purposes, three other aids which should come from these funds. I entirely agree with the gentleman who spoke last, that a certain portion of the funds should be diverted to convalescent homes. There is another diversion of funds which would be also good, and that would be in a provision for those who are convalescent, and returning to their work. There is a third fund which I should urge earnestly upon you, and that is a fund which would make provision for those industrious and excellent women who devote their lives and literally sacrifice half their lives as trained nurses of the people. No doctor's skill is of avail, unless it is supplemented night and day by the skill and attendance

of these self-sacrificing women. The majority of them die before they are 50, owing to the dreadful anxiety and sleeplessness to which they are subjected, and at this moment, except for a small society in London, there is no fund to lift them up and hold them up in their days of feebleness and distress. Give to them hope; give to them the belief that they will be provided for, and the number of these extra ministers to the sick will increase a hundredfold.

I have only now to thank you for the kindness with which I have been heard. I am delighted, as a physician, to be present on this occasion. Our two professions are one; one, as much as the soul and body of the living man are one, and the more closely we unite in these great works for the common good, the more rapidly will the happiness and welfare of the world be advanced and conserved.

DISCUSSION.

Rev. John D. McGachen.

It is not without considerable diffidence that I have ventured to rise to-day, but as, for weal or for woe, I have taken a very active part in the Charity Organization Society, I have felt it my duty to come upon this public occasion to say what I have really thought out with reference to that Society. I hail from a part of London called Bethnal Green, and I think if there is any part of the whole earth that has commanded the sympathy and engrossed the attention of the charitable public more than another it is that very large parish. Thousands upon thousands have been sent to that parish—thousands upon thousands have been distributed within that parish, and, I venture to say before this meeting, of the thousands of pounds distributed no certain return has ever, in past times, been given for even hundreds of that money. It has been absorbed in some extraordinary way without reference to any organization and without reference to any business-like proceedings. I have said that I am connected with the Charity Organization Society. I was the first, as its honorary secretary, in the whole of London, East of Temple Bar, who ever formed a committee, ever opened an office, or ever engaged an agent. The Bethnal Green Committee is, therefore, the mother committee of the whole of East London, and when I say that that committee has been in existence for the past seven years and has worked well, I consider, at any rate, that we have served an apprenticeship with reference to the distinctive teaching of the Charity Organization Society. Now what do we find? We find that that committee was formed simply in pure self-defence, feeling as we did that the whole ground was rotten. We felt that every principle was being done violence to. Talk about Christian charity! We felt that Christianity itself was at stake in the East of London with reference to the indiscriminate giving of alms; we found that Church and Chapel alike subsidized every person who would receive a subsidy, and every person who would attend on the condition of a subsidy, and we found people actually refused to attend a place of worship unless they were paid 5s. each Sunday. It was the normal condition, and I can adduce testimony that that statement was made to one of our clergymen in Bethnal Green by a woman, who said that she had never been accustomed to attend a place of worship unless she had been given 5s., and at one church at the present time there is distributed indiscriminately to the congregation when they disperse at the end of the service certain tickets for certain goods. Now, I think if there be anything that deeply moves us all—if there be one thing that stirs the minister of Jesus Christ—if there be one thing that strikes at the root of all progress, it is this indiscriminate almsgiving which poisons the whole work and ties the hand of the faithful minister of God. In addition to this, we find that the very

fact of a committee being in existence has had a wonderfully great effect. We are accustomed to see the policeman in the street, but it does not follow that a policeman is to take everybody up, although he has his eye carefully on many parties who, in due time, may be taken up. Thus he is a preventative; and so the very existence of this committee is a preventative in a certain sense against the very fallacy which we wish to put down. Now, I should be the very last person, having spent nearly the whole of my ministerial life in Bethnal Green, to say one single word against the poor. There are deserving poor there; there are earnest, faithful, loving, affectionate poor; there are those who deserve every shilling that you can give, and even more; but those are not the class with which the Charity Organization Society will come in contact. Those are the ones who will be found out by the minister of God in his work. Those will be found out in some darkened room or some remote garret. Many of them are, I firmly believe, in as good a position of life as anyone in this room. They go there to hide their faces; they go there to conceal their tears; they go there, it may be, to hide the broken heart that tells of a life mis-spent, and tells of a relationship of early days now no longer even acknowledged. There is the spendthrift; there is the scapegrace; there is the one who has brought dishonour on her name and her family, who hides her face and hides her shame under the shadows of that darkened spot. But there are others who actually feed upon the alms of the people; there are others who degrade body and soul for the gift; there are others who, I believe, actually sell all that is dear to them by hypocritically professing religion which never once entered their hearts. It has become proverbial with us that to ask what is the size of the congregation, is simply another way of gauging the almsgiving power of the minister. It is no thanks to us whether congregations be large or small, because the whole place is undermined; the whole thing is rotten; we must organize, or, I believe, the truth of Christianity will entirely die out from the thousands and tens of thousands in East London. The clergy themselves are now looked upon simply as people touting for their own place of worship, and taking care that provision is made for their own people. They are not looked upon as ministers of God, they are looked upon simply as relieving officers. Many times the very fact of their being ordained is never inquired into, and the people do not care from whom they receive alms or how frequently they receive alms, or how many different sections of the Church of Christ give them alms. They are one to all, if only all will give. That is the reason why all these years I have supported the Charity Organization. At the same time, I think a very great burden has been cast upon the Society which it is quite unable to bear. People forget how young the Society is; people forget how old is the work with which the Society has to contend. We have to contend with prejudice; we have to contend with selfishness; we have to contend with pride. On many occasions people require no investigation, and even people who have the management of endowed charities distinctly refuse to render any account. I will just give one instance, and then sit down. There is an endowed charity in Bethnal Green which was left some years ago by one of those old Spitalfields people; and people are entitled to it who have never received parish pay and have always been householders. Some little time ago I was at the Charity Organization Committee with a friend of mine, since gone to his rest, greatly respected, and much regretted, and I said to him, "I have a person I have been recommending for the last ten years to get this Householders' Gift; I wish you would do me a turn and help me." He said, "Oh, yes! I will do you a turn, but I have got one myself to serve first; afterwards I shall be very glad to do what I can for your friend." Time went on and I heard nothing of my friend getting anything, so I met this gentleman afterwards, and I said "How is it my friend got nothing and your friend was all right?" He said, "Your friend! I never heard of your friend. What was his name?" I said,

"The name of so and so." He said "Why, I never saw him and never heard of him." I said "That is very strange;" but it was because there were so many applications that each one supported his friend, and all the rest of the candidates were never heard of at all, their very names even not being mentioned at the elections. This has, I was informed by my friend, who was a sincere supporter of the Charity Organisarion Society, been remedied since.

Rev. Henry Cummins.

I should like to call back the mind of the meeting to the actual subject before them, which is the organisation of Charity in its religious aspect; not at all a question with regard to the merits or demerits of any society, though the society which has been so frequently alluded to is one which I am thoroughly prepared to defend at the proper time and in the proper place. What I wish to do is to go back to the question of Charity Organisation in its religious aspect. Is there any necessity for the organisation of Charity? I think that question will require another: Is Charity disorganised? What we mean by Charity Organisation is that those persons who are engaged in the administration of Charity should be so organised that they may work together as one regular and disciplined army. Is Charity disorganised at the present time? In spite of what has been said in the earlier part of this discussion as to the neglect of the duty of almsgiving in England, I venture to say that after all—taking at any rate the metropolis- London will compare with any other city in the world with the amount of real Charity strictly so called, which has been found there. Not only are funds given with almost lavish liberality for the relief of distress, but there are to be found more Christian hearts, Christian hands, and Christian intellects working for the good of their fellow creatures, either gratuitously or at any rate heartily, than can be found almost anywhere else. Statistics show this, and yet we all say, "how is it that so little effect is produced?" It is just for want of a system of organisation; it is because the various charitable agents are all working in their own way, and in their own place, without any communication one with another. For this reason, I say, Charity Organisation is most essential for the benefit of those who are really charitable themselves. Such organisation we know is always necessary for all work. What has made the greatness of England? Is it not that our works have been so thoroughly organised; that there has been a division of labour, and so no waste of energy? Similar organisation is especially necessary in London, in order that those persons who are devoting themselves to the welfare of their fellow creatures may not only have an opportunity of communicating together, but may each direct their efforts to the particular point where those efforts are most needed. We have to-day heard a great deal about medical charity. We have heard medical men of great experience tell us that the medical charity of England has been abused and wasted for want of proper organisation in that department of Charity, and it is equally true of almost every other. We have heard a great deal about fraud; we have heard a great deal about persons coming begging from one to another, until they get vastly more than would supply their ostensible need. The reason of that is to be found in the fact that they can do so without detection. You know the opportunity of being dishonest makes men dishonest, and when you have a number of persons all with gentle hearts and liberal hands and full purses ready to relieve every case of distress, it is the most natural thing in the world that a person who is willing to receive those charities should go to one and to another and never tell what he has got from each. This sort of thing must go on unless there be such a system of intercommunication between Charities and

charitable persons that there can be no opportunity for deception. I say again, this organisation is essentially necessary for the welfare of the poor themselves, that is of the really deserving poor. At one time perhaps we had too little thought of the higher duties of Charity. We were too much in the habit of imagining that the mere giving of alms was all that was necessary, but we now have come to know that there are texts of Scripture quite as important as those about never turning our "face from any poor man." There are texts which must qualify that; among others, "Blessed is he that considereth the poor," and indeed we now begin to know that almsgiving as a kindness, in order to be done effectually, must be done with the most careful study of the interests of the poor, and that for a person to go into a district with a bag full of money and begin to give it out indiscriminately, or under the impulse merely of a free heart, will be a sure means of pauperising and demoralising that place. Therefore in the interests of the poor themselves there is necessity for organisation. There is a necessity also for it, I think, for those persons who have to be moved on to giving Charity. We have heard a great deal to-day about the fact that if we want to get money for any charitable work we must go to a very few rich people. Why is this the case? Because the great mass of the people are wanting in confidence in the persons who really are willing to be the mediums of their Charity. Directly you have a case like the Indian Famine Fund see how money comes in, but that money does not come from the people who are known as the regular givers—it comes from a different class altogether, and why? Because they say, "here is a case in which we may give our money safely." I do believe one reason so many abstain from giving liberally to Charity is, that they have no confidence in the wisdom, the judgment, or the integrity of those who are administering the Charity, and if we had proper organisation, so that we should not have appeals for Gospel halls, or dinners for poor people by those who give no account of what they get—if the whole system were to be brought into a proper organisation, so that people might know what was being done with their money, how it was worked and who were working it, and to see that that money was not given by different hands to the same persons, I believe you would find that these complaints would have no ground. Sure I am that the true Christian principle of almsgiving is not the principle which makes men give money or give clothes to beggars in order, as was stated by a former speaker, that those clothes may be turned into white robes for themselves when they get to heaven, but that which causes men to emulate the example, and obey the precept of the Saviour of mankind, and do good, and give, seeking for nothing in return, either in this life or that which is to come; except the consciousness of being children of the loving Father in Heaven.

Rev. C. Bull.

The point upon which I should wish to say a few words is a question which seems to me connected with charitable organization—viz., how we are to deal with the class we call paupers, but whom we should rather look upon as our very poorest brothers. I think some obloquy has been passed upon our workhouses, and upon the whole system of pauper relief, and I do not see why we should not seek to reform those workhouses, and seek, as far as we possibly can, to organize our Christian charity in the workhouses, and thus lead the poor gradually to look upon the house as really a home, which, I believe, it might be made through the ministration of the Church. I know there has been a great improvement in cur workhouses. I also know that a very large amount which is now being wasted in relieving distress would be saved if we could by any possibility induce the very

poorest people to seek a home in what they call "the house," which they look upon with so much disdain. If the parochial clergy would only visit these houses themselves; if we could only get these workhouses visited by the ladies among our own congregation; if we could only get the poor to believe that when they go there they do not become degraded, we may really save ourselves from giving alms simply to lessen parochial taxes. I have found the greatest possible difficulty in working a very large and poor parish to put before the poorest people the necessity of their going into the workhouses, because many of them have said that sooner than do that they would die in the streets. I do not think that we ought to allow this to be their sentiment. If the workhouses are looked upon in this way by the poor there is the greater reason why we should seek to have the workhouses reformed. If those workhouses are looked upon by the poor as such miserable prisons, we should endeavour to teach them better. I do believe there is a good deal of sentiment about this, and that it does not really rest upon any real facts. Even in that workhouse which led the amateur casual pauper to give such a graphic description of his night's repose there, in the parish of Lambeth, the poor are very kindly welcomed as if to a home for them in their last moments. The refusal to go into the House frequently pauperises and continues to pauperise the children of a family. It carries with it a great deal of misery, and is really and truly wasting the funds which are placed in our hands from time to time, and could be used by us to help those who are beyond helping themselves. I should like to have heard the subject discussed more fully, whether those who are receiving parochial relief are those to whom we should give the charity we do, or whether we ought not to refuse altogether to help those who are being helped from the parish funds. I think we should rather seek as far as we possibly can to remove the prejudice which exists in the minds of the poor against these poorhouses. The aged poor in most of the best conducted workhouses in London are not separated. The children are separated from their parents it is true, and that must be so, but now that we have district schools for a pauper population I think a great deal better system has been introduced, and it seems to me to be very unwise to try and keep up that feeling of horror which these poor people have of what they call the workhouse. I would earnestly impress upon my brethren in the ministry that it is most important that they should separate the two classes—those who are receiving relief from the parish, and those who are to be sought out and cared for, and who will have to seek parochial relief if they are not helped. I think we are all of one mind that if we want to organize our charity we can only do so by encouraging amongst the poor habits of providence, and especially encourage them to lay by money in Penny Savings Banks for the time of sickness.

Rev. Thomas Franklyn.

I heard with much pleasure at the commencement of the meeting an appeal to the laity present to come forward, and I for one regret that that appeal has not been more extensively answered, because I feel sure that in this great work which has brought us together this afternoon by the union of the laity of the country with the clergy, we shall effect much more than we otherwise should. This work of Christian charity is one in which we, the clergy, take deep interest, and it is a work which we are not altogether ignorant of. The admirable paper of Sir Lovelace Stamer has given me personally, and I think to my clerical brethren present, many useful hints, but there are a few matters of detail which, in my own experience, I have found it necessary to depart from. He recommended the employment of the parochial nurse for administering relief. I have found it better not to employ my

parochial nurse, but I have a mission woman, and all relief is given through her, not through the nurse, for although you may say that a home that has sickness in it requires help, yet after the sickness is over we cannot leave the family alone, particularly if it be the bread-winner who has been ill; they need help for some weeks, and that help I give through my parochial mission-woman. Something was said by the last speaker about not giving relief to those who are receiving parochial relief. At Leamington we carry that out, because the relieving officer is always present at our board meetings, and we know when a case is receiving parochial relief, and, as a rule, we do not give in this case, but only to those who are without parochial relief. Dr. Fairlie Clark mentioned Provident dispensaries, and to show that there is that feeling of independence in our English poor, and that they prefer those Provident Dispensaries, I had the privilege of joining in forming one at Leamington, and within two months after its formation we had nearly 2,000 names in our books, and that in a town not containing more than 24,000 inhabitants. That shows you that the poor are ready to act on the principle of charity organisation, which is to help those who are willing to help themselves. I have been driven to take a deep interest in charity organisation from having spent a greater part of my life in towns where there is perhaps the greatest abuse, next to our metropolis, of almsgiving; where there are collected together well-to-do people who, if they be selfishly inclined, have nothing else to do but to read the papers and amuse themselves, but if their hearts be large and unselfish wish to make everyone round them happy, but they are very often mistaken as to this happiness, and we, the parochial clergy, can tell them that the homes that they think they make happy by their indiscriminate charity are homes which they really make miserable. We have heard in the Congress Hall from his Grace our President about Bashi-Bazouks in matters ecclesiastical. I think, my Lord, there are Bashi-Bazouks in matters eleemosynary. I should not wish to offend the majority in this room which, I believe, consists of ladies, but the ladies will pardon me for saying that the Bashi-Bazouks I allude to are the ladies of England. But what makes them leave the ranks of the organised army of almsgivers to join in this desultory warfare of indiscriminate charity? They see misery; their hearts bleed for it, and therefore they hold out their hands to bestow their gift. But what we, the Charity Organisation Society, say is, "Stay, do not give immediately; let the case be examined into and see that your alms are given in the right quarters." I do not wish to dry up the fountain of English charity and English almsgiving: how deep that fountain is, the last few weeks have told us. We have seen nearly half a million of money streaming into the Mansion House Fund for the poor famine-stricken people of India. That will tell what a deep fountain there is in this country of charity and fellow-feeling for suffering humanity. But what I wish to do is to guide that stream of charity, to let it be tempered with wisdom and discretion, and then we shall make the English homes—the homes of our poor—what those homes should be—thrifty, provident, happy, Christian homes. But go on with your work of indiscriminate charity and you spread poverty and misery abroad. I am glad that this subject has been taken up by the Church Congress this year. It will go forth to the women of England, to the ladies of England with their large loving hearts, that Charity Organization Societies are not intended to damp or check their ardour and their charity, but to direct it into the right channels. From my experience at Leamington the ladies look shy upon us; they do not come forward and help because a good many of them think we are acting harshly towards the poor, and so they withhold their help from us; but if they would come forward in Leamington and all other towns in the country, and work with us, we should have all our poor-houses emptied and, as I said, our homes happy, thrifty, provident, and Christian.

Rev. Henry Cowell.

I, too, feel thankful that this subject has been brought before this Congress, because a certain stigma has rested on those clergy who have given their sympathy to the Charity Organisation Society. It has been thought that they are sinking into mere political economists, and losing the fervour of their love for the distressed, and the higher purposes of their ministry. I do not, however, propose to enter further into the general question; but wish to say a word or two simply on the Organisation of Charitable Relief in individual parishes. Sir Lovelace Stamer has given us his scheme, and it has many advantages, doubtless, over some of the loose methods of the past; but I venture to differ with him on some points. I question the policy of employing a paid nurse as an almoner. I do not think a woman of that stamp is capable of going into the delicate question of administering relief: she is not able to look round a case. Then, a woman in that rank of life is apt to have personal preferences. She would leave, too, those who are not sick, uncared for. And, she is not able to bring to bear upon the case collateral help. The plan that we have recently adopted in my parish, which is working admirably, is this:—Our district visitors bring up applications for relief every week on forms supplied to them. They state what is required and all the circumstances connected with the case. A committee, consisting of myself and a few others who work with me, then take these applications into consideration and determine how they shall be dealt with. We try to make the relief suitable and adequate; and we give it through our district visitors. So that we have a thorough investigation of each case, and at the same time we administer our alms by the kindly hands of ladies, and secure thereby the play of Christian sympathy. We have found this system work well. It has been in operation for ten months, and has been thoroughly successful.

Mr. Miles MacInnes.

There are three or four points which have occurred to me this afternoon. First, what is charity? The mere giving of money is no charity. I cannot help wishing that that had been impressed on us more strongly and more forcibly by the clergy who have spoken to-day, because they know so well how little Christian charity is often involved in the mere parting with money without following the money and taking trouble about it. It seems to me that that is what is wanted to be impressed upon us laymen, that we must not simply give money, but we must follow our money. Then the word "Organisation" suggests one or two other thoughts. We are always boasting about our organisation in these days. In our lifetime we have seen vast matters accomplished by organisation, and we talk a great deal about it. The great difference between things material and things spiritual seems to me to be that we cannot altogether depute our charities to others. In matters social and municipal, police and sanitary, we gladly help to organise the best administration we can, and then in confidence leave it to others to do the work. But surely, if charity be worth anything it must be personal, and the great thing that we want to accomplish is, so to work and so to organise our administration that the personal effect is not lost. It would never do for us to subscribe sums of money and then hand them over to this body or that body and say "We have discharged our duty. We have handed over such and such a portion of our income to others and it is for them to distribute it as they see best." Sir Lovelace Stamer has said most truly that it is the clergy to whom we look to distribute our funds, but what we want the clergy to do is to work with us. One of the speakers spoke

about tithes, and when one remembers the spiritual and ecclesiastical authority about tithes, I scarcely like to raise my voice on the other side, but it seems to me there is a great danger in this day of men thinking that if they set apart a certain portion of their income, whether it be a tithe or some larger proportion, they have then compounded with their duties, and the rest of their income is free for them to spend as they like. Surely, the lesson we want to learn is, that for every shilling of expenditure we have to give an answer to God.

Rev. John P. Wright.

I am very glad to see so many ladies in this room, because in the few words I have to speak I am going to ask the ladies to do something. I think the great thing at a meeting of this kind is not only to talk, not only to get one's sympathies aroused, but to have some definite work to do. Some years ago I was secretary to a Charity Organisation Association in this county, until my health failed me. I gave a great deal of time and attention to that work. I began the work with the idea that indiscriminate almsgiving was the great cause of pauperism in this country. I was brought into contact with the indiscriminate almsgiver and the recipient of indiscriminate alms, and I have found them very awkward cattle to drive, as the Irishman said of the pig, but I found also they had more to say for themselves than I had at first imagined. I read every blue book I could get hold of, and every book and pamphlet I could get about pauperism and the various nostrums for curing pauperism, and at length I came to the conviction that indiscriminate almsgiving is not the root of the disease, but only a symptom of it; that the real root of pauperism in this country is the demoralisation of the people by the English Poor Law, which I am convinced, although it is a good law, is the worst administered law in the country. One read how great a hardship it was to have people driven into the workhouse on the one hand; on the other, one was told by the political economist that if you gave out-relief, especially to poor women in London who were in receipt of very low wages, by the means of that out-relief they were able to under-bid and to bring down wages, which were already at, or even below, starvation point. One felt that there must be something rotten in the state of all this, and I think I have put my finger upon the source of the disorder. If you study the poor law as carefully as I have you will find that its requirements, both as regards out and indoor relief, are habitually disregarded in every Poor Law Union in the country. It is the custom in most country unions for the relieving-officer to go to one house in each village or hamlet, and for those who wish to apply for relief to go to that officer and state their case, but he never enters their houses. I dare say it will be news for some in this room that the law of England orders the officer to go to the house of every applicant for relief to make a personal investigation of his case, and so stringent is the law in that particular, that a circular some years ago was put forth when relieving-officers declined to go to houses when there was small-pox or other infectious disease, ordering them to go to every such house. The order of the Poor Law Board is, that the relieving-officer is bound to go and investigate every case, and what is the result of his not doing it? Why, simply that the poor man thinks he has only to badger the Poor Law officer to get relief. He thinks he has a right to the money; he looks upon out-relief as a kind of club. That is one great blot, and I would appeal to my brethren of the clergy to study carefully the Poor Law and then to act on boards of guardians. The Poor Law Guardians in many country parishes are men who have got only one idea of their duty, and that is that their business is to sit upon the money box and to give out as little as possible. But it

is not an economical plan, because instead of giving sufficient to those few who require it, they give miserable doles to nearly every applicant. I dare say it will be news to very many in this room if I tell you that if a relieving-officer finds you give 6d. to a person in receipt of outdoor relief, his business is to report it to the guardians, and the guardians are bound to take off 6d. next week because outdoor relief is bound to be sufficient for a man to live upon. Now I have tried what a man can live upon and I brought myself down to 3s. a week, but I made myself so ill that I have not recovered from it since and that was nine years ago. Now in some unions Poor Law Guardians think a man can live upon 2s. 6d. a week, but it is impossible for him to do so, and that outdoor relief is supplemented by Charity which is against the law. I therefore ask my clerical brethren to act upon boards of guardians, and to insist upon the proper administration of the law. Then there is another question as to the inside of workhouses. I appeal to the ladies in this room to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the inside of every workhouse in their neighbourhood. What is a workhouse? It is a house for those who are past work. It is a temporary hospital for those who are ill. It is a lying-in hospital for poor women. It is a lunatic asylum for lunatics, and in many cases all those people are classed together. There are cases—such as one of which I have heard on very good authority—of imbeciles who are not sufficiently mad to be sent to the county lunatic asylum, who are classed together in one room with a thoroughly intelligent woman who is occasionally subject to epileptic fits. They are all treated as if they were hopeless idiots. That poor woman never has a book given her, never has a paper to read; in view of cases of this kind we want classification in our workhouses. Then women go into the workhouses—ruined women, who are in many cases not past hope, and with whom do they associate there? With the most abandoned of their sex. They go in very frequently not hopeless, at a time when they are peculiarly susceptible to sympathetic influence, they come out confirmed bad women. Now I appeal to the ladies in this room to find out how the workhouses in their own neighbourhood are managed inside; but I may tell them that they will find a great difficulty in doing it. They will find there is a very great jealousy among many guardians with regard to allowing ladies to go into the workhouses, but if they find that the workhouses are not properly managed, all I can say to them is, let them badger their husbands until they are. When this matter is properly arranged, then I say that a committee ought to be formed, as I once succeeded in doing when I lived at Reigate—a joint committee of the managers of private Charities and the workhouse authorities, that they may work together in the distribution of relief—but until our Poor Law is properly administered, we shall not cut out the cancer of pauperism which is eating out the life of this country.

SECTION ROOM.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 10th.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of DOVER took the Chair at Half-past Seven o'clock.

THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO PUBLIC AMUSEMENTS.

PAPERS.

Rev. CANON MONEY, Vicar of St. John's, Deptford.

As the Church endeavours to fulfil the high commission given to her, she must go forth into the world, and seek to influence all classes and all characters. In doing this she must acquaint herself with the habits, occupations, and amusements of the world. Without prejudice or partiality she will deliver her message to high and low, to the votaries of fashion, and to the frequenters of music-halls, casinos, and low taverns.

If there be any question which deeply affects the social and moral condition of the people, she will take her part in the solution of it. Whilst pointing upward and onward she will also remember the infirmities, temptations, and necessities of those to whom she ministers. It is not her duty to trample upon the affections, or to dry up the springs of joyousness which God has bestowed upon His creatures. These are to be raised and sanctified. But, at the same time, we must remember that her great work has to be carried on, not amongst unfallen, sinless beings, but amongst those who are biassed and corrupted by sin, whose hearts are open to all manner of evil influences, but too often closed to the pure and gentle breathings of the Holy Spirit.

It is impossible, therefore, to allow the subject of amusements to pass unnoticed. Man needs change and recreation. He needs it for body, soul, and spirit. He needs it to prevent the strain, whether physical, mental, or spiritual, from becoming too great. He needs it that the different organs of the internal economy of human nature, so wondrously and delicately linked and blended together, may assist, relieve, and succour one another. He needs it that the talents God has given, the gifts He has bestowed, may all be laid out to the best advantage.

The duty of the Church, then, is to lay down those principles, drawn from the Bible, by which a Christian man should regulate his whole life. The standard in regard to amusement will be very different as acknowledged by one who lives for Christ and one who lives for self and the world; and we cannot speak to both alike. Some have to be warned against temptations by which they may be led away, and others have to be drawn, as it were, out of a round of worldly pleasures and ungodly amusements in which their moral standard is lowered and their perception of the beauty of holiness dimmed.

1. We may regard that as lawful which is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer: "Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." Work, and sleep, and amusement are all to be entered upon in accordance with this direction: the life will then be harmonious. There will be one grand design influencing toil, regulating sleep, and pervading recreation; it is neither wise nor helpful to attempt to lay down rules for those who do not follow this direction. But those who do will find that it will add to their enjoyment, and save them from remorse.

2. Amusements may be lawful because innocent in themselves, and yet they may be inexpedient. There is a large liberty, but we must be careful not to abuse it. "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient," wrote St. Paul. "He," says Leighton, "that will always do all he lawfully may, shall often do something that lawfully he may not." It is well to be on our guard in reference to those amusements towards which we feel ourselves drawn with almost irresistible force. The recreation itself may not be unlawful; but the feelings called forth by it, or the excitement produced by it, may be ensnaring and dangerous.

There is also another direction given which has reference to the effect produced upon others by our example. It is possible for one Christian man to escape in certain scenes and places the contagion which would be fatal to another. But then he is not to disregard this possible or probable effect of his indulgence. "Take heed," it is written, "lest by any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling-block to them that are weak."

3. We come now to that which is forbidden, expressly or by implication, or because it is a weight which encumbers the Christian as he runs his race. We may not make use for our own pleasure or worldly gain of that seventh portion of time which God, for high and holy and beneficent purposes, has set apart. The sanctity of the Lord's Day must be preserved inviolate. It is a day for rejoicing, but not for amusement; for rest, but not for idleness; for worship, but not for sight-seeing; for family intercourse and communion, but not for visiting and entertainment.

We are forbidden to lead a life of pleasure. "She that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth." We are solemnly warned against being "lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God." The Word of God forbids all that tends directly or indirectly to impurity in thought, word, or deed. It forbids the entrance into scenes or company that

may allure the soul from God, or indispose it from communion with Him. It forbids all vanity in dress, or frivolity and impiety in conversation. It forbids the presumption which lays up with the certainty of enjoying, the recklessness which spends without reference to the Giver, and the madness which takes God's talent and risks it on the speed of a horse or the cast of a die. It forbids all wanton cruelty to animals, and it gives to all who are asking "What amusements or recreations may I indulge in?" this wise and loving caution—"Watch and pray that ye enter not into temptation; for the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak."

Man is intended to be a social being, and conversation between those whose minds are well stored and whose hearts are well regulated is one of the highest forms of recreation. I do not refer to great talkers, to whom it may sometimes be instructive to listen, but who often inflict a great trial of patience upon us; but I allude to pleasant and genial talk not devoid of humour. In such intercourse as this amongst all classes, I think we may possibly find a solution of some of the political and social problems that perplex us. As the working classes become better educated, as—like Hugh Miller, Thomas Edward, Bloomfield, and a host of others—they branch out into various subjects and inquiries, geology, natural philosophy, political economy, and poetry, may we not hope in the refreshment of social intercourse, in contributing to the instruction and amusement of each other, to get rid of some of those suspicions and differences which at present exist?

But what are the conditions under which intercourse is often carried on amongst the wealthy? During the London season, social intercourse almost ceases to be of a recreative character, and becomes downright hard work. It is the object of life. It is, in fact, a social campaign in which many are wounded, and some are struck down. Extravagance, frivolity, and pride prevail. Is this a life in which the Christian graces can flourish, or upon which the blessing of God can be asked? Does no responsibility attach to those who keep their servants waiting from hour to hour exposed to various temptations, till the night passes away, and the votaries of pleasure retire to sleep without one thought of God, or prayer to Him? Who has not seen the effect of all this upon the young, when, after a first season, they return to the country, alas! so changed?

But what are the amusements sought to afford relief from so much toil? There must be some relaxation, and so the scene changes. The curtain drops upon the ball-room, and rises upon the theatre. I am not unable to admire the creative genius of Shakespeare, or the consummate skill with which his characters are represented. But I am going to speak of the theatre as it is, not as some may wish it to be. It has been said that if Christians, who are known to be godly in their lives and religious in their tastes, would frequent the theatre, their patronage would influence those who cater for the public, and would refine and elevate the drama. But at what a cost? Could they do this with impunity as regards themselves; would not their example be quoted by the licentious, and followed by the young?

The morbid effects of dramatic representations upon the character has been described by Georges Sand in terms which may astonish some: "No; it is not lawful for man to reproduce all the passions, and all the emotions of real life as a pastime. God wills that we keep our souls healthy and strong for real affections, real actions; and when we violate His will, He punishes us, and makes us madmen."

The state of the drama is said to be symptomatic of the morals of society, and of these Professor Lightfoot, no enemy to a purified drama, writes with pain—"Can any man who calmly reviews the last quarter of a century doubt that during this period a poisonous taint has been spreading through literature and society? The infection may have been communicated in the first instance from abroad, but it is naturalised, or almost naturalised, among us now. The degradation of the stage is only one token of a much more general corruption."

I am aware that efforts have been made to improve the drama and reform the stage. But I contend that we are bound to consider its tendency as a whole, and its effect upon all. Is it possible for one who has been for hours gazing at brilliant scenes, listening to exquisite music and excited by fine acting, to retire to the secret chamber fit for communion with Him Who seeth in secret, and with unimpaired relish for His Holy Word; and yet this is the test to which every amusement should be brought, and by which it should be judged.

Thus was it in early times, when Tertullian wrote of the Christians' feasts—"They eat and drink as they who remember they are to pray that night before they sleep."

But I may widen the circle of those from whom I can expect a response to my appeal. I claim the support of men who care for what is manly and moral, and of women who should shrink from all that is coarse and impure.

Can it, then, be denied that plays are frequently connected with profligacy? Is not vice presented in attractive colours, or so as to excite laughter? Is not ridicule sometimes poured upon what is good? Are not characters presented on the stage from the very thought of which the virtuous wife and innocent girl should be protected? I want to know to what amount of connivance at this, fashion and pleasure can lead the women of our country? Is it not well to speak out when they are seen escorting their daughters to listen to the operas of the sensuous Italian school, as *La Traviata*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Don Giovanni*, and *Rigoletto*, where the language of the libretto is so utterly abominable that it would be impossible to perform them in the English language, and yet each one who has the Anglo-Italian programme before her can understand what is going on. I know I am open to the retort: a clergyman can know nothing of these things,—he is not expected to go to the theatre. I allow it is a shame for one who is an ambassador of the King of kings to degrade his office and dishonour his Lord by seeking amusement in such scenes as these. But I will quote an authority

which none will impeach. "The libretto," wrote the *Times* before the theatre in the Haymarket was closed, "contains a tale which never should have been exhibited on any stage nor in the presence of decent womanhood. Now, if *Jack Sheppard* at the Adelphi made thieves, what are the suggestions to be derived from the representation of *La Traviata* at Her Majesty's Theatre? Deep and unmitigated censure should be the portion of the audience who could sit out such a spectacle, especially when that audience is for the most part composed of women. We warn the ladies of England to take heed in this matter; their own interests are most deeply involved in the decision of the question, whether their husbands and sons shall be inoculated with the worst types of Parisian vice. If the process be sanctioned by their approval, there can be little doubt that the lesson taught in one place may be practised in another." Who can say that this faithful warning is no longer needed, or that the evil so strongly denounced has not borne the bitter fruit which was anticipated?

The opera is followed by the ballet; and Lady Blessington, in her *Belle of a Season*, shows what must be the effect of it upon a young and virtuous mind. The remonstrances of Lord Chamberlains recently have fully borne out the condemnation there implied as to the indecency which often prevails, and at which, alas! may be seen (to their shame be it spoken) the mothers and daughters of England, gazing without even the blush which mantled the cheek of Lady Blessington's "Belle."

"If," said a nobleman addressing magistrates of different counties, "the *corps de ballet* of the opera-house were advertised to give on a platform in the market-place the exact dancing performance you all take your daughters to, would there not be a remonstrance from all the magistracy, clergy, &c., against such a disgusting and immoral exhibition—in fact, would it be allowed?"

I have no time to speak of the way in which promenade concerts are now conducted, nor of other places and scenes where facilities are afforded for immoral companionship, and where restraint is thrown aside; but I appeal to the press, to the Christian feeling of the country, to the manly feeling of young Englishmen, but above all to the women, to stop the inflow into our land of the lax morality, the low tastes, the immodest gestures, the impure language, and the vile customs which prevail abroad.

It would be delightful to turn away from such scenes—from places where the unhealthy atmosphere is equalled by the unholy intercourse—to the open air, and manly sports, if there were not one, which is becoming more and more a public scandal. Nothing can justify that which is inseparably connected with drinking, the betting office, and sharpers. How this cancer spreads amongst high and low, how it depraves and ruins, is a matter of public notoriety. What Charles Dickens saw at Doncaster may be winessed wherever there are races. "It was noise and turmoil all day long, and a gathering of vagabonds from all parts of the racing earth. Every bad face that had ever caught wickedness from an innocent horse had its representative in

the streets." Then he refers to Palmer, the betting man and poisoner, and adds, "I look at the back of his bad head repeated in long, long lines on the racecourse, and in the betting stand, and outside the betting rooms in the town, and I vow to God that I can see nothing in it but cruelty, covetousness, calculation, insensibility, and low wickedness."

In cricket, football, boating, archery, and manly sports, the young men of our country find healthy recreation and exercise, and these were the amusements which in former times were encouraged by those in authority; whilst games of a sedentary kind which might be played in taverns were forbidden. But here the author of *Tom Brown* steps in, and, speaking with authority, protests against these amusements being made the business of life, and turned almost into a profession. As a means of developing a man's powers of body, and giving him quickness and presence of mind, the games and sports of our country, so long as they are not carried to an excess or disfigured by cruelty, are worthy of all admiration; but when betting becomes associated with them, as with the annual boat-race, and when sporting men turn their bull's-eye upon those who are in training, the whole character of the contest is in danger of being changed.

In this great workshop of ours, and in this world of anxiety and trial, it is well for all classes to draw together not only in the House of God, but in those games and sports which cheerily intervene between the somewhat monotonous rounds of daily toil. From the little boy who wants to "shee wheels go wound" to the grown-up man, all need recreation, and I can see no reason why it should not be enjoyed in the fear of God and in accordance with His will. "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength: they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run and not be weary, and they shall walk and not faint." The question is, Shall it be innocent and healthy, or shall it be sinful and destructive? Shall we allow the pernicious literature which is now provided so largely to circulate amongst the working classes, and not send also those publications amongst them which are calculated to refine their tastes, elevate their thoughts, and strengthen their minds? Shall we bring Christian influence and example to bear upon the amusements of the people; or shall we stand aside whilst others step in who care for nothing but their own selfish interests, and who seek to stimulate the worst passions of those for whose pleasure they provide? It has been well said by Canon Miller:—"Not only education, but recreation, is a question of moment—the child has his playground, the child of larger growth needs his. We have provided for the working classes work, churches, schools, but have left it to the Devil to find them recreation." We have here then, I believe, a wide field of usefulness open before us. With what a large-hearted sympathy did Charles Kingsley, at Eversley and Chester, show how instruction and recreation might go hand in hand together. As education opens up new fields of inquiry, as the mind turns to those subjects for which God has specially fitted it, there

will, I hope, be shed a light upon many a toiler's path which will help to bring back to our land the name for which it once was famed :—

They called thee merry England, in old time;
A happy people won for thee that name,
With envy heard in many a distant clime;
And, spite of change, for me thou keep'st the same
Endearing title, a responsive chime
To the heart's fond belief; though some there are
Whose sterner judgments deem that word a snare
For inattentive fancy, like the lime
Which foolish birds are caught with. Can, I ask,
This face of rural beauty be a mask
For discontent, and poverty, and crime;
These spreading towns a cloak for lawless will?
Forbid it, Heaven!—and merry England still
Shall be thy rightful name, in prose and rhyme.

Mr. W. T. Paton.

We start with the assumption that there *is* a relationship between the Church and public amusements. In discussing the question, this is a point gained. The practice, if not the theory, of the Church has been to leave public amusements very much to themselves; but severing thus the connection, has been very much like cutting the string of a kite; that that which was capable of soaring has only too often come down in the mud.

No doubt there are public amusements with which the Church can have little or no sympathy, and yet in relation to such as these, I have little faith in a system which is merely prohibitory or condemnatory. What we want is a counter attraction. To say to young life, or to old life either, for that matter, you must not do this, or you may not do that, often defeats its own purpose. A witty writer, anxious that his tract should have a large circulation, placed on the outside page, "Do not read this." Need I say the restriction was creative of that curiosity which the author knew would be, sooner or later, gratified. It was read by thousands. To prohibit evil, is one thing; to overcome evil with good, is another and a higher thing; and this it appears to me is the course open to us. Let me illustrate what I mean. A group of London boys were looking eagerly through a shop window at a questionable picture. "Can I not," said a gentleman to himself, as he passed by, "put a good picture in the place of that bad one? By God's help, I will try." He did try, and I hesitate not to say that his pictures have refined the taste and educated the minds of thousands of our working classes. Now, cannot the Church do the same for public amusements? We venture to think she can, and on this principle; not by ignoring that characteristic of our nature which finds its gratification in amusement, any more than the gentleman in question ignored the boys' artistic taste, which was gratified by looking at a picture; but by administering to it of that which is

wholesome and elevating, and of good report. We must remember that people *will* have amusements; the desire is inherent in our nature, and whilst no creature lives, but must work, so there is no worker but will have, yes, and may be the better for, play. The attempt to eradicate this instinct was the blunder of a past age; let it not be the mistake of the present to ignore it. I recollect passing a public-house, which was designated the "Labour in Vain;" it had as its sign the picture of two men endeavouring to wash a black man white. Now, had they been content to make the negro *clean*, their success would have been complete, but in the attempt to make him white, human nature was against them, and they failed. For a similar reason, any attempt to eradicate the desire for amusements will end only in disappointment, if not in disaster; whilst to elevate, and purify, and ennoble, gives every promise of success. And it is just at this point the relationship of the Church may prove so beneficial, for I claim for her alike the privilege and power of influencing and leavening for good, all the surroundings of life, and this, not by any system of shrinking exclusiveness on the one hand, nor by any undue compromise with, or concession to, that which is questionable on the other, but by coming into contact with everything that has interest for, and has a bearing upon, our common humanity. It is her glorious heritage to be the salt of the earth, and the leaven of our race; instruments which can only act upon that which they touch, and then, accomplishing their end, not so much by a destructive power, as by an assimilating process. Believing, as I do, that she has in the gospel which she teaches an infallible safeguard against all that is false, and deteriorating, and contaminating, she can afford to cultivate kindly and sympathetic relations with all that is human, and by this very relationship elevate and refine. As it is, we leave many of our amusements in the hands of the world, and then profess to be astonished and grieved at the inevitable worldly result. Not that the Church can undertake to regulate public amusements; her relationship is of a more delicate nature. But where she cannot rule, she can influence. Let Christian men and women take their part in them, and show by example that there is such a thing as carrying, even into amusements, a high Christian tone. And let us never forget that religion does not consist so much in doing special religious acts, as in doing everyday actions from a religious motive. "Whatsoever ye do, whether ye eat or drink, do all to the glory of God." I have known men made better through the influences and companionships of a cricket club, in which everything that was mean and selfish was scowled down; where the oath was *felt* to be so entirely out of place, that the swearer did not repeat it, not, perhaps, because he would have been afraid, but because he would have been ashamed to do so; and where the unconscious influence of Christianity was so abiding, that it reached hearts impervious to a sermon. It is thus that amusements may be made to tell beneficially upon the work, both of the Church and the School. I have an impression that the genius of Christianity is such, that many public amusements which are now looked at

suspiciously, could, under its influence, be turned to good account; very much on the same principle as that enumerated by a popular minister of a by-gone age, who, on being asked whether one of his converts should not give up playing the violin now that he was converted, replied, "Not at all; in converting the man, you convert his violin also." Retain the amusements, but let us as Christian men see that we give them right character and tone.

Although I am not here to define the question—which amusements do you consider innocent and which noxious—that is a point which each one must settle between himself and his own conscience; but I may be permitted to say this much without being misunderstood:—We should be extremely cautious how we call a thing sinful which may not, in itself, necessarily be so. I am aware that the danger is rather on the other side, and that we are only too apt to extenuate where conscience condemns; still to frown down every enjoyment, simply because it is enjoyment, might be to cast a very serious stumbling-block in the way of many a young life, and would end, I fear, in hypocrisy on the one hand, or utter worldliness on the other. I am anxious I confess that the Church should show that religion means something infinitely more than a perpetual restraint, and that there is within its sacred circle a wide place for innocent mirth and manly recreation. And this leads me to the more practical part of the subject. I consider that the members of our Church might do a great deal more towards providing healthy amusements than is done. I can understand that into such an effort one could put a very high purpose, and work from a very high motive. There are many Christian men of active business habits, with a ready talent for organisation, and who having no call either to the platform or the desk, could profitably employ their time and energies in a mission of this kind. I have a strong impression that instead of having too many amusements we have too few, at least we could do with more if they were only of the right sort. One has only to see the number of men, many of them young men, who are to be found hanging listlessly about the doors of public-houses in our country towns and villages, or crowding the singing saloons and penny gaffs of our cities, to be satisfied that there is a great deal more to be done by the Church than has been done. And we not only need more amusements but they should be both popular and cheap. Would it be possible to have a society composed of Christian laymen, for the purpose of providing cheap and healthy amusements for the people? Why should not St. James' Hall or Exeter Hall be filled at least once a week, say on the Saturday evening with working men, accompanied by their wives and families, enjoying a popular concert? Prices of admission not to exceed say two or three pence a head, so that the family arrangement might not be impractible through the want of funds. Whether it would pay, may be a question, but of this I am satisfied that, if the effort in the first instance had to be supplemented by the generosity of one or more large hearted Christian men, the money might be dispensed in a worse cause. But a great deal can be done in a smaller way, and with encouraging tokens of success.

Public taste has to be cultivated for the higher and purer thing before it can be appreciated: and here is a field wide enough and worthy of the attention of many of our laymen. It is astonishing what may be done by popular lectures, spirited readings, and amateur concerts. I had the pleasure to preside a short time ago at a concert given by working lads, the large room was packed with fathers, mothers and friends, whilst the entertainment was such that everyone went home gratified and cheered, and thereby helped, to go on all the more manfully and hopefully with the more serious work of life.

And in the summer evenings what an influence for good might the Church exert by means of athletic sports and cricket clubs. I am myself vice-president of a successful cricket club, and although past playing I frequently put in an appearance if only to say the kindly word, or join in the well merited cheer which follows a good hit. Our captain is, or rather was—for he is now working in East Africa in connection with one of our missionary societies with all the zeal and enthusiasm which characterised his play—one of our most successful and devoted Sunday School teachers, and he told me of instances of young men who had joined the club, thoughtless and even prejudiced against religion, who left it with totally different sentiments and eventually became totally different characters. My own impression is that the Church cannot afford to ignore the subject of amusement so long as it forms so important a connecting link with young life.

There is, I confess, a divorce which I am anxious to see effected, and that is the connection which too frequently exists between public amusements and public-houses. I wish to forbid the banns of a connection so questionable. I desire that fathers and mothers should have no anxieties about the place to which their children resort for their amusement; that the wife should feel secure in knowing exactly where her husband is; and that when he returns from his day's or evening's recreation he should come to make the home brighter, and the hearts in it the happier, because they catch the radiance of his own cheerfulness. Nay more; I want an amusement to which the husband can take wife and children, and where they all share *in*, and profit *by*, the recreation. If the Church cannot effect a divorce between our popular amusements and the public-house, then perhaps she can do something towards taking the public-house away from the amusements. I am thankful to say that through such worthy sons as Canon Wilberforce and the Rev. R. M. Greer, she *is* doing a great and good work in this direction, and I for one give them my heartiest "God speed," for with the public-house, will go singing-saloons and dancing-halls and midnight supper-rooms, the very existence of which makes ones cheek tingle with shame, and ones heart burn with righteous indignation; and regarding which we can only utter the judgment "down with them, down with them even to the ground;" places where vice walks unblushingly in all its evil and in all its grossness.

It is with a feeling of regret I record my opinion that the influence of one of the most popular of our public amusements, viz., the

theatre, is not, generally speaking, on the side of morality and religion. In saying this I have no desire to cast a slur upon any one. In the actors' profession there have been and are names worthy of all respect. And actors and managers of theatres are not the only people responsible for the present state of things; the supply is in accordance with the popular demand, and the public taste needs as much reforming as those who administer to it. But when I read in the leading journal that the opera of *Lucrezia Borgia* is a story of incest and murder; *Don Giovanni*, a history of unbridled debauchery; *La Traviata*, the history and death of an unfortunate courtezan, it is time for the Church to raise her protest against the character of such amusements as these. It may be urged —"To the pure all things are pure"— but the truth is, we are not pure, the best of us, and hence the mischievous effects. And when we remember the intolerable profanity too often heard on the stage, the frequent sneers at religion, the laugh too often raised against all that is right, and the cheer which is so frequently heard on the side of that which is questionable or wrong, the travesty of much that is sacred and holy, as witness the following token from the *Times* of July 13th:—"The border line separating what is allowable from what is repulsive was ruthlessly crossed at the opera on Saturday night. The second act is wholly occupied by the lying in state and the religious ceremonies, over the body of a murdered wife. The stage is converted into a chapel; on a high catafalque a lady reposes with head and shoulders raised on a pillar, in a real coffin, the wooden sides being purposely left uncovered by the crimson pall; around are kneeling monks; at the left wing an altar with the book of the Gospels, or its representative, open, where the Archimandrite celebrates the mass. The act extends over some half hour, during which portions of the mass are sung, in fact the solemn offices of the dead are here reproduced for the entertainment of the living." I say, having regard to all this, the Church has no recourse but to warn her members against "adventuring themselves into the theatre."

In closing, it only remains to say that the Church will not fulfil her mission in relation to the subjects before us, unless she impress upon her members the truth, that after all there is something higher and nobler to be sought for in this life of ours than mere amusements, and that to live for pleasure is to die to all that is spiritual and divine. When we look around and see the sufferings, the ignorance, the vice which abound, it is a question as to whether we should ever allow ourselves to think of amusement at all. With so much to be done we should find our highest joy in the service of Christ, and in being in fullest sympathy with Him who pleased not Himself, who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and who gave His life a ransom for many. Let it be made known to her younger members, that in the full, sincere, and hearty dedication of their life to Christ, He will so endow them with the riches of His grace, that receiving so much from Him, they will want nothing else to make that life radiant, and bright, and beautiful, and divine.

ADDRESSES.

Mr. A. W. Hall, M.P.

The subject with which we have to deal to-night is a very wide one, and it has already been so ably, if not exhaustively, dealt with, that one almost feels it superfluous to stand here before you to say one word. But by your kind permission I will venture to make one or two remarks. First, with respect to our theatres, especially regarding them in their aspect towards the upper classes of society; because I venture to think that we who belong to the upper and middle classes of society require now and then to caution ourselves, for we are very apt to look at a little mote in the eyes of the lower classes, but very inapt indeed to look at the beam in the eyes of ourselves. Then, if time permit, I will say one or two words on the question of Sunday amusements. First, with regard to our theatres, I shall venture to premise that the histrionic art is certainly not one which the Christian Church or any part of it would ever venture to despise, and further it is one to the due cultivation of which amongst some of her greatest sons in all ages the Church of Christ probably owes a great deal. But whether the present application of the art in our modern theatres be or be not so associated with evil as to make the Church of England naturally antagonistic to it is a question about which people will form very different opinions. There are, as we know, many excellent folk, not at all uncharitable in other respects, who look upon all actors as children of Belial, and everybody who enters a theatre as practically renouncing Christianity altogether. But that, I suppose, would not be the view which would commend itself at all to anything like the majority of careful Churchmen.

Further, I apprehend our opinion would be that in this, as in so many other things, the evil consists not in the use but in the abuse of that which in itself is good; and that what we ought to desire for our theatres is not their destruction but rather their reform. We desire their reform because we are persuaded that this great talent, for it is a great talent, was not given to man in order that it might lie dormant; much less was it given to him in order that it might be used for pandering to evil appetites or base passions; but in order that it might be used for the rational amusement and education both of the actor himself and others by the pourtrayal of the manly and chivalrous side of man's nature, and showing how that even here there is a constant conquest going on of good over evil. Indeed, if I may venture to say so before this great assembly, I am not at all sure that we might not claim for the histrionic art greater triumphs even than these; for who shall dare to gauge the good that may have been done amongst a simple people by such wondrous representations as the Passion Play at Ober Ammergau, where the greatest of all earthly scenes has been depicted with a reverence and a solemnity that it would be simply impossible to surpass.

Universal condemnation, then, I venture to say, would certainly not be wise. And no less unwise would be the man who should wilfully shut his eyes to the fact that the English theatre of 1877 is very far indeed from what it ought to be. And the worst of it is that the evil thing acts and re-acts in a vicious circle. Many excellent people stay away from these places because they are cognisant that evil is be found there, and evil is to found there because so many excellent people stay away. If those who habitually attended our theatres were those who desired to raise the tone of them, then the tone of our theatres would most undoubtedly be raised. If we could only persuade them to do that, we should see fewer of those infamous French plays, which are a disgrace to the stage of England, which are an insult to and a calumny on English thought and English feeling. We

should then be able to feel that we could go to our theatre in comfort, which certainly we cannot do now. For, without being in the least Puritanical, or needlessly strait-laced about the matter, it is true to say that one cannot name—at least I cannot name—a single play acted now in London during some part of which from something said or something done one does not wish that one had not got a lady by one's side. It is a terrible accusation to bring against the English stage, but I fear it is a true one.

Then what can we do? Is there anything we can do except inveigh against evil? Is it quite impossible to hope that some of those who have been given great talents may be able to do in the matter of play-writing that which those who have been given equally conspicuous talents have been able to do in the matter of novel-writing? I take it that there is no evil more terrible than is to be found within the leaves of the ordinary three-volume novel which pollutes the drawing-rooms of too many Christian folk. But we know and thankfully recognise the fact that there have arisen those among the novel-writers of England who have striven to redeem us from this degradation, and when we think of such honoured names as that of Miss Yonge,—a name indeed worthy of all respect from such an assembly of Churchmen as I see now,—we may, I think, earnestly hope that some like her may rise up and write for the stage of England plays which a husband and a father may take his wife or his daughter in safety to hear. Then, is it also impossible to hope that Churchmen and Christian people in general may learn to see that it is their duty, and I hope it will also be their pleasure—or our tastes will have degenerated sadly from the tastes of our forefathers—to support by every means in our power those efforts which are occasionally made, notably by Mr. Henry Irving, to his great credit, though not, I fear, with too great success, to introduce the higher drama upon the English stage again, and give back to the boards of the English theatre the Shakspearean plays as in the days of Kean and Kemble. Here is a grand opportunity indeed for the leaders of fashion, many of whom we know are so anxious to do right—nay, here is a grand opportunity, and I say it with reverence, even for royalty itself to encourage those efforts which are occasionally made. For I believe, and you will not misunderstand me when I say it, that English theatres have sensibly decreased in respectability since, owing to sad and altered circumstances, our beloved Queen has ceased from attending them. For what manager so bold as to dare place a whisper of evil on the stage in the presence of Queen Victoria?

Well, then, let the leaders of London Society look to it. They may flatter themselves that this is no affair of theirs, but they flatter themselves in vain. The vulgar crowd will follow them, will cheer what they cheer, and deplore what they deplore. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that they can mould these places to their will. If then an improvement take place much of the credit will be due to them; but if evil continue, on them and us Churchmen I cast the blame, and not on the gaping crowd. Now I will venture to make one or two observations with regard to the very important subject which is coming rapidly to the front—the question of opening places of amusement on Sundays. It seems to me that this is pre-eminently one of those questions to which one may truly say that there are two sides. Although I freely confess that in my judgment the balance of wisdom reposes with those who would leave things as they are. But we must not shut our eyes to the fact that the arguments for opening innocent places of recreation on Sunday are exceedingly fascinating arguments, and arguments which are getting, I think, among the upper classes a very considerable hold. For it really is most delightful to think that those who have been in the habit of looking on Sunday as a day for pandering to everything within them that is evil could possibly be drawn to change that habit, and to use Sunday as a day upon which information should be acquired, upon which art should be studied, and upon which the character

should be gradually educated and elevated to a higher standard. But I, for one, am a tremendous sceptic about all that.

I do not believe, and I cannot believe, that the man who now spends Sunday in evil would be drawn to spend it well because you open half-a-dozen picture-galleries—while those people who now spend Sunday well, as the majority of English people, I am thankful to believe, do, which I think has not been without its blessing upon the entire nation, are better in my judgment for no temptation being offered them to exchange their day of quiet and rest at home for one of sight-seeing and money-spending out of doors. Before then I for one should ever vote for that measure I must be convinced of two things—first of all, that the majority of Englishmen spend Sunday badly, and by badly I mean viciously, which I will not believe; and, secondly, that that majority could be induced to exchange the real excitement of evil for the exceedingly moderate excitement of a stroll in the British Museum. The change is no light matter; it will entail an enormous amount of extra work, not only on the officials of those places, but also on those who have the charge of the locomotion necessary for the conveyance of the public. Your tram-cars, underground railway, and omnibuses will have their work doubled and trebled if this thing succeed at all, while the refreshment-houses in the neighbourhood of these places will get to look upon Sunday as their most profitable day, and the chances of their ever being closed upon Sunday, which is the day-dream of so many excellent people, will most inevitably be completely knocked on the head. Nay, more than that, I believe that having regard to the due convenience of the public, and that is the thing which Parliament will always have regard to, it would be very difficult, if this matter were to succeed, to retain the present hours for opening and closing these places as they now exist. But I have a greater objection than that. Englishmen, as you know, have very strong instincts that Sunday should be kept as a day of rest and as a day for worship. I want to know how is it that we have got these instincts? it is not, I suppose, that we are any better intrinsically than nations on the Continent, nor is it, I suppose, because we happen to live upon this somewhat gloomy little island, but, I take it, it is because by the wisdom of our forefathers—which wisdom we people of the nineteenth century are apt to think too little of—we have been accustomed to regard Sunday as a day upon which all active business and all active pleasure were suspended; and habit, as we know, is second nature.

But how will it be, I ask, with the next generation, if our children grow up to look upon Sunday as a day for sight-seeing and holiday-making, if their experience of it shall not be as ours has been, that it is a day for home, no matter how lowly that home may be; but if their experience of it be always that it is a day for crowds, a day for bustle, a day for labour, will not that experience take them far upon the road which will lead them to face the advent of a Continental Sunday? I hate Puritanical gloom; let Sunday be bright for us and our children, but let it be the brightness of home, the pleasures of simplicity, involving for others no work and for ourselves no retrospect of bustle to regret.

Rev. F. F. Goe.

It has been already shown that it is the right and duty of the Church to claim for her Lord every department of human life and activity. We believe that inasmuch as Jesus Christ has redeemed us, body, soul, and spirit, there ought to be no district of life from which His presence and guidance are excluded. Therefore it is right to discuss the question of the relation of the Church to public amusements.

Let it be observed that we are not considering the relation of the world

or of society to amusements, but that of the Church of Christ, of His own true and faithful people, who profess to be living for eternity, and to be waiting for the coming of their Lord. I would observe, also, that it is the Church which is spoken of here, not the clergy. I protest against the notion that it is the business of the clergy to cater for the amusement of their parishioners. I grant that when you find a vigorous clergyman with large sympathies, such as the late Charles Kingsley, placed in a small village like Eversley, he may take up the whole population in the hollow of his hand; he may not only lead their worship, preach to them, and visit them, but he may also educate and amuse them. But in the case of the hard-working clergy of our large towns, I think, as a general rule, that, when invited to provide amusements for their people, they are entitled to say "I am doing a great work and I cannot come down."

The Christian view of recreation is that it is to the mind what sleep is to the body; it is such an employment for the mind as may rest and divert it, and so fit it for future duty. It has been well remarked that recreation is a resting place in the career of work for God; and this suggests a simple test by which to try an amusement, of what sort it is. If, after indulging in it, a man feel indisposed to read his Bible, or to bend the knee before God in prayer, or so weary that he cannot enjoy the interval of devotion before retiring to rest, it is a grave question whether he ought not to abandon it.

There are three classes of amusement:—

First, those which are innocent, pure, and healthful. I heartily concur in what has been said about the field sports of our boys and young men. For the most part, they supply an important element in the formation of character. They educate and train the eye and the ear; they teach boys to deny themselves, to be willing to endure hardship, and encounter danger, and thus they fit them to play their part in the active duties of life.

Second, there are amusements which are in themselves unlawful. Let me remind you of the address (published in the memoir) delivered by Mr. Kingsley to the young men of Chester on the subject of betting, as showing the light in which a Christian ought to regard such amusements as these.

Third, we come to the most difficult class of amusements, those which, though admitted to be harmless in themselves, become questionable in consequence of their accompaniments, the hours at which they are indulged, the language used, and the dresses worn by those who conduct them.

Reference has been made to theatres and to public balls. Now, when candidates for confirmation come to be instructed in the Church Catechism, the clergy have to explain to them the meaning of that part of the baptismal vow which speaks of "the pomps and vanity of this wicked world" (as distinguished from the works of the Devil and the lusts of the flesh) as being among those things which are to be renounced by the Christian. How can a renunciation of the pomps and vanity of this world be compatible with such amusements as these? Do not such amusements minister directly to "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father but are of the world?"

But I pass on to speak of the powerful influence which pious parents can, and in thousands of cases do, exercise over their young people in early life. In that influence is to be found one great remedy for the love of excessive, unlawful, or questionable amusements, which is so common in the present day. When care is taken to make home the happiest place in the world; when parents devise innocent pleasures for their children, throw themselves into their interests, win their confidence, and help them in their difficulties —the foundation is laid for a love of simple and pure pleasures. The reins of parental authority are too much relaxed in the present day. It is the teaching of scripture and of the Church that children should *honour* their parents—a word which surely includes more than mere obedience to the letter of their commands; it implies deference to their wishes, and a ready

compliance with them. A father has the right to say to a son or daughter, with respect to places of entertainment which he objects to—"You are not bound to agree with my views on this matter; but so long as you remain under my roof, and I am responsible in the sight of God for your conduct, I expect you to conform to my wishes." If children be trained to obey their parents in the Lord, and are guided by a firm, yet gentle hand, may not the hope be reasonably entertained that, as they grow up, the love of home pleasures and the strength of home associations will, in most cases, prove strong enough to counteract a taste for vicious or questionable entertainments?

Rev. J. W. Horsley, Chaplain of Middlesex House of Detention.

It is necessary to begin what I have to say by laying down some theses that partake of the nature of truisms, and one does so with the less diffidence when one remembers that a truism is often but another name for a forgotten or infertile truth.

My first thesis, then, is that *the duty of the Catholic Church*, and therefore of each Catholic priest, *is to the whole man*, the trinity in unity that makes the theomorphic creature. The priest may, indeed, be chiefly concerned with the soul, but if he occupied himself with that alone he would be comparable only to the physician who neglected the study of psychology and never used his precious opportunities of speaking a word in season to his patient in the interests of his God. We have less reason to wonder that men seem to ignore the existence of their souls when we seem to forget that they have something besides souls.

My second thesis is that *the bound of Catholicity and its deepest law is the law of sympathy for all the creation of God* which is not overtly, entirely, and irrecoverably opposed to His will and glory. "Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto;" so speaks, grandly enough, the humanitarian Terence. "Theologus sum, et nihil divini a me alienum puto" answers, or rather adds, the illustrious Döllinger. If I must put any limits to the bounds of Catholic sympathy it must only be in those cases (if such there be) where nothing of Divine is left in man, his works and occupations.

My third thesis is this, that *everything has its relation to God, and that it is the chief duty of priestcraft to educe, display, and utilize this relation*. And inasmuch as religion is and must be a joy, we must be prepared to find that the Church will at least be interested in the causes of expressions of joy that pass by the name of amusements. Our people will be, must be, and should be amused, and it is our duty to aid and to regulate, not to ignore and condemn, their needs. Our divines of a previous generation considered an atmosphere of refined and gentle melancholy the proper tone for mortals travelling through this vale of tears, but we have not so learned Christ. For ourselves we care not to persuade men that the source of joy is in our hearts by hanging out the sign of the Prince of Darkness in our faces, and for our poorer brethren at least we may be allowed to think that they had better be sung to than groaned over. *Panem et circenses* is a human and not a purely pagan cry. This generation has learnt that there is a religion of health, it must also learn that there is a religion of amusement. We are, then, concerned not merely as men, but also, whether cleric or lay, as the priests of a God of joy, Whose city is full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof, in the existence of public amusements, the want of which is a most fertile source of sin and crime.

We are concerned in their *quantity*, for if at some times or in some lands the Church has erred in a too liberal observance of the law that holy-days should be holidays, we now suffer from the evil and external influence of

Puritanism and the Georgian sloth which neglected these and all other rights and interests of the people whose filial love was thereby by a righteous Nemesis lost to the dry-breasted, stern-eyed, and empty-handed Church.

But chiefly is the Church concerned with the *quality* of the amusement sought by and provided for her people. I may sum up all I have to say in this one sentence, that the attitude of the Church, with regard to public amusements, should be that of guide, philosopher, and friend.

Dividing, then, the subject into the *bodily* and *mental amusements*, it might be said that the individual priest is generally concerned more with the former, while the corporate Church, or corporations within it, could and should deal with the latter. Whether the parish priest be rural or urban he has his duty to the bodies of his flock not merely as an *ex officio* sanitary reformer, but also as one bound to be interested in the training, development, and adaptability of the bodies of his people. Of course it is easy enough to say smart things against mere muscular Christianity, but I for one cannot conceive a Christianity that is not muscular, a religion which treats men as disembodied souls and ignores the capabilities of the body which God has fearfully and wonderfully made. If it be said that "He hath no pleasure in the strength of an horse, neither delighteth in any man's legs," nor standeth in need of magnificent animals to do His work, I answer that He has certainly no need of flabby, invertebrate creatures who can do nothing but flop down and damply deliquesce like a pious jelly-fish.

In all bodily and out-door sports let the parson be, like the Catholic Church of which he is a minister, at once Tory and Radical. Tory in his conservation of all sports, pastimes, and pursuits, manly and pure in essence, the indigenous offspring of our soil and redolent of our national characteristics, history, and poetic instincts, suffering none to be supplanted by feebler or less worthy successors or imitations, nor to be continued merely from barren and unintelligent habit; Radical, again, in recognising on the field of sport or amusement no aristocracy save that of skill, no precedence save that which greater endurance, strength, or agility may claim.

Let me take a few examples.

The chief way in which this part of the subject will touch many of my brethren, especially those who, like me, bear the proudest of titles, "a man of Kent," will be their relation to the national game of *cricket*, and I trust I need exhort few in this county, at least, to their duty in this respect. At least, let the country parson be the experienced and trusted umpire to his parish team, and so shall he find his decision more sought and less disputed outside the field. Let him do more if he be wise, especially by playing with and teaching the boys, for amongst them, if left to themselves, will the quarrels most arise and bad habits both of speech and cricket be most surely formed. Nor let him refuse his place as an active member of the village eleven, and so shall he find that the fine hit to leg which opened the mouths of the rustic beholders will leave them a little open on Sunday morning, and he whom the parson has taught to twist will be the more ready to listen to his dissuasives from tortuous conduct. I appeal confidently to any cricketer to bear testimony to the higher tone of language and habit that characterises the eleven in which the parson takes his place.

And when the bats are laid aside in oil, will not the wise man reclaim many from the noisy, frowsy tap, by converting the cricket club into one for *football* during the winter months?

Astonishing, again, it is to me that those who have *rowed* at the Universities and found it not only the queen of sports, more than any developing the whole body, but also the finest moral discipline in the training and bearing the perhaps unmerited abuse of the coach without one sidelong

glance of wrath out of the boat, should do so little to popularise it among their young men. And need I do more than mention the only amusement which has been honoured by a special innings to itself at a Church Congress, ranked by its devotees almost among the exact sciences and indeed worthy of special distinction from its continued and combined and continued exercise of mind and body—*bell ringing*—I beg its pardon—campanology? And herein note that just the lads who most instinctively gravitate towards the thievish corners of the streets may be attracted and kept under good and kindly influence by a set of handbells. *Experto crede.* Nor will any one who has noted the native grace and intense delight with which children in East London add the poetry of motion to the notes of the wheeziest and most strident street-organ shrink from daring to guide and even encourage at *fêtes* and treats their taste for *dancing*. even if he do not see his way to establishing dancing parties in his schools at not rare intervals during the winter. Prudery herein, as ever and everywhere, is a potent foe to purity. If it be taught in the normal schools of Scotland, of all places in the world, surely we need not fear to teach it.

But another class of amusements exists which cannot be outdoor, and from many reasons presents most serious problems to our thoughts. I allude to the songs of the people, the public-houses, the theatres, and music-halls.

Public songs must always be studied as the index of the current and popular habit of thought. Buy some penny songsters, and you will be pained to see how low the level is. To say nothing of the open or ill-concealed immorality which spices or rather poisons many, two groups of songs will always be found in any popular book. First, those which exalt and canonise low cunning. Better be a knave than a fool is their one idea. "Not for Joe;" "It don't suit Charley Baker;"—innumerable are these unmanly ditties which prepare their hearers by cunning for dishonesty, and lead them to cheer Kurr and Benson as popular representatives and heroes, and to adopt "Do anybody, but take care they don't do you," as the popular commandment. And, next, those which are based on the meanest form of idolatry, the worship of majorities, and the consequent acquiescence in evil. What ditties have most been in our ears of late? "They all do it"—the multitude on the broad road being the justification for deserting the narrow way; and "I carry on the same old game," or, as it was better expressed of old, I return as a dog to its vomit, and a sow to her wallowing in the mire. While such are popular songs, how can we look for any appreciation of the manliness of the struggle against odds or resistance to popular evil? What remedy for this? Surely a great care in the selection of songs learned in school, zeal in the promotion of penny readings and concerts, more and better music in our churches, and plain words from the pulpit about popular songs, dealing not so much with what should be as with what is in men's minds and on their lips.

From songs we naturally pass to their birthplace or home—the *music-halls*. I might gather from the columns of the secular press, and notably from the *Echo*, much strong denunciation of the evil which seems at least inseparable from these places; I might denounce the utter indecency, and that not only of word, which pervades many songs. And remove anything thus objectionable, there yet remains an unimaginable Sahara of the emptiest folly which is, I fear, inevitable as tastes are now. A ballet that did not pander to the animalism, or a Leybourne or a Vance who did not descend to the inanity of the unlovely mannikins who mainly constitute their audience, would not long remain the cynosures and popular heroes that they are. But we must remember that music-halls, with all their faults, have so much that is entertaining and even good, that it would be foolish utterly to condemn them on the principle on which they exist. Good music, moral, patriotic, and touching songs, exhibitions of agility and grace, are always found on their stages, and point to the direction our

efforts might take. Why instead of dissipating our energies in providing the mildest amusements, penny readings, or spelling bees in every parish, should not a strong effort be made in every large town or group of parishes to establish what might be called a Christian music-hall, open every night, with all the honest and none of the undesirable attractions of the present places? The Standard and the Lyceum are not deserted because they are always moral, nor would such establishments be without support. I hear that the Roman Bishop of Salford has acted while we hardly begin to think, and has bought the Salford Aquarium to continue, but if need be to purge, the entertainments which thitherwards allure the people. Am I too sanguine in supposing that this example may be followed? Lambeth is near to Westminster, and the popularity of the Aquarium would not be diminished by the prospect of a combined exhibition by the two unspeakable P's—Pongo and the other gentleman whose name begins with P.

Only to touch on the great and vexed question of the relation of the Church to *theatres* would require far more time than is at my disposal. I would, therefore but reassert a proposition that I had the honour of carrying in a large meeting of clergy, that it is the duty of the Church to strive to reform and purify the stage rather than to ignore or condemn what may be, and to a great extent is, a power making for righteousness. Very rarely have I found the time to go to a theatre, but yet the "Richard III." of Irving spoke to my mind, and the "Rip Van Winkle" of Jefferson to my soul, in a way that cannot easily be forgotten. My only difficulty is this, that some theatres may be and are pure to-day, but to-morrow, under a different management, may be evil and idiotic. A theatre, therefore, under a board of management pledged to morality and intelligence I should welcome and recommend, inasmuch as an unique theatre must do more than individual actors to elevate the tone of the stage. To despise the power of drama is puerile, to condemn it entirely seems to me not only irrational but un-Christian, whether we regard the souls of the actors or the other members of our flocks.

There is one form of public amusement, or rather of the amusement of the public, popular with high and low, especially with those who are by station the former and by taste the latter, of which every Christian man will speak with the highest disgust, prevalent as it may be at certain periods, gathering power by utilizing the narrowest and lowest passions of the mind, refraining from nothing that is false, cruel and reptilian, yet surviving into and even reviving in our day, and provided for by careful legal enactment—I mean the ignoble sport of parson-baiting.

Remembering, then, that our duty is to the whole man as he is and not merely as he might be in a millennium or Utopia, let us unstarch our ephods of prudery, and by a loving sympathy with the joys as well as the sorrows of the people, their amusements as well as their toil, prove ourselves Catholic because human, warm, living hearts, not bloodless and passionless machines.

DISCUSSION.

Rev. Canon Hoare.

Our subject to-night is the duty of the Church towards public amusements. In the discussion of the subject there are three principles which must never be ignored. The first is that the Christian man is the happiest man in the world; the second is, that the happiest man in the world is not dependent upon artificial supplies of happiness, for he carries with him a source of never failing joy in his own mind, and he is a happy man wherever he goes. The third is that this happy man does require amusement. But in saying this we must be careful to define amusement.

There are two synonyms often used for the word amusement, and they differ very much from one another. One is "pastime," and another is "recreation." Now I do not think that Christian men want pastime. Pastime is a plan for killing time because time hangs heavy, and we want something to help us to get over it without fatigue. We do not want that, for if we have our joy within us, time goes so pleasantly and so quickly that the day is not long enough for its happy employments. But we do want recreation, which means the rebuilding of the body and of the exhausted energies when a man is really hard at work, and that is what we all require—we want a recreation of the nervous and mental power in order that we may go to work in God's name more cheerfully and more vigorously than ever. I have been delighted with a great deal I have heard to-day; I delight in what the two laymen have said to us about their own efforts and their own views—most heartily do I agree with what the member for Oxford said upon the great subject of Sunday amusement. I am persuaded we have in England such a blessing as there is not in any other country in the whole world, in our happy, holy, peaceful, and domestic Sundays, and God forbid that any love of amusement or or any desire after recreation should ever lead to any deterioration of our happy home on the Sunday! The charm of our English Sunday is in the Church and the home, and the Sunday recreation of every working-man is in his home. I have often observed the working men in my own parish, and am persuaded that he who delights in the Sunday at home is the man really recreated for the work of the week. Contrast the Monday morning of the man who has been rushing about all the Sunday, going on his railway excursions to Portsmouth, Dover, Hastings or Brighton, separated from his family, leaving his children at loose ends, and never at rest throughout the day—contrast that man on Monday morning with the happy Christian man who has passed a happy, peaceful, quiet Sunday in his Church and in his home, who has enjoyed the companionship of his wife and children and been with them to and fro to the Church and the school; see the contrast between those two men as I have seen it myself again and again, and there is enough in that contrast to convince every thinking and patriotic man, that, if he wish for the happiness of England, he must strive to put all his strength into the maintenance of the happy, holy, and domestic Sunday of God. We have heard a good deal about theatres and race-courses, and we have been told that we ought to reform them, but I should like to know how to do it. Of one thing I am thoroughly persuaded and that is, that we shall not succeed in reforming them by going to them, and therefore for my own part I believe it best that we should stay away. I would speak with the utmost respect for the high estimation in which our Archbishops and Bishops are held throughout the country, I believe that their influence, when exercised with decision, is enormous, but I believe that if all of them together were to go to Epsom and take their place in front of the grand stand they would not have the slightest influence in stopping the gambling at the Derby. I cannot doubt, therefore, that it is the safest thing for us who have not the same influence or power, quietly to say "That is not the place for me." We have other work to do, a great work from God, and we cannot leave it for an amusement in which we should be powerless for good. Our work is in our own neighbourhood, amongst our own young men, and our object must be to secure for them Christian happiness. In doing this we must encourage their activity. I like to see a young fellow play well, for good play recreates the mind for good work. I rejoice, therefore, to see my own young men taking the lead in manly exercise, and able to play at cricket, to jump, to swim, and to excel in all vigorous amusements. I am all for activity, and I like to see the young fellows active. It is all nonsense for people to talk about our requiring gloomy faces, and what they call puritanical melancholy. They know nothing about us if they say that of us. We do not want that, and neither we nor our forefathers in the faith have ever promoted it;

it is all a mere fiction that certain persons have conjured up in their own minds who know nothing about what they call puritanical. But we do say this, if anything be associated with immorality and we know not how to disentangle the association; or if anything be so associated with worldliness that the very essence of the pleasure is in worldliness, then we do say that we cannot go out of our path to be mixed up either with that which is vicious or with that which is worldly —we do not want it, we stand aside from it, we protest against it, and we warn our young men against it. I go a step further, and am prepared to say this, if we have reason to believe that our liberty involves another person in danger, although we think we may go in safety ourselves; if we feel persuaded that others will follow our steps and go there with danger, then we ought to stay away. I will just mention one instance as an illustration, viz., a skating rink. No doubt skating is a fine and vigorous exercise, but it involves its danger. We had a skating rink opened in our town, and our young people, my own included, all went perfectly freely and enjoyed it. But soon it was found that the rink was made the scene of a great deal of most dangerous folly in the evening. Here then was the difficulty, if a young lady went in the afternoon without danger, the young servant went in the evening with very great peril. If the mistress let her daughter go in the afternoon, it was hard to refuse the housemaid at night, for she could not go in the afternoon, and thus it followed, and we found it follow, that where one class went in safety the other went in danger, and those that went in safety have thought it best for example's sake to deny themselves and stay away. I just mention that as an illustration, and I will only say one word in conclusion, there is such a thing as renouncing as well as following. It was said that we were not to tell people to give up their amusements. But are we not taught to tell people to renounce the world, the flesh and the devil? and while we give a counter attraction, the attraction of our blessed Lord and Saviour—the best attraction and the most powerful attraction in the world—are we not to tell them also that there is such a thing as renouncing the world, and that if they would take their stand boldly with Christ, they must come out and be separate from all that is contrary to His will?

Mr. H. W. Maynard.

With the few minutes at my disposal I would merely suggest that St. Paul's words "When I was a child I thought as a child, when I became a man I put away childish things," a change wrought from *within*, and not from compulsion from *without*, should be the way the Church should seek to influence the world in the matter of amusement. Unlike other religions, there is no vein of gloom running through ours, but it practically works in the world by "the expulsive power of a new affection." I am convinced also that more influence on the world comes from a wise amount of separation from it, than undue mixture with it or the Church, which can never rise in its corporate capacity above the spiritual power of its individual members, may lower its own standard in seeking to raise that of others. I would conclude by reminding you of the words of good Old Hart:—

Let no vain words your souls deceive,
Nor Satan tempt you to believe
The world and Heaven can hold their parts,
True Christians long for Christ alone,
The sacrifices God would own
Are broken, not divided, hearts.

Rev. A. A. Isaacs.

We have had several *theses* propounded to-night. I would venture to propound two others. The first is that we live in an age wherein amusements abound in every grade of society. This fact, I think, will be generally admitted. The other proposition is this,—that these amusements, whatever they may be, exercise a powerful influence upon religion. If that be the case it will at once be admitted that the Church is extremely concerned in seeking more or less to influence the amusements which exist in our own day. But the utmost caution is necessary in the endeavour to effect this object. To illustrate this I may mention a circumstance which was to me at the time very pregnant in meaning. It will be within the knowledge of many here present, that some time ago the Bishop of Manchester addressed two or three meetings of persons engaged in the theatrical profession. Soon after that, in my own town of Leicester, I, together with my brother clergymen, had play bills sent to us by the manager of the theatre, to which were affixed and printed the addresses of the Bishop, and these were accompanied by a request that we, acting in harmony with the wishes and views expressed by the Bishop of Manchester, would give the theatre our countenance and support. Now I am not here to dwell upon those addresses, or to pass any opinion upon them, but I mention this in order to indicate that we who belong to the Church, either as laymen or as clergymen, ought to exercise the greatest possible caution as to what we say, and into what channel our admonitions and influence are directed. I heard something said to-night about the Passion Play of Ober Ammergau. I was passing through Germany just after that Passion Play had taken place, and at Heidelberg, a gentleman came up to me and my companion and addressed us on the subject. He asked me whether I had been there. I replied "No." He said "How was it that you were not there? I saw a great number of clergymen among those present." "To my mind," I replied, "the performance is blasphemous in its character." Now listen to his rejoinder. This person was an infidel, and his reply was this—"That depends upon whether you believe in the divinity of Christ." You will observe, that man who was a sceptic contended that no one who believed in the divine character and person of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ ought to be present at, or could approve of, the Passion Play. As he did not believe in that great doctrine he did not consider it, what I consider it to have been, a parody upon that most solemn and awful event of our Lord's life and death. I am only stating what took place on that occasion. I am not only the vicar of a large parish, but I happen to be the chaplain of the borough gaol of the town in which I reside, and I am here to tell this audience, as I would tell any other audience, that the most fruitful sources of crime are the public house and the theatre; consequently if I in any way support the theatre, whether the theatre be a purified theatre or not, I am giving as I contend from my own experience an impetus to crime and vice. But the question arises, inasmuch as religion has so much to do with public amusements, in what way are we to throw our weight into the right scale? One thing is perfectly clear, that we are generally safe in encouraging everything like out-door recreation. We may with confidence send our people, rich and poor, into the country to enjoy the beauties of nature. Again, I believe we are right in encouraging athletic sports, for these serve to develope the strength and power of the manhood of our country. Besides these, I would suggest whether something might not be done in order to construct and promote home amusements. I confess it would be a difficult scheme to work out, but it might be attempted. An organisation might be formed by which home amusements might be promoted especially amongst the poorer classes, and might be productive of a very large amount of good. I am speaking *ad rem* and to the

point, I would only add that inasmuch as at the present time we all must be aware how prominent and varied are amusements in every form and shape in every class of society, it is the duty of the Church to do all she can to direct them into a right channel, and to promote such as are healthy and profitable.

Rev. Nathaniel Dawes.

It will be in the memory of many present that when S. Charles Borromeo, the Saintly Archbishop of Milan, was found one day playing a game of chess, and his Chaplain asked him what he would do at that moment if the Judgment were to be announced, calmly answered,—"I should quietly finish the game; I know that my recreation is necessary; I began it for the glory of God, and for the glory of God I will finish it, and a man could not be better employed when the day of doom comes." That is the principle which should guide us in our amusements. The difficulty is not whether dancing, the drama, or other forms of amusement are right or wrong; we are all pretty much agreed, I suppose, that, free of abuse, they are things right in themselves. The question for us to consider, especially those who have influence over others, is how far we may use those things lawfully. An old saying of one who was a child of God is often a help to myself, and it may be a help to others, when she said, in reply to the question whether she frequented such places of amusement as the theatre, "I make it the principle of my life that I will go nowhere where I cannot ask my Master to go too." I think that will solve a great many difficulties. I can quite understand how some might go to the theatre and reap much advantage and others might get much harm. There is one other thing I would wish to say: those who have to do with working men should recommend them to go nowhere where they cannot take their wives with them. I have noticed, in France especially, how much the frequenters of the *cafés* there, which is, by the way, a far more rational way of spending their time than in our gin palaces in London, take their wives with them, and bring something of, I will not say the sanctity of home, but at any rate the civilizing influence of the home circle into their evening amusements. We may learn a good deal from France in that matter; they have made amusement much more of a science than we have. The Church of England is now rousing herself to something of her ancient power and her ancient privileges. There is going on day after day what I may call a rectification of frontier; and there is also going on a reclamation of territory, the wide province of science is being brought under the consecrating influence of the one supreme science, and what I venture in all humility to lay before those who have this question to face "The Church's aspect in relation to the amusements of the people" is that they should see that there is in amusement something necessary to man, and, as being necessary to man, therefore having its relation to God; and whatever has relation to God and man surely is a part of the Gospel that we are called upon to preach. I do think this is specially a question for laymen to take up. We should teach them what is the enlightening and controlling principle which should inspire recreation no less than devotion, and they should lay it to heart how they may best consecrate those amusements which are necessary to us as men, and furnish them with safeguards which will make such amusements not only harmless but capable of being entered upon for the glory of God. We know very little in England how to amuse ourselves, and this is to some extent true of the West as well as the East of London. The first speaker to-night alluded to what I may call the slavish toil of fashion, which, in the more refined circles of society, has taken the place of the sanctifying influence

of wholesome and intelligent recreation. But profound ignorance of the science of recreation is the special bane of the less educated classes. If you have noticed as I have carefully done a large train full of London excursionists get out at some watering place, how they rush down to the sea shore not to enjoy the air or the scenery, but what seems to constitute their day's enjoyment, noisy, rough, practical jokes, in which the wit is generally very weak or very coarse, and eating and drinking immoderately; in a word, amusement means, far too generally, the giving rein to the animal passions. It is for us surely—I speak not of the clergy, for the day has gone by when the Church is understood to mean the clergy only—but the laity specially to take this work up as a great and sacred work, and to train the people in the science of amusement, and teach them how they can practice recreation in all its divisions, and do it for the glory of God. There is one point in regard to the drama. I cannot go myself, simply because I have not the time; yet I am able to recognize its power for good as well as evil; and I do say to those who pass wholesale condemnation upon the stage, be careful how you excommunicate any of the senses with which God has endowed man; do not excommunicate the power of vision; do not, when the devil is teaching his lessons of vice to the eye in the streets and homes of our large cities, let us shut out that large field of effective preaching power which is presented to the eye through the drama, and finds readier access to the mind and heart than when addressed to the ear alone.

Rev. Dr. Irons.

I shall best consult the interests of this meeting if I give my six minutes to my successor, feeling that it is quite impossible to treat at all of any of the many subjects which have been brought before us, with even tolerable propriety, in so short a time. I will therefore simply say one sentence;—that I trust the Church of England will never attempt to force one standard upon the people of England, in the matter of amusements; and I believe the Church will always make allowance for the aspirations of some, the spirituality of others, and the youth and spirits of others; and let each of the cases glanced at stand upon its own merits. Thus, and thus only, we shall best consult the needs and proprieties of the numerous questions involved.

Rev. C. Bull.

In the short time that is allowed to me, may I ask what we are to do with our poor people in the crowded cities? where they can have no possibility of having fresh air, and where they are seeking for their amusement, alas! too often, in the public-houses. They *will* be amused and if we do not guide those amusements, they will take them in their own hands and seek them in those places which have been condemned on all sides. There is one point which has been left out this evening which I think is important. In Penny Readings we have an opportunity of gathering the people in families—we have an opportunity of gathering the men, women, and children and we have also an opportunity of getting the more educated of them to amuse their fellows. This I take to be a very important point. You must also remember that we are gradually educating the people through the different schools which have been established in London, and the young people themselves are learning in all well-conducted schools something like intellectual amusement. It is astonishing to find how ready even boys belonging to our schools are to stand up and take their part in Penny Readings, and they

read for the most part with considerable force and with considerable humour. But even the Penny Reading, unless we look to it very carefully, will degenerate into evil. I think it has been the experience of every clergyman who has encouraged those readings, that the tendency of them is to degenerate. People want to have something that they can laugh at. I have always found that when it has been said that the clergy should not guide the amusements of the people, that the clergy should not take their part and their share in those amusements even with the help of the laity, we are sure to have something very objectionable substituted for wholesome amusement. I hope the time will come when we shall be able to have in the winter evenings, even in our schoolrooms, representations from some of the best of our dramas, and when we shall be able to have out-door amusements provided for the people such as they can fully appreciate. There is, I have noticed throughout England, a full appreciation of music, and that is one of those great arts which might be used and sanctified for the amusement of the populace. Rich people are in the habit of going to the theatre, and so long as they do so we may be sure that the poor will follow them. I do believe that a great deal of the obloquy which has been cast upon those who are engaged in the histrionic art is unfounded: let me speak from my own experience, when I say that some of the most indefatigable Sunday School teachers, and some of the best of our district visitors are to be found among those who take their part in the public performances at some of our theatres.

THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 11th.

The Most Reverend the PRESIDENT took the Chair at Ten o'clock.

THE READJUSTMENTS, IF ANY, DESIRABLE IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

PAPERS.

Rev. Canon GREGORY.

OUR ideal of what the relations between Church and State ought to be must depend upon our conception of what the Church is. Without an ideal or standard by which to measure what those relations should be, we cannot determine what readjustments they may need. We must, therefore, begin with a definition.

What is the Church? To this question there are two very contradictory answers. The one would describe it as the general assembly of believers in Jesus Christ, to which was entrusted the care of certain holy books which He had caused to be written for the perpetual instruction and enlightenment of those who believe in Him; and to which was also committed the office of providing whatever was needed for the instruction or edification of its members.

It claims for the Church the care of a revelation from God, but no authoritative power of interpreting it. This it leaves to each one to do for himself as best he can. It further regards the Church as a moral power, pledged to further the promotion of all benevolent and philanthropic designs which may alleviate suffering and misery, or tend to promote the happiness and well-being of mankind; and having for its general object the improvement of the moral tone and manner of ordering the life and conversation of all who profess to guide themselves by its precepts.

Such a Church would differ from a philanthropic club, or a benevolent department of the State, mainly in this, that it would be the authorised guardian of the Book of Revelation. It would lay claim to no supernatural power; it would profess to convey no supernatural gift; it would disown the possession of any special ability to discern or declare what is true; it would repudiate the idea that there was to be found in it anything which honest inquiry and a sound use of reason, coupled with kindliness and thoughtfulness for others, could not supply. Such a Church, it is needless to add, might without violence to itself, be administered by popular assemblies, composed of men of very different views and beliefs—nay, possibly, their very differences might be advantageous, as they would secure more complete toleration and a wider comprehension.

A second answer would be very different from this. It would regard the Church as a creation of Jesus Christ, invested by Him with authority to preserve pure and undefiled the faith which He revealed, and intrusted with the dispensation of supernatural gifts and graces. Upon this hypothesis the Church would be the Divine institution designated in Holy Scripture as the Body of Christ, in which the several "members are united by joints and bands, and have spiritual nourishment ministered to them, and so are knit together, and increase with the increase of God."

It would maintain that to this Body of Christ there is intrusted the power of admitting disciples to the blessings of the new covenant and of excluding from them—of speaking in the name of Him Whom it represents, and of dispensing His Word and Sacraments. It would be the "one Body" spoken of by St. Paul, in which is to be found—"the one Spirit, and the one hope of our calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, Who is above all, and through all, and in you all." It would be according to the Articles of our own Church a visible body, and have power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith. It would, therefore, be the appointed channel through which the promises of the Gospel are ministered to men, and by uniting themselves with it men would enter into covenant with Jesus Christ.

It would be at once the pillar and ground of the truth, and rest upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the head corner-stone, and also the temple in which would be found "the fullness of Him that filleth all in all," and from which would be dispensed the healing gifts of His passion. Of these two definitions I have no hesitation in adopting the latter.

The Church is, therefore, to my apprehension, a living institution, through right of membership with which men receive the gifts and graces of the new covenant, and by exclusion from which they are deprived of much that is essential for spiritual health. How far others, who have not been led to regard the Church as a Divine institution, may through other channels have made up to them the loss thus occasioned, is more than I can say; the Great Master speaks of having other sheep in other folds, and in this announcement I would gladly read a promise of acceptance for many now lying outside the visible fold.

Taking this definition of the Church, we have to consider what ought to be its relations to the State. It is quite possible that the members of the Church and of the State may consist of the selfsame persons; but, even when such is the case, the ordering of what relates to the Church and to the State would not rest in the same hands. For, as the Thirty-seventh Article of Religion distinctly says, "Whilst the Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, yet we attribute not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments; but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scriptures by God Himself." The Church has an organisation of its own for furthering the ends for which it was founded by Jesus Christ, just as the State has an organisation of its own for securing the objects for which it exists. The Church has to defend the faith committed to its keeping from the assaults of error and heresy, just as the State has to preserve its territory from the attacks of external enemies or domestic rebels. The Church has to promote the spiritual well-being of its members by every means in its power, just as the State has to further the temporal prosperity of its citizens as far as it can. The objects for which the two organisations exist may often be best promoted by co-operation; but the ends for which they were founded are different—the one has for its aim man's well-being in this world, whilst the other is charged with what relates to his spiritual life, his condition throughout eternity. In like manner the instruments to promote the interests with which they are charged are dissimilar; for whilst the State properly employs physical force, weapons of war and violence, to secure obedience to its commands, the Church is a kingdom not of this world, and, therefore, has to rely upon weapons which are not carnal, but spiritual.

Whilst it is comparatively easy to draw a line of distinction in theory between the functions of Church and State, all experience shows that there is a perpetual inclination to forget such distinctive line in practice. The State has found it convenient to use the organisation of the Church for furthering its ends, whilst the Church has sought to extend its power and influence by employing the earthly weapons which belong to the State. But whether the Church has encroached on the State, or the State upon the Church, the effect has been the same; it has resulted in injury and loss to the Church's real good and life. Temporal interests need not necessarily be injured by the use of improper or unworthy

instruments; but the spiritual interests of the Church necessarily suffer whenever any weapons are employed for their advancement or defence which were not forged in the armoury of the Divine Master. This is explained by the consideration that the standard by which the prosperity of the Church and of the State is to be measured essentially differs; the State prospers when the number of its subjects increases, and when they are wealthy and patriotic; the Church prospers by the conformity of the lives of its disciples to the example of the Great Master, more than by any addition to the number of its professed adherents. The State flourishes by the efforts of active and enthusiastic partisans; the Church can really only be strengthened by the obedient, self-denying labours of saintly members.

Previous to the Reformation the Church in England was perpetually the aggressor. It was disposed to employ the organisation of the State to further its ends, and to use the temporal arm to prevent domestic schisms and to root out errors and heresies. It was content to regard physical force as an allowable weapon for the preservation of spiritual unity and the furtherance of the Christian faith. The consequence of this must frequently have been to substitute external conformity for hearty, intelligent acceptance of the faith. Where suffering followed upon inquiry resulting in conclusions out of harmony with the prevailing belief, men for the most part would be content to take for granted what they were taught, and without examination to adopt what was generally accepted. But generally such acceptance would not be heartfelt, neither would it make them very enthusiastic or devoted. Since the Reformation the course of events has led to a different mode of procedure. The State found amongst its subjects those who were members of the Church and those who were not. The members of the Church for the most part supported the existing order of things, whilst those who were not, favoured changes to which the rulers of the State were opposed. And so the State used the ordinances of the Church as tests of civil obedience. Non-attendance at church subjected a man to fine or imprisonment. Reception of the Holy Communion was made a necessary condition for fulfilling municipal or other offices; a certificate of Church membership was required to qualify a man for holding a commission in the army or navy, or an office in the Customs, or any civil appointment, and so temporal advantages being made dependent upon participation in Church privileges, such privileges ceased to maintain their spiritual character, and were not unfrequently degraded into mere temporal accidents. Unhappily those who bore sway in the Church and State were content to think that the Church could retain its hold upon the country by the influence of its temporal advantages, and though it failed to provide for the spiritual wants of a rapidly increasing population, and hindrances were jealously placed in the path of Church extension and Church efficiency, of religious enthusiasm and special devotion, none of those occupying the seat of authority seemed to imagine that the power and influence of the Church could thereby suffer.

During the last half-century this mischievous connection of Church and State has happily been done away with. Tests for civil purposes have been abolished ; nearly every temporal advantage which the Church possessed over the sects has been removed, and it is a great question whether the chief remaining distinction—the seat of the Bishops in the House of Lords—is a greater help or hindrance to the Church. The Church has now to contend, not for prerogative, but for independent existence. She has now to struggle not for lordship over the sects by whom she is surrounded, but for the retention of the churches and churchyards which, for the most part, her own sons have built or provided, and for the continued possession of endowments which her own sons have given for her exclusive benefit.

Under these circumstances, when the relations between Church and State have been for nearly half a century undergoing great practical modifications, we have to consider whether the whole of them do not need readjusting, so as to adapt their action to the altered circumstances in which we find ourselves. And such a readjustment might, I believe, now be made in a manner which would conduce to the advantage of both Church and State ; by which their ancient union might be upheld, so that the State may be preserved from a complete severance from Christianity on the one hand, whilst on the other the Church may still retain the restraining influences which result from its connection with the State. To effect this, we must draw a clear and distinct line between the spiritual powers which are inalienable from the Church as the Body of Christ, and those temporal accidents which are advantageous for her influence in the world, but which are in no way bound up with her life. For what appertains to the faith, or the administration of the Sacraments, to the ordering of her services, and the regulation of her ritual, the Church has a responsibility of which she cannot divest herself. To permit the State, the powers of this world, to order or regulate any of these would be a virtual abandonment of her claim to be the Bride of Christ, and the acceptance of the office of a State Department as her proper position. To seek the sanction of the Legislature for what the Church in her Convocations has decreed is another matter, and may be well submitted to as a necessary condition of that connection between Church and State which I, for one, should be very unwilling to sever. But with respect to the temporal accidents of the Church, such as those which have been dealt with by acts affecting Episcopal and Capitular incomes, we may fairly leave to be dealt with by Parliament.

The principle on which some readjustments of the relations between Church and State should be made is to be found in a loyal acceptance of the fair claim of the Church to be heard through her own assemblies in all that relates to those directly spiritual interests which were intrusted to her by her Divine Founder. Owing to internal divisions and political exigencies the Church has for some time past been treated as though her Founder had died in 1662, and all that had to be done was to execute as fairly as possible the trusts of His will contained in the existing Prayer-book. It

seems to have been quite forgotten or overlooked that the Church in England of to-day has the same power of making her living voice heard, and the same right to utter it, that she possessed in 1662; and that there would be a moral force in her living utterance which cannot be possessed by conclusions drawn from nicely balanced premises by lawyers, however skilful in their profession. It is not for a moment to be supposed that the Church could not easily and readily settle all her internal disputes, if only she sought to do so by her own inherent authority conjoined with such united action on the part of the State as would be readily accorded if only Churchmen generally would believe in the spiritual organisation of their own Church; if, *e.g.*, they would regard its authority with the same reverence with which the Presbyterians in Scotland look upon their Church. Our difficulties have all arisen from an attempt to adjust ancient formularies to modern practice, which had been largely influenced by the spiritual torpor of the last century and the action of earnest men of a narrow theological school. Such adjustment could only be satisfactorily made by legislation, not by judgments in law courts. For popular feeling rendered it impracticable to revive all that was enjoined by the ancient formularies, whilst any adaptation of such formularies to meet present exigencies became legislation by whomsoever made.

What, then, is needed to secure that internal peace for the Church which is so essential to her welfare, and without which she can never hope successfully to resist the foes by whom she is surrounded? It is that there should be restored to her so much legislative power as is necessary to enable her to fulfil the trusts committed to her by her great Head. Frequent changes in the Church's services are most undesirable; frequent declarations concerning matters of faith and practice would only be mischievous. It is not this that I seek. But that, when questions respecting changes arise, they may be definitely settled; when declarations have to be made, that they may be made by an authority which will be respected and submitted to. The newspapers now teem with declarations and pronouncements made by individual Bishops, which carry such weight as is attached to the individual uttering them, but no more; if, instead of this, we had, much less frequently, a clear and decisive utterance from the Church, speaking through her lawful assemblies, made after mature deliberation, and only when the peace of the Church demanded an authoritative decision, we should have what all faithful Churchmen would in conscience be compelled to respect and observe, even though it might not altogether accord with their own preconceived opinions. To obtain such utterances as may be needed, it is essential that our Convocations should be placed upon a footing that would command more general confidence. Probably the present Lower Houses of Convocation contain a faithful representation of the clergy, but they are not so constituted as to give the feeling that they do so. The unreformed House of Commons largely represented the mind of the country; but aristocratic influences made the mind of the country thus expressed very different from what it has become, now that the mass of the people

are a real source of power. So, though to a much less extent, it might be with respect to Convocation. At present the parochial clergy have only a small influence in the creation of the Lower House of Convocation: in that of Canterbury they elect forty-two members out of 146.

It is sometimes said that before Convocation can be regarded as the mouthpiece of the Church, the laity must have a more direct voice in it—more than they now possess. Surely those who say so must forget the overpowering voice which the laity already have in it, not by the presence of laymen, but by the presence of ecclesiastics who are placed there by laymen, and who are evidently selected because they represent lay rather than ecclesiastical views. The whole of the Upper House of Convocation is nominated by the Prime Minister, who must be regarded as the mouthpiece of the lay voice of the country; and the least observation is sufficient to show that they are selected much more out of a desire to please the laity than the clergy. It now comparatively rarely happens that a clergyman becomes a Bishop who had been previously marked out by his brother clergy as one of their leaders. Then in the Lower House of Convocation nearly all the Deans are appointed by the same representative layman, and the Archdeacons by the Bishops, who are again his nominees. So that in the Southern Convocation, as I have already said, only forty-two proctors out of 146 can be described as the direct representatives of the clergy. It seems to me that the great reform needed in Convocation is a fuller and fairer utterance of the voice of the clergy generally, and not increased power for the lay voice.

Then a second and most obvious reform needed is that the Northern and Southern Convocations should deliberate and vote together. When communications are so easy as they are at the present day, and when it is our special boast that the Church of England is a national Church, it does seem unaccountable that this obvious and much-needed reform has not long since taken place.

And then last, but not least, it is essential that Convocation should have adequate time for deliberation. Last year the Southern Convocation sat twice for four days each time. The Houses of Parliament always seem to take about that time before they get fairly to work. Our deliberations have to be hurried through under a constant sense that time presses, and so time is lost, and much most unmerited obloquy is thrown upon us for what we do, and for what we omit to do. The Convocation of the Church of England ought to sit once a year, and for an adequate time, as the Assembly of the Church of Scotland does. There are always practical questions arising, which the Church's own Assembly ought to discuss, and about which its opinion ought to be known, though we may earnestly deprecate frequent legislation with respect to matters affecting faith or ritual.

In advocating this step my only object has been to promote the spiritual efficiency of that branch of Christ's holy Catholic Church which is established within this kingdom. I am not jealous of the State's fair influence in matters appertaining to the Church, but I

am jealous for the purity and faithfulness of the Church herself. I am anxious to preserve, not to weaken, the ties which bind the Church and the State together in harmonious alliance; and I am convinced that the only way by which those ties can be preserved unbroken is by each fulfilling its own office, and by neither seeking to intrude into the province of the other.

Rev. Canon Ryle.

Readjustment is a somewhat vague expression. It may mean a great deal, or it may mean very little indeed. It may be something as slight as the turn of the screw which brings the lens of the telescope into right focus. It may a sweeping root-and-branch reform. To-day I shall assume that it means resettlement, alteration, and change. In this sense I shall take up the subject.

I begin by saying that all ecclesiastical changes require immense caution. Young men and shallow thinkers demand them impetuously, and see no difficulties. Wise men, who have passed the heyday of youth, see little clouds in the horizon, and remember the Spanish proverb, "Hurry comes from the devil." Changes moreover in the relations between Church and State are peculiarly delicate affairs, and, like matrimony, must not be taken in hand "unadvisedly or lightly." One of the hardest questions propounded to our Lord Jesus Christ concerned "the things of Cæsar and the things of God." The truth is that we never know the consequences to which ecclesiastical changes may lead. We may unintentionally set stones rolling, which will roll we know not whither, and produce results which we never anticipated. "He that moveth stones shall be hurt therewith, and he that cleaveth wood shall be endangered thereby." Let us take care that our changes are practical, discreet, and well-timed.

Nevertheless, while I say all this, I frankly admit that there are times and occasions in the history of every Church when changes and readjustments become a necessity, and must be attempted. There is no handiwork of man so good that, as years pass away, it cannot be improved. Even our cautious Prayer-book says in its preface, "It is but reasonable that upon weighty and important considerations, changes and alterations should be made." There is sometimes as much danger in sitting still and doing nothing as in vigorous action. There are cases in diseases when a surgical operation must be risked, and the life of the patient would be endangered by delay. The generation which is always saying in calm weather, "Why not let things alone?" and the generation which says in stormy weather, "Why not wait for smoother waters?" are both alike wrong. I venture to think the time has come when the relations between Church and State in England must be calmly examined, and, if possible, readjusted. There is an ominous creaking in the engine. Let us see if we can re-arrange it, add some new machinery, oil the working parts, and prevent a break-down.

The precise nature of the readjustments which are "desirable" in the existing relations of Church and State is a very wide and debateable field, and I cannot pretend to discuss all the proposals that are made. With some of them I have no sympathy, and I believe they would be changes for the worse, and not for the better. I shall therefore dismiss two of them with a few remarks, and then confine my attention to one single point, at which I feel strongly some change is gradually becoming a positive necessity.

(1) I begin by saying that I want no change in the relations *between the State and the clergy as individuals.* It may seem almost needless to say this. But I believe some of my clerical brethren have imbibed a notion that they are "sat upon" and snubbed by the State, and are continually fettered and deprived of free action. I cannot moreover forget the reckless assertions with which the country is incessantly deluged by Liberationist orators. People are told not only that the Church of England is a "State Church," but that its clergy are "State-made," and "State-paid," and are mere "creatures of the State." In short our kind friends outside say that we are poor galley-slaves working in chains—that the mark of the collar is on our necks,—and that like Canning's needy knife-grinder we have no proper "sense of wrongs." I need scarcely tell a meeting like this that these assertions are mere platform fireworks, which may amuse children and ignorant people, but are nothing better than waste paper and smoke. They reflect little credit either on those who make them or those who believe them. The truth is, that the clergyman of the Church of England is neither elected, nor examined, nor ordained, nor paid by the State, and that no Christian minister on earth occupies a more independent position than an English incumbent. No pulpit in Christendom is more free than his. In none can a minister speak out all his mind, more fully and fearlessly. So long as a clergyman walks in the old paths of the Articles and Prayer-book,—and those paths are very broad,—so long he may defy any one to touch him, or stop his mouth. That is what I call freedom! When therefore any one tells me, whether Churchman or Nonconformist, that the English parochial clergy "work in chains," and their position needs readjustment, I reply unhesitatingly that he is mistaken. I want no "readjustment" at all. I only wish that the ministers of all Churches were as free as we are.

(2) I go on to say that I want no change in the relations of Church and State, *in the constitution of the Supreme Court of Appeal.* I am content to leave things as they are. I know that in saying this I am opposing the opinions of many zealous Churchmen. But I must as an honest man speak what I think. I appeal to your generosity to hear me patiently, while I explain the grounds of my opinion. In a question like this you will surely admit it is best to hear all sides.

My principal reason for objecting to any change in the Final Court of Appeal is very simple. I am utterly unable to see how you can form a better tribunal. Like every other Judicial Court composed of men, it may not be perfect; but, if it is to be swept away and another substituted, I am at a loss to understand how a more satisfactory

Court can be constructed. It is easy to find fault with an Institution and pull it down, but it is not always so easy to build a better. Where are the constituent parts to come from? Who are to be the new and improved judges? I declare I look over the land from north to south, and from east to west, and I fail to discover the materials out of which your "readjusted" Court of Appeal is to be composed. There may be hidden Daniels ready to come to the judgment-seat, of whom I know nothing. But I should be glad to know who they are.

Will you ask the State to sweep away the present Court of Appeal, and compose one of Bishops only? I am afraid such a Court would never give satisfaction. If there be any one point on which the *Guardian* and the *Record*, the *Church Times* and the *Rock* are entirely agreed, it is the fallibility of Bishops! Each of these papers would tell you that several English prelates are anything but wise and orthodox, and are not trustworthy judges of disputed questions. But if this be the case, what earthly likelihood is there that the whole Church would be satisfied with their judicial decisions?

Will you turn away from the Bishops, and compose your new Court of Appeal of Deans, University Professors, and select eminent Theologians? Again the same objection applies. He that can run his eye over the list of English Deans, or the Professorial Staff at Oxford and Cambridge, and then talk of forming out of that list an unexceptionable tribunal, acceptable to all parties, must be a man of faith bordering on credulity. As to the "select eminent Theologians," I have yet to know who is to have the selection. The very divines whom one school of Churchmen would choose are men whom another school would not allow to be sound "theologians" at all.

The fact is that the favourite theory of those who would refer all ecclesiastical causes to clerical judges, is a theory which will never work. It sounds plausible at first, and looks well at a distance, but it is unpractical. Laymen, and legal laymen, trained and accustomed to look at all sides of a question, are the only material out of which a satisfactory Court of Appeal can be formed. Ecclesiastics, as a rule, are unfit to be judges. We do not shine on the bench, whatever we may do in the pulpit. If there be one thing that Bishops and Presbyters rarely possess, it is the judicial mind, and the power of giving an impartial, unbiassed decision. It is all very well to say that English lawyers, of proved intellect, vigour and long experience, are incompetent to handle ecclesiastical subjects, analyze the language of documents, and weigh the meaning of words in formularies, and that they know nothing about rubrics and Church history, and cannot grasp such matters. But who, I should like to know, will believe this? The immense majority of thinking men in the House of Lords, or the House of Commons,—in the Temple or Lincoln's Inn, —in the City or West End,—in Oxford or Cambridge,—in Manchester, or Liverpool, or Leeds, or Birmingham, or Bristol, will never believe it for a moment, and will think poorly of the sense of those who say such things. As for the unworthy insinuation that eminent English Judges, of spotless character, would ever stain the judicial ermine by deciding ecclesiastical questions in a party spirit, and from impure

motives, I will not condescend to notice it. I pity alike the men who can make such insinuations, and the men who can believe them. My sentence is that it is wise to leave the Court of Appeal alone, and in any event, if we do try readjustment, to let it be mainly composed of laymen. It is my firm conviction that to the lay element in the Court of Appeal in the last thirty years we owe the very existence of the Church of England. If the Court had been composed of Ecclesiastics alone, we should have been ruined by its decisions.

(3) I now turn to the one point on which the relation of Church and State appears to me to require some change and readjustment. The point is one of growing importance, and I venture to think that it deserves the serious attention of all true friends of the Church of England, to whatever school of thought they may belong.

The point which I have in view is this. There is at present, in the relations of Church and State, a conspicuous absence of any organized instrumentality, by which the Church may speak to the State, the opinion of the Church may be represented, and the voice of the Church may be heard. This is a great evil: it is beginning to do harm; it is likely to do more harm. And I believe the time has come when the evil ought to be looked in the face, and some attempt made at "readjustment."

It is evidently impossible for ecclesiastical subjects to receive much calm examination and discussion in the House of Commons. That famous assembly can hardly find time to consider the secular interests of the huge British Empire, with all their endless ramifications at home and abroad. The slaughter of grouse in August is annually preceded by the slaughter of many innocent bills. Moreover the House of Commons naturally dislikes religious questions, or questions involving religious debates. Yet religious questions are cropping up more and more every session. Sometimes they are settled in a hasty and unsatisfactory way. Often they are deferred altogether, like the recent "Four Bishoprics" Bill, or thrust on one side. And really you can hardly wonder. Members often say, "We are ready to do anything for the good of the Church: but how on earth are we to know what the Church really wants?" This is a very sensible and rational question, and so long as the Church has no adequate means of making its wishes and opinions known, I know not how it can be answered.

To speak plainly, the position of the Church is that of a huge dumb animal. We are practically gagged, and muzzled, and debarred from any opportunity of expressing our minds about ecclesiastical measures in Parliament, or subjecting them to quiet deliberation and discussion. And what is the result of this condition of things? Why every now and then some Act is passed about which we, the Parochial Clergy, have never been consulted, imposing on us some new requirements which perhaps we do not like at all, and leaving us no option but either to "resist the powers that be," or else to eat the leek and obey. One year it is a Lectionary Bill. Another year it is a Shortened Services Bill. By-and-by it will be a Burials Bill. At last perhaps it may be a Rubrics Bill. These Bills may be good or bad: that is not the point. The point of my

complaint is, that such Bills as these are passed, without the immense majority of those who are affected by them having any opportunity of considering them or expressing any opinion about them. In short we are treated like children : we have to shut our eyes, and open our mouths, and eat whatever Parliament may please to send us. I say that this is a grave defect in the existing relation of Church and State in England, and one that cries loudly and reasonably for readjustment and change.

It is no answer to all I have just said to point to Convocation. I am certain that I speak the opinions of myriads of Churchmen when I assert that Convocation in its present state does not represent the Church of England. In saying this I disclaim the least idea of speaking disrespectfully of Convocation. It has on its roll some of the ablest members of our Church. Its debates are always worth reading. My contention is simply this,—that, viewed as a representative body, the defects of Convocation, as it is, are patent, crying, rank, and utterly destructive of its usefulness. Divided most awkwardly into two parts, one sitting in London and the other at York, in annual danger of clashing and colliding—with an extravagant preponderance of the official element, the nominees of the Crown and the Bishops—with an absurdly small infusion of elected Proctors, and these elected in a most discordant, anomalous, and heterogeneous fashion,—without one single layman taking any part in its proceedings,—it is simply monstrous to regard Convocation as the mouth-piece or "living voice" of the Church of England. In short, so long as Convocation is what it is, I and many other Clergymen thoroughly dislike grave Church questions being referred to it at all. In any case I protest, and always shall protest, that in its present condition its opinion ought not to be received as the opinion of the Church of England.

What we want, if the Church is really allowed to have a "living voice" about its own concerns in the 19th century, is a Convocation radically reformed, and readjusted to the circumstances of the times, —a Convocation uniting Canterbury and York in one body,—a Convocation in which the official element shall be largely diminished and the elective element largely increased, and that too with a due regard to the representation of *minorities*,—a Convocation, above all, in which the laity shall be represented as well as the clergy, and every diocese shall return a certain number of Lay Proctors, who shall sit, and debate, and vote, side by side with the clergy. Such an assembly, and such only, I believe would deserve to be called the "living voice" of the Church of England. Such assemblies do good in Australia, and Canada, and America, and their proceedings have been eminently marked by moderation and good sense, a result to which none, I believe, have contributed more than the laity. Such an assembly, I venture to think, would do good in our own land.

If any one ask me what the office of such a Reformed Convocation would be, I answer that its main office would be that of consultation, conference and suggestion, but certainly not of legislation. It might become a very useful standing committee for

examining ecclesiastical questions every year, and reporting on them to Parliament. But as to legislative power, it is waste of time to talk of it, because it is quite certain we should never get it, so long as we are an Established Church. An occasional "letter of business," an occasional request to report on some Ecclesiastical measure, an annual license to talk over Church affairs, and make recommendations,—this is about the sum total of the power which any Convocation will ever be allowed to possess, so long as the union of Church and State exists. The laity are wide-awake. Old history is not forgotten. The clock will not be put back. The Act of Submission will not be repealed. The Queen's Supremacy in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, will certainly be maintained. If any sane man expect that Parliament will ever permit Convocation to set up an independent legislation, remove ecclesiastical questions from St. Stephen's, and keep them in its own hands, I can only express my amazement at his simplicity. Unless the English House of Commons alters very much, he is expecting what he will never see.

What good a reformed Convocation would do, is a wide question. I own candidly, I do not expect as much as some people. But I have faith enough to believe that it would do more good than harm. I am not afraid of explosions and earthquakes. The presence of the laity would be an incessant check on rabid, violent and extreme men, and prevent rash and questionable resolutions being passed. At all events a reformed Convocation would enable the opinion of the Church on ecclesiastical questions to be made known. It would give every school in the Church, of any real worth, an opportunity of letting its voice be heard. And, not least, it would furnish an admirable organization for the defence and maintenance of the Establishment.

And here I cannot conclude this paper without raising a warning voice on one point of great importance. Whatever our views may be of the readjustment of the relation of Church and State,—whatever annoyance and vexation we may feel, when we are unable to get our own views carried out,—there is one line of action which I hope the great body of my brother Churchmen of all schools will never be tempted to take up. Let us never be tempted, in a fit of impatience, to "strike," to join the Liberationists, and to go in for Disestablishment. Of all the mistakes we could make, I believe this would be the greatest, the most foolish, and the most suicidal. I pass over the irreparable injury you would inflict on the rural districts, where the "voluntary system" is confessedly a "miserable failure." I dwell rather on the certain fact, that in getting rid of one class of evils by Disestablishment, you would soon find you had saddled yourselves with seven far worse evils than before. If awkward relations with the State chastise us occasionally with "rods," I suspect we should soon find that Disestablishment chastised us with "scorpions."

Ecclesiastical freedom, no doubt, is a fine thing to talk about, and looks well at a distance. But I am greatly mistaken if there be not more real freedom within the pale of the Established Church of

England, with all our anomalies and defects, than in any other Protestant Church in the world. Let us beware how we deprive ourselves of that freedom, in a fit of fretful impatience, because we cannot have all things our own way. Let us mind what we are about, before we say that Disestablishment is "good and desirable." There are times when it is better to "Bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of." There is a quaint but true saying about "getting out of the frying-pan into the fire." The frogs in the fable deposed King Log, as a dull stupid fellow. But they found in the end that they were far worse off under King Stork, who ate them up for dinner. A Disestablished Church must of course have a free and independent Synod, comprising laity as well as clergy. Such free and independent Synod is pretty sure to settle disputed questions in a very slashing cut-and-thrust fashion, and to allow very few differences of opinion. It might prove a very troublesome creature, which, once called into existence, would eat a good deal, and would make no bones of some of our schools of thought, though I know not which would be eaten up last or first. It would probably fit us with clothes so tight that they would be continually tearing. In short Disestablishment would certainly be followed by disruption, and ultimately by the destruction of the Church of England. My own mind is made up, I certainly think the relations of Church and State might be improved. But I am resolved to put up with all the evils of our present position, before I join the cry for Disestablishment, both for the sake of my country and of the Church of England. I own I am a thorough-going Church reformer, and I am particularly anxious to see Convocation reformed; but I am content to wait. I bide my time, I hold that the way of patience is better than the way of Disestablishment.

Rev. Alfred T. Lee, LL.D.

The present anxieties and difficulties of the Church of England arise in a great measure from the excess of life existing within her communion. If she were not an active, living, working body, we should have none of them, or they would be of a totally different character from those which we have to contend with at present. The question before us is, How best can we regulate this superabundant life, so as to give due freedom of action without excess of liberty to those within her pale?

The one necessity of the Church, before which for the moment all particular questions of jurisdiction and discipline must give way, is that of self-government as regards her own internal affairs. A Church, the Clergy and Laity of which have no means of grappling with its successive requirements as they arise, must, of necessity, be a Church of anomalies, and these anomalies will in due season produce discontent and irritation, want of power and spiritual loss. In our political constitution, in scientific matters, in our social life, the old has, of late years, in a great degree, been passing into

the new; but, whilst the power of self-adaptation to fresh circumstances is fully exercised in these cases, it is altogether denied to the Church. The wonder is, not that the machinery here and there has got out of order, and is working in an irregular and eccentric manner, threatening the stability of the whole, but that, under such circumstances, the constitution and vitality of the Church of England have enabled it to pass so little harmed through the searching trials it has been called upon to endure.

But clear indications are not wanting that this state of things can no longer be permitted to continue without extreme danger to existing institutions.

The venerated and learned Prolocutor of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury (Dean Bickersteth) has told us, as the result of his great experience, that our difficulties have in great measure arisen "in consequence of the want of some present living regulating power."*

In the absence of such power of self-regulation, small anomalies in the Church have grown into great ones; difficulties which, if thoroughly investigated in an assembly representative of the whole Church, would have been dissipated altogether, have assumed large and threatening proportions, and the whole system of our Church's work is more or less out of joint because the power of adapting herself to existing wants is denied her.

One of the best ends, then, to which the labours and energies of those who think that a re-adjustment of the relations of Church and State is desirable can be directed, is the earnest endeavour to obtain for the Church this means of self-government. Self-government, be it well understood, to be exercised within certain limits and under well defined restrictions, but to be at the same time a reality such as will make itself felt in every department of her work.

It is admitted on all sides that Parliament, as at present constituted, is no fair representative of the Church Laity; it is not an assembly which will patiently endure the full discussion of Church questions, and hence arises a great danger of immature legislation on such subjects, and consequent discontent when laws so enacted come to be put into practice.

This danger will remain and these results will follow so long as the present state of things is allowed to continue unaltered.

Can no means be found for their removal consistent with the continuance of the union of the Church with the State, due submission to the law, and the rightful exercise of the Royal Supremacy?

I believe there can.

His Grace the President, in his recent letter to Canon Carter, says† :—"Certainly many are of opinion that it would be a very wise step to secure to some perfectly competent body the right

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* "Counsels of Peace for the Church of England," by the Very Rev. the Dean of Lichfield, p. 10.

† "The Church and Law." A letter to Canon Carter, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, p. 26.

of making bye-laws for the ordinary regulation of the affairs of the Church without the necessity of opening a discussion in Parliament on all minor points:" and no one who has carefully considered the question can doubt that the Church has suffered much from the want of the full and fair consideration of each important question as it arose in an assembly of Clergy and Laity representing the whole Church. Great benefits would have arisen if the Educational, the Ritual, and the Burials questions had been openly discussed in such an assemblage as this before any legislation had been attempted respecting them. The real mind of the whole Church would thus have been elicited, and Parliament is not likely to act contrary to that mind when calmly and distinctly enunciated.

In this course, then, I venture to see a legitimate mode of escape from present difficulties without any rupture of the relations between Church and State, or any surrender of the rights and liberties of the Church.

But how can such an assemblage of Clergy and Laity be brought together for this purpose?

We have much of the needful material ready made to our hand.

I. The first step towards it must be to enlarge the present representation of the Clergy in Convocation. Its members must be increased and the proportion of elected to *ex-officio* members so arranged as to make it a truer reflection of the opinion of all classes of the Clergy. This reform, however, is a question wholly for the consideration of the two Archbishops, who have the power to execute it entirely in their own hands. In the Convocation of York, through the action of the late revered Archbishop Longley, this reform has already been in a great measure effected, and his Grace the President, by his recent action in increasing the number of Proctors in the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, has duly exercised his undoubted prerogative in this matter, and has at the same time shown himself fully alive to the practical necessities of the case. Convocation when thus reformed would remain a strictly clerical body, with its constitutional position and its historical traditions the same as now. Both Convocations could meet together when occasion required as a National Synod, whilst retaining all their separate rights and privileges as Provincial Synods, each under its own Metropolitan.

But to obtain a representation of the whole Church a Convention of the Laity is also needed, and how can this be provided?

Diocesan Conferences of Clergy and Laity are now held annually in the majority of English Dioceses. Great would be the gain to the Church if such Conferences were summoned in every Diocese, conducted in the main on the same principles, with a wise allowance for peculiarities of population and position. It is in the power of the Bishops to grant this great boon at once to the Church, and when it is granted it would be a comparatively easy matter for the lay members of each Diocesan Conference to elect fitting representatives to a National Convention, which might thus be

made to represent all classes of Laity in the Church. To these lay representatives might be added by the Crown certain learned and distinguished Laymen, conversant with Church Doctrine and Ecclesiastical Law, to sit in the Convention as members or assessors. Such a practice would be in entire accordance with the custom of the early Christian Emperors, who appointed certain imperial assessors named *Judices Gloriosissimi* to sit in the Ecumenical Councils, and these persons took a leading part in framing and making the Canons promulgated by those Councils. In the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451, many references will be found to the proceedings of such assessors.*

II. As to the means by which a representation of the Laity may first be obtained, I should venture to suggest the following :—

Let the Archbishops, when they issue their mandates to the Bishops of their respective Provinces for the election of Proctors to Convocation, at the same time request the Bishops to proceed in their Diocesan Conferences, on a certain specified plan, to the election of lay members to represent the Laity of the Diocese in the Convention. By this simple and unobjectionable mode the Church of England would become possessed of an assembly adequate to its needs without any infringement of the existing rights of the Crown, Parliament, or Convocation. The Sovereign would remain "over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastical and civil within her dominions supreme." Parliament would retain its full legislative rights of final control. Convocation would still be the constitutional representative of the Clergy; but we should have, in addition, a body representative of the Clergy and Laity of the whole Church, capable of dealing with every fresh difficulty as it arose, and eliciting a full expression of opinion respecting it, whilst debating and considering the best means of its solution. To this assembly, questions of ritual observance, rubrical interpretation, constitution of the Final Court of Appeal in causes ecclesiastical, and such-like matters might be referred. There they would be thoroughly sifted, objections laid bare, all opinions heard, and a worthy decision, it may be hoped, arrived at. By such means the public mind would be instructed, undue excitement allayed, and the just influence of the Church exercised.

Any decision involving a change in the existing order of things, and sanctioned by a majority of the Clergy in Convocation, and of

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* Syn. Chalced. Act. I. (Acta Concil. ed. Rom. 1628, vol. ii.)

P. 44. Συνελθόντων ἐν τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆς ἁγιωτάτης μάρτυρος Εὐφημίας τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ἀρχόντων, . . 'Ανατολίου, . . Παλλαδίου . . κ.τ.λ.

Lat. version : Congregatis in Ecclesia sanctæ ac triumphatricis martyris Euphemiæ *gloriosissimis Judicibus*, &c. (marginal note, "al. Principibus.")

P. 52. Καὶ καθεσθέντων τῶν μεγαλοπρεπεστάτων καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτων ἀρχόντων, κ.τ.λ.

Lat. Et residentibus *magnificentissimis et gloriosissimis Judicibus*, &c.

P. 53. Οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι ἄρχοντες καὶ περιφανέστατοι συγκλητικοὶ εἶπον, κ.τ.λ.

Gloriosissimi Judices et amplissimus senatus dixerunt, &c.

Act. XVI. et ult. ad fin.

P. 431. Οἱ ἐνδοξότατοι ἄρχοντες εἶπον, "Οσα διελαλήσαμεν πάντα ἡ Σύνοδος ἐκύρωσε.

Lat. *Illustrissimi Judices* dixerunt, Quod interlocuti sumus, tota Synodus approbavit.

the Laity in Convention, should be laid before Her Majesty in Council and both Houses of Parliament in the manner proposed by the Bishop of London's Bill for the Revision of the Rubrics in 1874. If within forty days no address should be presented from either House of Parliament, praying Her Majesty to withhold her consent from such scheme, Her Majesty, by Order in Council, should be enabled to give it the force of law.

If some such power were given to the Church to explain and alter her laws according to the changing circumstances of the times, all point would be taken away from the dictum laid down by a distinguished statesman at a recent meeting at Bradford, when he said "that the present Established Church is the only great Institution in the world that has to go on almost without the possibility of reform, since it can be reformed only by Parliament, and Parliament is not a body that can carry any effectual reform." With every possible respect for Mr. W. E. Forster, we believe there is no such necessity for the Established Church going on "without the possibility of reform." If the machinery which has been suggested above were brought into motion, every needful reform could be carried out without the minute interference of Parliament, but, at the same time, with the full sanction of both Houses of the Legislature.

But, whatever mode of action is determined upon, let us be careful not to throw away, in a moment of passing excitement or undue irritation, privileges entrusted, in the Providence of God to the safe keeping of the present generation of English Churchmen. They are attacked, but they can scarcely be said to be in danger, unless the defenders of the fortress themselves betray it into the hands of the enemy. Few there are who will not sympathise with the words of Canon Carter in his first letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "I dread Disestablishment, with its enormous losses, its unknown risks, its terrible probability of the disruption of this great historic Communion."* Nor, in such times as these, should the apt words of Lord Selborne be disregarded, "If sacrilege," said he, "comes upon this land, *let the Clergy at least have nothing to do with it.* . . They might depend upon it that those who were discontented and wished to pull the Church down about their heads would find themselves no better off in any point of view if it were down; they would rather be very much the worse."†

How true these words are will at once be apparent if we consider the special opportunities for spiritual work which the union of Church and State secures to the Clergy of the English Church. Let me briefly summarise a few of them. By means of that union they are protected—

1. In teaching freely the whole Catholic Faith: an inestimable privilege, not to be surrendered except under extreme and dire necessity.

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* "Constitutional Order." A Letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, p. 38.

† Speech at Alton, December 23, 1874.

2. In providing such frequent services and celebrations of Holy Communion with decent and solemn ritual as will suffice for the spiritual needs of their parishioners.

3. In alone holding the position of "the authorised teachers" of Christianity in a parish, with the possession of a freehold and the rights of "a corporation sole" to protect them in the independent exercise of the rights of that position.

4. In enjoying the income arising from the endowments of their several parishes, whereby each is enabled to "reprove, rebuke, exhort" all his parishioners, from the Peer to the Peasant, without fear of their displeasure or dependence on them for support.

5. In the possession by each Incumbent of a territorial jurisdiction within which he has "the cure of souls," so that each has secured to him the right to minister the Word of God and the Sacraments of Christ to every parishioner within his charge.

6. In keeping the arrangements for Divine Service under their entire control, subject, of course, to the rules of the Prayer-book and existing law.

Compare with this the position of any minister under the voluntary system, with uncertain and precarious income, imperious influential laity, and a self-willed congregation: life a continual struggle between the "*res angusta domi*" and the offering up of a perpetual sacrifice to the insatiable demon of popular applause. May we not say to those who would so eagerly persuade us to bring our dearest interests into peril, under the plea that the future of the Church is safe under the guidance of Her Great Head—even though by Disestablishment the present exceptional advantages for spiritual work which we as a Church possess were flung to the winds of Heaven—that reliance upon Providence is no excuse for rashness, no apology for promoting measures subversive of the very foundations of our national life. It is no new temptation, "Cast Thyself down: for it is written, He shall give His Angels charge concerning Thee"; but, when we are asked to apply this suggestion of the tempter to the Church which for 1,000 years has been the mainstay of the spiritual life of the English people, may we not with reverent decision reply, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God?" *

But those who least of all desire any disruption of the existing relations of Church and State see plainly enough that the time has come when, if those relations are to continue, means must be found for giving utterance to the opinions of the Clergy and Laity on all questions which intimately concern the Church's welfare and progress. The vast majority of Englishmen either are members of the National Church or at least desire its prosperity. They wish to see the Church grappling with each want of the age as it arises, and taking her proper place in its solution. This cannot be unless greater freedom is granted to her, and this freedom is quite compatible with a continuance of the union of Church and State.

Englishmen will never allow their Church to sink into a mere

* St. Matt. iv., 6, 7.

creature of the State, neither will they permit the Clergy, apart from the Bishops and the Laity, to exercise an undue influence in her councils. A *modus vivendi* can surely be found between the Charybdis of a rigid Erastianism and the Scylla of a disobedient Priesthood. The great majority of the Clergy will yet rally to the cry *nobis obsequii gloria relicta est*, and the faithful Laity in overwhelming numbers will be found on the same side. The dangers that surround the Church are often greatly exaggerated. In no age has the Church ever advanced, as we are advancing now, without peril and without loss. Let us not be for ever looking on the dark side of things. There is much to cheer if there is somewhat to depress. Difficulties there are. Dangers there are. We doubt it not. But Englishmen are not apt to be daunted by dangers, and there are no difficulties before us which faithful obedience and Christian endurance cannot, in the strength of the Lord, overcome.

ADDRESSES.

Mr. Cecil Raikes, M.P.

I do not wish to go into this question to-day from what I may call the ordinary platform standpoint. It would be wasting your time if I were to attempt to prove that Church and State should continue to be united upon some basis or other, or that the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church would be great national evils. I do not think it is necessary to argue in this assembly whether those are right or wrong who hold that because the Church has privileges she should cease to enjoy them, and because the Church has property she should therefore be dispossessed of that property. I will rather try to go into those points which have been raised by the preceding speakers, and which refer to a certain feeling of uneasiness, which we cannot deny exists both among the laity and the clergy of our Church, as to the present relations subsisting between Church and State. I think that uneasiness is mainly due to a certain haziness of view on the part both of laymen and ecclesiastics. I think there is in some quarters a disposition to regard the position of our Church of England in this nineteenth century in relation with this Christian country, and with our Christian Sovereign, as being analogous with that of the Primitive Church in the midst of heathendom, and dealing with profligate and idolatrous emperors. Those who make this mistake are, however, forgetful of the fact that the province of the State and the province of the Church are absolutely defined by barriers which cannot be overpassed either by policy or act on the part of man. The province of the Church is the domain of conscience. The province of the State is the domain of law. No law which the State is competent to pass can alter the conscientious duty of any man, woman or child. I mean by this that every subject of our State owes the duty of obedience to the law of his country, but that if the State were to take upon itself to alter the cardinal features of religion, any Act of Parliament passed in such a sense and with such an object, would merely be waste paper. No one has in these discussions attempted to deny the authority of the Church in matters of conscience. The Church can rely alone upon the sanction of conscience and the voluntary recognition of her authority. When the Church ceased to be what she was in the first instance—practically, if it may be said with due reverence, a great secret society in the midst of the heathen world—when she ceased to be, in that

sense, an *imperium in imperio*, she Christianised the State; and that brought about an enormous difference in the relations between Church and State. In this country we have gone even a step farther, for not only is the State Christian, but the Church national.

The jurisdiction of the Church and State is co-extensive, because she administers to the religious wants of the whole nation; and when such is the intimate relation between them it is impossible that there should not exist something of a border land in which their precise functions are more or less undefined. Such being the state of things, burning questions are arising; questions, for instance, which refer to the constitution of courts exercising authority in the Church. Some persons desire to see erected in the midst of the Church an assembly resembling that which exists in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and exercising legislative, administrative, and judicial functions. I am bound to say, for my part, that I view such an experiment with very great distrust. The experience of the Church of Scotland does not greatly reassure us on the point; for although in the Scotch nation there is very little difference of opinion in the matter of faith, yet that country has witnessed the most enormous schism that has ever occurred in any religious body. There is in each of the Presbyterian bodies in Scotland the spectacle of an assembly, containing laymen as well as divines, dealing with the highest matters of faith and morals, but notwithstanding the admission of laymen into it, unable to purge Scotland from the imputation of bigotry.

Another illustration is afforded by the Church of Ireland, at present governed by a representative convention, consisting both of clergy and laity. I do not think that that convention can be charged with bigotry or with harshness, but still it is a painful fact that for some years it has been endeavouring to settle the first principles of its own Book of Common Prayer. What is the Church of England to gain by the erection in her midst of a body of that kind? In this country the Sovereign is bound to be a member of the Church; and the supreme government of the Church in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, is vested in a person who is bound to be a member of that Church, and who is consecrated by the highest minister of it for the functions he is called upon to assume. In the Sovereign we have the representative of the laity. That Sovereign is still the supreme arbiter; and, through that court, of which so many hard things have been said, is still the supreme governor in all causes ecclesiastical. The constitution of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council no doubt might be reformed in many respects. For my part, I do not like a court that is summoned *ad hoc*. It should be a court composed of a permanent body of persons, selected on account of their personal fitness as well as their known attachment to the Church, to advise her Majesty in her discrimination of the difficult matters brought under consideration. But the Church has little cause to fear from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, as at present constituted, so far as any infringement of her reasonable liberty is concerned.

With regard to the intermediate court, although there may be some ground for discontent and dissatisfaction on the part of the clergy in reference to some of the circumstances attending the passing of the Public Worship Bill, while there may be some minute fraction of a right to cavil at the appointment of the present judge of that court, inasmuch as that appointment was, in the first instance, purely lay, yet it should be remembered that the judge holds the appointment under the direct sanction of the two Archbishops: that he is their legal assessor and representative, and is entitled to all the confidence he may derive from that position. Of course there are gentlemen who do not agree on that point, but I am not going to wound their sensibilities any further. I am quite sure that the existing difficulties, though they have some substantial foundation, are largely increased by too great a sensitiveness on both sides; and we may all

do good by discountenancing a disposition among very sensitive people to magnify the dangers which exist to Christian freedom. Christian freedom is a noble heritage, but Christian obedience is a high and holy duty. When there is, unhappily, rather too much anxiety shown to maintain the former by occasional disregard of the latter, I think I cannot conclude my remarks better than by quoting a secular poet, whose lines deserve consideration by ecclesiastics as well as by laymen:—

> Obedience is greater than freedom. What's free?
> The vexed straw on the wind, the toss'd foam on the sea,
> The great ocean itself, as it rolls and it swells,
> In the bonds of a boundless obedience dwells.

Earl Nelson.

I do not understand the "if" in the thesis under discussion. Few people could seriously compare the relations between Church and State now and fifty years ago, before the passing of the Reform Bill, the Catholic Emancipation Bill, and the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, without allowing that some readjustment was desirable. The Protestant succession, coupled with the identification of the cause of the Pretender with Roman Catholic aggression, and subsequently the association of socialism and infidelity during the French Revolution, tended to bring the relations between Church and State in this country into so intimate a connection that it was difficult to determine whether the State dominated over the Church or the Church dominated over the State, so identical had their interests become. From the exigencies of the times they worked together in a common desire to keep in abeyance the growing demand for civil and religious liberty and in the maintenance of acknowledged abuses, from a fear that if once any reform were attempted the whole structure would fall about their ears. It is not to be wondered at that such a union was well nigh fatal to both; that the Church lost much of her spiritual life and true independence and became identified in the eyes of the people with the then dominant powers who, on the State's part, had too long delayed the reform of acknowledged abuses. But the time came when the voice of the nation, which the Church in the earlier periods of our history had been wont to lead against their oppressors, of itself asserted its own inherent power. It was then that an age of reality superseded an age of sham; that a true representation of the various interests was demanded; that the old persecuting spirit, based on the attempt to carry out spiritual work by the aid of the temporal sword, was made to bow to the nobler and more truly Christian spirit of the age. From the moment of the success of these principles it was obvious that the old relations between Church and State could not be prolonged without getting miserably out of gear and carrying about with them the seeds of their own decay. And yet even now there are some who are foolishly endeavouring to blind our eyes and their own to the changes that have surely come upon us.

These men, while allowing the necessity of freedom to the Roman Catholic and the Nonconformist, would seek to continue the shams, to suppress all true representation, and to enforce spiritual obedience by the power of the temporal sword in all matters pertaining to the Church. If the Church had continued to act mainly as the Church of the old dominant class and of their immediate dependents; if she had been tempted to maintain a luxurious ease in the midst of the living reality of all surrounding institutions; if she had been content in peaceful obedience to the State to offer the mere formal discharge of her appointed duties, it might have been possible for the old relations to continue undisturbed until such a course of inaction brought about her complete destruction. But by God's

mercy the Church of England has not been content so to lag behind the spirit of the age. She has fully accepted her responsibilities as the National Church of this great people. Though richly endowed, she is not content to rest on her endowments, but by the self-denying labours of her clergy and by the voluntary gifts of her lay people she has exceeded the offerings of the so-called voluntary societies, in her contributions for the education of the people, for the building and restorations of her material buildings, and providing for the extension of spiritual blessings to all the people of this land. By this action she is daily winning back more and more of the so-called alienated classes to her fold. She has manifested a zeal and sincerity which has gone far towards casting off the rusty shackles of past abuses belonging to a time of deadness and ignorance, and as a living part of the constitution, has won for herself a right to participate in those reforms which have been granted with no sparing hand to all the other institutions of the land. Therefore, a readjustment of the relations between Church and State on the old constitutional lines has become an absolute necessity, unless we are prepared, which I am not, for the abolition of those relations altogether.

The spirit which should actuate such readjustment is the same which actuated the reform in our other institutions. The substitution of realities for sham, of freedom for penal restrictions, of efficient work for proved abuses. For example—

1. I, for one, have no desire to do away with the nomination of Bishops by the Crown, but would ask that the old Constitutional security be made a reality, and that the Dean and Chapter should be free to show cause against unsuitable nominations. This demand is strictly on the lines of the Constitution, and has become a necessity now that a Nonconformist may act as her Majesty's representative.

2. I would ask that her Majesty put in use her present powers of summoning the Convocations of both provinces to act as one body, and that permission be given to the Convocations to reform themselves, so that they become indeed what they are acknowledged to be in law—the true representation of the spiritualty.

3. To restore legislative freedom in Church matters it is necessary that a plan be devised by which Parliament may reject or accept, but not amend, measures proposed to them by the spiritualty. In the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act the old independence of the Archbishop's Court was entirely taken away by a casual vote, and it is obvious that in a mixed Parliament a minority vote of Irish Roman Catholics or of political Nonconformists might easily turn the scale and similarly vote out a creed or a sacrament—a state of things which must prove an effectual bar to all future legislative proposals from the spiritualty; and yet, according to the existing laws of the Constitution, it is the spiritualty alone which has power under the Crown to inaugurate reforms in the rites and ceremonies of the Church. A proposal, in a bill presented by the Bishop of London, that measures proposed by the Convocations for legislative sanction should lay on the tables of both Houses in the way that the schemes of the Charity Commissioners now do, to become law or to be sent back for further consideration, would be an effectual remedy. It would, however, be wise for the Convocations to secure the formation of a truly representative body of lay consultees whose approval should be signified before the proposals of the Convocations be laid before Parliament.

4. With the restoration of the free exercise of the Constitutional powers of the spiritualty to inaugurate legislation in reference to the rites and ceremonies of the Church, I should have no objection to the continuance of a purely lay court of final appeal in ecclesiastical causes. But it should be an appeal from the decisions of the old Constitutional diocesan and provincial courts after their modes of procedure have been simplified and

reformed, and should be confined to the proper legal construction of our Church laws.

I have no hesitation in pressing these readjustments of the relations between Church and State. Because (1) they are not demanded for the purpose of persecuting others or for our own aggrandisement, but to enable us more effectually to minister to the varying wants of the different classes; because (2) the relations between Church and State may thus be continued to the sure advancement of the spiritual and social well-being of our people; because (3) they are the only statesmanlike and effectual remedies for all our present troubles.

Mr. C. H. Lovell.

The relations between the Church and the State are a matter of history. They have existed for many centuries in this country, and I think it a very dangerous thing to lay a rash hand on any of them. I therefore approach the consideration of this subject with the feeling of the deepest affection for the Church of England. I regard it as the very best institution in this country. I consider it has conferred the greatest blessings upon the nation, and in any suggestion which I make I merely desire that it should be more respected, more influential, more powerful, and accepted by a larger number of people than it has been at any former period of its history. I regard disestablishment as wholly out of the question upon this occasion. My point is—Can the existing relations between Church and State be in any way improved? If I am asked where I find the relations which exist between Church and State, being a member of the legal profession, you will not be surprised that I have looked at the statute books in order to find them; and I believe I shall be able to show that, so far from the action of the State being tyrannical towards the Church, it has so acted as to promote in the highest degree the benefit of the community. There is a connection between the Church and State in three matters—first, in regard to territory; second, in regard to patronage; third, in regard to discipline. In regard to territory. A parish is that portion of this great country, (almost entirely subdivided into parishes,) which is placed entirely under the spiritual care of one clergyman. It is not three quarters of a century ago since the hand of the State was first called out in order to improve the state of things which then existed; that was in the way of church building and church extension. Acts of Parliament, more numerous than I could count upon my fingers, have since been passed, and I venture to say that nothing has contributed so much to the welfare of the Church in this country, nothing has reconciled the people of this country so entirely to it, so that it may be said at this moment to be more an object of affection to the people of England than it ever was before, than the subdivision of parishes, and the raising up in all the various crowded parts of our empire positions in which the clergy have exercised, as they always do exercise, their genial influence towards the promotion of the well-being of the people committed to their charge. What I suggest then—and all my suggestions will be practical, not theoretical, but capable, as I hope, of being carried out in my lifetime—is this—take the church building Acts and the parishes Acts, consolidate, amend, and improve them; and one improvement which I ask for is, that no tenant for life, no incumbent, may have the power of stopping the introduction of improvements which a competent authority has said to be desirable.

Now I am going to touch a point that I know—seeing so many of the clergy here—they will differ from me upon, in all probability; I speak as a layman—I regard my right to receive instruction in my Parish Church as paramount to the right of any individual man to give me instruction. We have

been told here yesterday and also to-day that there are three schools of thought at least in the Church of England. Supposing that I have, to my great satisfaction, sat for twenty years under the ministry of one of these schools of thought, does it not seem rather hard that without my consent, without my power in any way of resistance, a man of a totally different, or at least so far as they are totally different, a man of one of the other schools of thought is to be put upon me, and I am compelled either (which is a thing I never could do) to reject my Churchmanship and go to a conventicle, or go out of my parish somewhere where I consider I ought not to go? I say, therefore, there ought to be some measure introduced into this Consolidation Act, which, under proper sanction, enables the laity of the Church if they think proper to build and endow a Church where other views than those of the incumbent of the parish may be proclaimed. That is all I wish to say about territorial subdivision. Do that and you will bring multitudes into the Church, and at all events you will satisfy the affectionate members of the Church that justice is being done to them.

I proceed to the question of patronage. I regard it as altogether out of the question to suppose that the Crown and the Prime Minister of this country are going to surrender the right of nominating Bishops. It is disestablishment. But at the same time I entirely concur with Lord Nelson. There is nothing pains me more as an honest man than the farce of sending the name of a Bishop down to the Chapter to be approved. I do not at all concur with the speaker who said that the Crown in its selections has no regard to the spiritual wants of the Church, no regard to the capacity of a man to discharge his duty as a Bishop of the Church. The choice is made in the face of the public, the choice is made by a man chosen by the public, placed in his position by a vote of the public, and I think it is very wrong indeed to impute any improper motives to the Ministers of this country in the discharge of their duty. I think that power ought to be given to buy up patronage by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Remember that tithe rent-charge in this country is about the best class of property in the whole kingdom, and, therefore, any man, who gets into the right to receive the tithe rent-charge, gets the absolute certainty of receiving his income; there is no doubt about that. I do not say that in every case, but in cases in which the population has gone or nearly so, in which there is neither church nor people to minister to, it is a scandal that the receipt of the income should be allowed to continue. We do not want to rob the man of his property; give him the value of his rent-charge, but let the man have the rent-charge who is discharging some duty for it. Then I would absolutely abolish, and I wish the next session of Parliament would absolutely abolish, all dealings in next presentations.

These few measures which I take the liberty of suggesting will, in my opinion, tend more to satisfy the laity than any reform in the House of Convocation. My belief is that we, as practical men, love the Church, and we want the Church made free in order that she may discharge her great duties more and more effectually. There is another subject which is a very difficult one to touch upon; I feel now, seeing so many clergymen present, as if I were in one of our School Board schools talking to the boys there about the best way of administering punishment. It is not at all an agreeable subject, but discipline must be enforced. I consider that the discipline of the Church should, to the utmost extent, be administered by the Bishops of the Church. The less we have of courts of law the better for all parties; and I say, moreover, that if there is any blame here it rests with the Bishops themselves. Their courts have not been interfered with. They can sit as judges in their own courts to-day, to-morrow, or any day, and it appears to me that the clergy generally desire that they should do so. I think I may venture to say that the recent operations that have taken place in the courts of law have very much indeed simplified their duties, if they should think fit to return to the discharge of them.

Remember the Clergy Discipline Act does not require, it only authorises the Bishop, by Letters of Request, to send up a complaint to the Court of Arches. If their lordships do not like the Court of Arches, let them settle the disputes themselves, and I believe ninety-nine cases out of one hundred would never go to the Court of Arches at all.

One thing I may be allowed to say, that, being a lawyer of forty years' standing, I am acquainted with all the procedure in the courts of this kingdom; I knew all the men who now constitute the Court of Appeal when they wore stuff gowns and were behind the bar; I have seen their diligence, their zeal, their integrity, their ability; and to suppose that they would be capable of a malversation of their office is out of the question. Having, perhaps, contributed my share towards the conduct of this litigation, I will venture to say in regard to it that there never was in the history of this country litigation conducted more creditably to both parties. Not one word of unkindness has ever been uttered, not one personality has ever been heard in court. The presiding judge has never had to call the counsel to order in consequence of their transgressing the rules of etiquette and decorum; but great, important, national, and, as we all think, vital questions have been discussed with learning, with ability, with calmness, and discrimination, which leads me to hope that in a little time we shall see the good result of it, and that peace, order, and happiness will prevail. One thing was said yesterday in which I do not at all concur—"You had better amend your doings, for the enemy is at your gates." It is not the custom of English people to be afraid of their enemies. Let them come to the gates; we are ready to meet them. All I ask you to do in regard to reform is, not to do it because you are afraid of Nonconformists, not to do it because you are afraid of anybody, but to do that which is right; in short, "Be just and fear not."

DISCUSSION.

Rev. T. Outram Marshall.

As a young man, and a very young man, unaccustomed to speak at Church Congresses, I feel considerable hesitation in coming forward, especially after the somewhat sweeping assertion just made by Canon Ryle that "young curates" are generally "men of shallow minds." However, as I happen to agree entirely with the sentiments expressed by Canon Ryle on the subject of disestablishment, viewing it as a most serious evil, which should in no way be courted, but, on the contrary, strenuously resisted, perhaps the worthy Canon would be inclined to admit that even young men are not always wrong. A previous speaker has used the words "our National Church." I entirely accept that title for the Church of England, but I would ask leave to say what I understand by it; for on the sense in which that expression is understood very much depends. By "the National Church" then I understand the Church sent *to* the nation, and not the Church sent *by* the nation. Not a Church "of home manufacture," created by Henry VIII., nursed by Edward VI. and the Protector Somerset, and drilled into shape by Queen Elizabeth; but that part of the One Church of Jesus Christ which was sent by Him to this English nation, and which was sent by Him for the purpose of teaching this nation, its kings, and Parliament, and people, all alike, what they ought to believe, how they ought to worship God, and how to live so as to please Him. If, however, this is our idea of the National Church, it is clear that we cannot suffer, and ought not to suffer, this Church of ours to be taught by the nation how to conduct its public worship, or how to manage its own interior discipline. Well, some who feel the force of this truth

very keenly say that if we want to maintain it effectually we must "go in for Disestablishment." I differ from them altogether, and I can say that, having travelled through the length and breadth of the land in my official capacity to attend large meetings of Churchmen for the purpose of discussing this very question, I have found everywhere that what men are asking for is not the destruction of the union between Church and State, but the rectification and readjustment of the relations between the two. I would go further, and say that the first thing we want is not so much the readjustment of these relations (though that is in some particulars necessary) as the real *bonâ fide* observance of the relations which already legally and constitutionally exist. For what is it that Churchmen are asking for now? Is it not that the clergy in their Convocations should have their proper part in all legislation concerning the spiritual concerns of the Church of England, and that the decision of all questions affecting the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England should be committed to courts which have been duly appointed by that Convocation, with the assent of the Sovereign? Is it not that the Church of England should have a real voice (not, of course, to the exclusion of the Sovereign's voice, however it might be uttered) in the election of her chief pastors, and that she who is, the Divinely-appointed steward of the Mysteries of God, should be able to say what is, and what is not, her teaching—what is and what is not her Ritual, and who are and who are not fit to receive her Sacraments? Now all these rights for the free exercise of which we are contending, so far from being in any way inconsistent with the idea of a National Church, are really part and parcel of those rights and privileges which were expressly guaranteed by law to the English Church as an Establishment, first of all by Magna Charta, and afterwards no less clearly by those statutes passed in the reign of Henry VIII. which constituted the "Reformation settlement," and which are still unrepealed. One thing more I would add, and it is this, that every one of these rights is at the present moment freely exercised by the Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland, which is every bit as much an Established body as the Church of England, and in some respects more so. What we want, then, is the real observance of the constitutional relations between Church and State in England as they are guaranteed by law. There are a few points in which those relations need readjustment, as, for instance, by the removal of the penalties of *præmunire*, which are at present attached to the free and real exercise of any choice in the election of bishops. I will not stop to speak of this and other alterations which are needed, but will pass at once to a point which has been urged by a previous speaker—viz., that "we must all obey the law, however much we may desire that the law should be altered." The question is, What is the law? I venture to say that the law of the land is not always the same as the law of the Church. One instance is sufficient to prove this. The marriage law of the land allows divorce *a vinculo*, and has appointed Lord Penzance and others in due succession to carry out its enactments. The law of the Church of England forbids divorce *a vinculo*, and orders the priests of the Church of England to say plainly enough over every couple that they marry, "Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder." If this is not a contradiction I know not what is, and it is not the only contradiction. Those who think as I do hold that laws regulating the worship of the Church of England, or the discipline of clergy and laity (for I would remind previous speakers that "Church Discipline" means discipline to be exercised over the laity as well as over the clergy), must originate in Convocation, and that any laws on these subjects which have not the sanction of Convocation are not really "the law" at all. I will quote the words of a Bishop of Oxford who, if he had lived till the present day, would certainly not be one of those "young men of shallow minds" of whom we

have heard, for he lived and wrote in the year 1688. Speaking of a certain Act of Parliament passed in 1678, he said that "it ought to be repealed because of the incompetent authority by which the law was enacted—it is a law of an ecclesiastical nature, made without the authority of the Church, contrary to the practice of the Christian world in all ages, and indeed to our Saviour's own commission, Who settled all power of government, and especially the legislative (which is the highest act of it) upon the officers of His own kingdom, so that for any other order of men to assume the exercise of any such authority to themselves is no less than to depose Him from His throne by disowning, neglecting, and affronting, His commission to His Catholic Church." The Bishop then continues:—"Neither can it be pleaded that this law was consented to by the Bishops (to their shame) in the House of Lords. For, first, it being an ecclesiastical law it ought to have been antecedently enacted by them, without any lay concurrence; and when they had first decreed it by their own proper authority, then, and not before then, was it lawful for the Parliament to take it into consideration, and as they judged it fit to abet it with temporal penalties. But, secondly, the Bishops sit not in the House of Lords as Bishops, but as temporal barons, and so act there not by virtue of any powers derived from our blessed Saviour, but from the mere grace and favour of the king; and if they themselves should pretend to exercise any ecclesiastical authority in that place they would most scandalously betray, and, as much as in them lies, destroy the very being of a Christian Church, and profanely pawn the Bishop to the Lord. Besides that, lastly, by the law of England the ecclesiastical power is settled in Convocation; so that to enact anything of that nature without their consent is to betray the rights of the Church of England as by law established in particular, as well as of the Church Catholic in general." Nor are we obliged to look back so far for an Episcopal utterance as to the constitutional position of Convocation. The present Bishop of Winchester, in his work on the Thirty-nine Articles (on Article xxxvii.), says:—"Legally and constitutionally the Sovereign, or the Sovereign's government, can do nothing concerning the state of the Church, her doctrines and discipline, without first consulting the clergy in Convocation and the laity in Parliament." Judged by this standard, the Public Worship Regulation Act is neither "legal nor constitutional," and therefore is not "the law." But for the outspoken courage of men like the Duke of Marlborough, the Lords Salisbury, Limerick, Beauchamp, and Nelson, the clergy in their Convocations would not have been consulted at all. When at last they were consulted we know that the Lower House in both provinces declined to accept the measure, which therefore failed to receive the sanction of Convocation. Lastly, the Declaration prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles in the Prayer Book says that—"If any difference arise concerning the Injunctions....the clergy in their Convocations are to settle them." A difference has arisen concerning certain Injunctions or Advertisements—first, whether they are meant to supplant the Church's rubric, or only to supplement it; and, secondly, whether any authoritative copy of them (supposing that they ever were authorised) can anywhere be found. Now this most serious difference has not been referred to the clergy in their Convocations, in accordance with our constitution in Church and State, but has been decided for the present by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, whence arises the present confusion and distress. I will conclude, therefore, as I began, by saying that what we want is not so much the readjustment, as the observance, of the relations between Church and State.

Mr. Sydney Gedge.

After the impassioned oration to which you have just listened, you may not like to plunge into cold water, which is the course I must take; but I will endeavour to speak to the subject given to me, namely, the readjustment of the relations between Church and State. Now it is clear that everybody in a country where there is a constituted State, whether the body be religious or political, must have relations with the State, and we shall best see what sort of changes may be desirable in the relations of the Church of England with the State, if we see what those relations are, and in what respect they differ from, or are similar to, the necessary relations existing between other religious bodies and the State. It is surprising in how many respects those relations are the same, and in how few they really differ. Every religious body must have laws and regulations. Other religious bodies have in the first instance made them for themselves; they have formed some compact which may be proved by written or other evidence. If that compact be violated by any member of that body the terms of it are settled in courts of law, and that compact is enforced by the executive of this country. I will not go into a long disquisition with regard to the origin and progress of the the Church of England; but, at all events, this must be allowed that in the sixteenth century a solemn compact was made modifying the doctrines which up to that time had been held for some years erroneously; the errors were got rid of, certain doctrines and forms were put into a compact, and the nation and the Church being at that time identical, that compact received the sanction of Parliament, and became the law of the land. In the following century, when the nation and the Church we no longer identical, that compact was reconsidered and modified in some respects, and I must confess that I think the Church of England has great cause to regret in many ways the manner in which that compact was then modified, for I believe if a little more Christian charity, a little more Christian toleration and thought for the opinions and views of others on minor points had been shown, instead of there being at the present time nearly one half of the population of this country alien from the Church and Dissenters, at least five-sixths would have been loyal Churchmen. The compact of the Church of England, as then settled, some of us to think too narrow, and I am afraid a great many more think too wide. But the result of any attempt to alter that fundamental compact now, would I fear, instead of widening the portals of the national Church and including in its pale many thousands who agree with it upon essential points, be to narrow the compact and drive out one part of the Church; I will not say which. Therefore I think it would be unwise to touch that compact, but I entirely and cordially agree with those who feel that it is a hardship on the Church of England to be so tied and bound by the chain of the law in many minor points, while in no way can she alter them in order to adapt herself to the varying wants of the present age, which occur in the different dioceses in England, in our colonies and in our missionary stations. That is a power which the Church very much wants. Now, let us consider the difference between the position of the Church in relation to the State, and the position of what we may call the sects or Nonconformist bodies. In the first place, they are governed entirely, as we know, by laws. We also are governed by laws, and the courts of law enforce those laws in all cases. Now, the first difference is this, that with regard to the Church of England the State through the courts decides questions which arise upon offences against our laws. Dissenting bodies are not tried by any special courts. I will not go into the vexed question whether Lord Penzance was rightly or wrongly appointed, or whether he ought to be appointed at all. But you will bear in mind that if the Church of England were a disestablished body, it would not be to a special Judge, it would not be to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, but

it would be to any ordinary Judge, a Vice-Chancellor, for instance, that these cases would go; and instead of having a Churchman who seems to have been appointed by the two Archbishops in a manner which causes question on one side or the other, they might be decided by a Roman Catholic, a Jew, a Dissenter, or a Unitarian. That is just what would take place if, instead of the Church having her own courts, she were relegated to the ordinary courts of law, and I for one do not think that would be any improvement. It may be said—"That is all very well, but it is the existing laws which are recognised by the courts of law, and these other bodies have a right to alter and modify their laws." Perfectly true. With them a majority can alter the law, and some people seem to wish that our fundamental laws could also be altered by a majority of some body—call it Convocation, call it convention, leave out the laity or put them in—it does not affect my argument. All I say is, when we look at the example of those other bodies, we should wish that Heaven may keep us from having our fundamental laws altered by such a body. You have had the example of the Church of Scotland, but I will not take that, because it may be said that the interference of the State caused that disruption. But look at our other Dissenting bodies. Why, for every Dissenting body which existed in the seventeenth century you have at least a dozen now; and why? As life came into each body, the expression of individual opinion was given, and there was a row; the question came to be decided which was right and which was wrong; the majority voted it their own way; the minority went out and there was a schism. That is only what we must expect if the Church of England have conceded to it the right of altering its fundamental laws by the majority of its members. In matters of faith and conscience men will not submit to be bound by the opinion of the majority; and if the majority wants to alter the laws in which they have been hitherto educated and believe, the minority will refuse that the law shall be altered as far as affects themselves, and will abandon all that is dear to them and will go off, and found for conscience' sake a new Church. Then another point of difference is this—the question with regard to the Bishops. Now, considering how we get the man who is the Prime Minister, that he is the man who *par excellence* has the confidence of the country at the time, I think he is the fittest person to represent the voice of the country, in filling the offices of the Church. I am not going to say what changes in the law I would have, but this I do say, that the Church wants adaptability in many minor points, such as this—a clergyman cannot read the 14th chapter of St. Luke instead of the 15th on a particular Sunday, which I think very absurd. We were obliged to have an Act of Parliament to enable us to have a new set of lessons; and there are many such instances—the employment of laymen in the parishes, and the different modes of doing a great number of things which the change in the circumstances of the time may render necessary. I do not think we want one great big convention to do it. I see no reason why we should not have some representative body in each diocese, and to that body I would concede the right which is given to every corporation, even to every school board throughout this country, of making bye-laws for its own regulation in certain minor matters. Only as we do have privileges arising from the State we must clearly in return for those privileges submit to the State having some control over any alterations which are made. I would, therefore, adopt the plan which has been suggested of letting those bye-laws be countersigned, if you like, by the Premier and the Archbishops, and have the force of law after a certain number of days, if there be no objection taken to them. You must remember that no man can join any body without sacrificing some of his individual liberty; and no man can have the privilege, as belonging to the Church of England, of union with the State, without to a certain extent abandoning some of the freedom for which some of my predecessors have so ably contended. You cannot do much so long as you

are alone, and when you begin to combine with others you must give up some of your individual freedom. I freely admit that at the present moment, in some minor points the Church is being hampered by the uniformity which she inflicted upon herself many years ago. The chains which she forged as barriers against Nonconformists, have well-nigh strangled herself. I should rejoice to see that universal uniformity relaxed; I should like to see some means devised by which in the different dioceses we might be able to adapt ourselves to the wants of this or that parish without the necessity of going to Parliament to make a fresh law to enable it. One word more on the general subject of disestablishment. While I hold that disestablishment, which must of necessity be followed by disendowment, would be the greatest national sin of which this country could be guilty, I think the chief danger is in those well-meaning people who fear disestablishment, always talking about it, a thing which is likely to bring about its own fulfilment. Let us rather say "No; we will not have disestablishment. Under no circumstances will we allow God and the Church to be robbed of that which our forefathers provided for them, and we will submit to any deprivation rather than have that great national sin."

The Dean of Chester.

The members of the Congress will have observed how close the connection is that subsists between the discussion in which we were engaged yesterday and the debate which occupies us at this moment. Our thoughts have been gravitating more and more to this point, and if there is to be a readjustment between the Church and State, the readjustment will depend in some way or other upon the formation of a great council of the Church. It is remarkable that two schools of thought have been directing their attention to this very point. So far as this matter is concerned, in general terms, I see no essential difference between Canon Gregory and Canon Ryle. What might have been said upon this subject by the Dean of Westminster I cannot, of course, positively say, although I can, I believe, reasonably conjecture. Allow me to remind the meeting that many years ago the same sense of need of a representative body of the clergy and laity of the Church of England was expressed by Archbishop Whately and Archdeacon Hare; and in mentioning those two names I have been touching—to borrow a phrase from Canon Farrar—some of the sub-dichotomies of the Broad Church party, so called I suppose, because it is not a party at all. Assuming that we all feel the necessity of some Church council, we are, of course, met with this objection, that this prospect is the prospect of a revolution. I may remind you of what was said by the Bishop of Sydney yesterday, that the revolution is already begun. He pointed out to us that in France the revolution had begun when people began to talk about a constituent assembly. Such is our position now. To stand still would be the most perilous course of all. Nothing can be more dangerous than to anchor in a gale of wind upon a shore which is destitute of shelter. The question is how to obtain this great council—how to get the living voice of the Church. Here is our great practical difficulty. I hope Canon Ryle will not blame me if I take exception to some remarks that fell from him in regard to Convocation. I am not calling in question his opinion that Convocation has not the confidence of the country. But to attempt to get at the living voice of the Church, and to form a great Church council without reference to Convocation would be a contradiction of history, and an attempt to do that which is impossible. Convocations, whether for good or evil, are parts of the constitution of the country. The difficulty is how to get a voice out of Convocation, which consists of four different parts. I often read in the newspapers, with great regret, certain criticisms upon Convocation which are

merely criticisms upon the Lower House of Canterbury. We, in the north, often call to mind the fact that Convocation consists of four different parts; and we are sometimes of opinion that the Lower House of Canterbury, although the largest, is not always the wisest. This may be a prejudice of the north; but, so far as I can see, the words uttered by the four sections of Convocation have only been preludes to the great voice of the Church for which we are all listening. Something has been said with regard to the union of the two Convocations of Canterbury and York. It is not a mere sentimental feeling which objects to a fusion of the two. It would be a contradiction of history. But I am not able to see why we might not have combined action of the two Convocations for special purposes, while for other purposes the old historical landmarks are undisturbed. So far as I see, the matter rests with the two Archbishops. I do not, as a member of the Northern Convocation, presume to say anything about the Convocation of the South; but this I very well remember, that we did under our own Archbishop appoint a committee, in the hope that it would be able to meet a committee of the Southern Convocation for the purpose of discussing that new point of departure with regard to the necessity for which there appears to be great unanimity of opinion. The difficulties which have been raised in the south, as far as I can see, are purely technical; and I venture to express a hope that our two Archbishops, in concert with one another, and with the other prelates, will make an arrangement for the early part of next year, by virtue of which members of the Southern and of the Northern Convocations may calmly and quietly, with due regard to those cautions which Canon Ryle has enforced upon us, consider the possibility of some arrangement for the future, which may facilitate the mutual action of Church and State. I now come to another point which excites even more feeling in this assembly—the question of the laity. Canon Gregory has called attention to the fact that, to take the least important matter for an instance, Deans are appointed by the Crown. He has laid stress upon the fact that the clergy who come together in our Convocations have come there by virtue of the action of the Government or of the laity. But I venture to say that this is not at all the same thing as it would be if the laity were brought face to face in debate with the clergy. It is one thing to appoint the clergyman through lay action; it is another thing to send the laity to debate with the clergy, in order that they may mutually instruct one another. I cannot help calling to mind some words which fell from the Bishop of Winchester —viz., that while there is a good deal to be said for the co-operation of the laity in a council of this kind, there is not very much to be said for us, the priests of the Church of England: and, in fact, the most historical way of dealing with the matter might be by means of the Bishops. With regard to this question of the laity, one point to which I wish to call attention is this—that if the laity are, as it were, while the clergy are debating in a comfortable room, to sit out in a verandah and look at the view, until the clergy find it convenient to call them in—this is a kind of position that will not be accepted by the laity. You must give them something to do, and something with regard to which they feel their responsibility, and then they will do it, but not till then. It was said, to my great regret, yesterday that the laity have not been educated for work of this kind. Now, here I must say that we have a great anachronism. We are living in an age when the laity are very different in their relations to us from what they were in the olden times. The laity not educated! Do you remember who was the last Prime Minister of England? Will anyone say there are many clergymen in this room who are better theologians than Mr. Gladstone? Do you remember who, during the lifetime of the oldest man in this room, has done the most in bringing the Gospel home to the hearts and minds of the poor? Is there any clergyman in this room who has a larger experience of practical Church work than Lord Shaftesbury? And will you say that such men are not fit to sit side by side with us, the clergy,

and to debate on equal terms with us? We must not indeed expect too much from Church assemblies. I think it was old Fuller, at all events it was someone who combined a great deal of wit with a certain degree of wisdom, who said that, "No Church council had ever done any good; no, not one." But I imagine the reason Church councils have failed in doing good is, that the members of those councils have not realised sufficiently their personal responsibility. If we debated less and prayed more the Church would be stronger, and our hopes for the future would be deeper. Surely we ought to take this debate as an admonition to ourselves that when we separate from this meeting we are not to forget the serious crisis in which we are living. Surely we must believe that if in obedience to the promise of our Lord we ask for His Holy Spirit that promise will be fulfilled, not only for ourselves, but for the Church to which we all agree in feeling so deep an attachment and devotion.

The Bishop of Grahamstown.

I have only one plea for speaking a word, although with trembling lips, amidst the blaze of eloquence I have already heard, and that is, that I have been for thirty years a member of a non-established Church—a Church not disestablished like the Irish Church, and therefore brought into contact constantly with a mass of what was yesterday called "uneducated low opinion;" a Church, not like the Scotch Church, which has been for a century or two rather sneered at than otherwise by the English Church; and not like the American Church, which I think I may say after having been first abused, was then stroked and patted by the English Church, but one which has had to solve most of the questions which have been mooted to-day, according to the practice which was referred to yesterday—namely, *solvitur ambulando*. Viewing the matter from an outside opinion, it struck me forcibly that what is wanted in the English Church in relation to the State is not so much fresh legislation but a return to the old source from which the force of the law proceeds, and I believe in order to do that no great number of Acts of Parliament are required. What I believe to be necessary is to have a new relation towards the lawyers generally as well as towards the law, and a new relation also, or a new state of feeling, towards the Dissenting bodies by whom we are surrounded. With regard to the law, I need only refer to the American Church as an instance, and to the able work of Judge Hofman, as showing that the position of the whole body of the Church towards the law and the law courts is one of a different kind altogether to that which exists in this country. There is none of the jealousy which I observe here. There is a respectful toleration of differences, far greater than exists in this land, and above all, I believe that what has been laid down as the cardinal rule of Church obedience in this land is one which we, under different circumstances, can scarcely understand. It has been laid down, and I do not say improperly laid down, by the Privy Council that canonical obedience means such obedience only as the law can enforce. Now, I ask if any father of a family looks for such obedience from his sons; if any college looks for such obedience as that from the undergraduates; or if any colonial Churchman would ever dream of limiting his own obedience to his own Bishop by such a rule as this. That rule may be necessary under the existing circumstances of the English Church, but I thank God that it is not recognised in Churches constituted such as those of the province of South Africa. Then, with regard to the dissenting bodies, it is not for me to say here what my fellow Churchmen in England should do, but I must say that our relations towards them are very different to what they are in this country. Peace and harmony subsist between us simply because there is no jealousy of the same kind that there is here. We are

regarded by our fellow Christians of a different communion as a spiritual body; our courts are spiritual courts; our canons are not mere waste paper; they are not a byword for their inapplicability to the circumstances under which we exist; our canons are living canons, guiding our conduct, and are recognised by the courts of the country as such. That single circumstance, and the regarding of our ecclesiastical tribunals as being really spiritual tribunals, and not semi-secular ones, as those of the English Church necessarily are, puts us also in a different relation to them. I think one of the preceding readers of an exceedingly valuable and popular paper spoke of the existence of the Church as being imperilled, but I am sure he only meant by that the existence of the Establishment. Now we have been placed, under the circumstances under which we are, not from any choice of our own, and I would never say one word to assist, or move a single finger to forward the disestablishment of the English Church, but, at the same time, I would rather resign my ministry than again put my neck under the yoke of the Church as it exists in England. What is useful for one is not for another. Let us each abide in the vocation wherin he is called. There is abundance of room for improvement in the English Church; there is abundance of room also for us to work out our position in a more perfect way. Inasmuch as the same excellent speaker I referred to before seemed to dread a change, and quoted a maxim which I believed he derived from the play of *Hamlet* that "It is better to bear the ills we have than fly to others which we know not of," I would remind him that he should have gone on with that quotation, and then he would have seen that there was plenty of room for change:—

> And thus the native hue of resolution
> Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
> And enterprises of great pith and moment
> With this regard, their currents turn away
> And lose the name of action.

The Bishop of Carlisle.

I should not have asked permission to speak for two or three minutes to this meeting had it not been for the tone which, I think, has to a certain extent characterised the debate; but what I intended to have spoken seems to me to have become more necessary from the concluding remarks of the right rev. speaker who has just sat down. The Bishop of Grahamstown has told us that nothing on earth would induce him to put his neck under the yoke of the English Established Church. Now, if that be the feeling of the Bishop's mind, it will tend, I think, to intensify the feeling which I rather feared might be taking possession of the minds of some of you. I feared that you might go away from this meeting with this feeling in your minds, what is to become of this poor Church of England? If it be not reformed, what is to become of it? There is that dreadful Lord Penzance; there is that dreadful Privy Council; there are those dreadful unreformed Convocations; there are those Bishops who are so horribly appointed that the right man never gets named. Although it has happened to some persons as it did to myself, to be nominated by the newspapers long before being nominated by the Prime Minister, still we are told that the Crown has never named a person whom the Church would name if it had the opportunity. Under these circumstances, I should like to speak a few words from the other point of view, which I hope may have the effect of making some of you at least go away from this meeting with the feeling that after all the Church of England is not so bad as it seems, and that there is a great deal to be said for it. Now we commonly speak of the Church of England as the Reformed Church, and whenever the Reformation

is spoken of there is sure to be a tremendous cheer upon one side of the house, and a good deal of "No, no," on the other. I venture to say that the Church of England is a Reformed Church in a sense which has not hitherto had sufficient weight given to it. I say that it has become reformed in the last half-century. I am not so young, I hope, as to come under the canon laid down by Canon Ryle, but I hope, at the same time, I am not so old as to have come to the time of second childhood and mere oblivion; I can remember fifty years, and I invite all of you, my friends—not including the ladies, because none of them will confess that their memory goes back that length—but I ask any of the gentlemen who will confess they can remember fifty years, to go back with me in memory to that time, and to consider what the Church of England was then; and then to consider what it is now, and to say whether it has not been reformed. I beseech you to remember that an institution can be reformed without an act of Parliament, or without any great constitutional change. Suppose a young man has given way to that vice which we were discussing last night—if he gives over that vice and become a temperate and orderly living man, we commonly speak of him as a "reformed character;" but as we have been told over and over again, *usque ad nauseam*, he has not been reformed by act of Parliament, he is reformed by his own good sense and by the grace of God working in him. Now look at two or three points in regard to the condition of the Church fifty years ago, and consider what the state of things is now. Look first at the building of churches. Look at the condition of our old churches which have been reformed or restored, and at the new churches which have been built. Why, positively, reform has gone on with such railway speed that we have got a society established, and I dare say there are members of it upon this very platform, for the protection of ancient buildings. Then with regard to the subdivision of parishes to which the preceding speaker alluded, I heard the Bishop of London say not long ago, that the subdivision of parishes was going on in his diocese with such tremendous rapidity that no man, woman, or child ever went to bed at night knowing in what parish he might wake up in the morning. Then let us go inside the churches. I remember the inside of our churches fifty years ago, and I am not speaking of the question with regard to the buildings themselves. What went on inside the building? I remember the old parish clerk, with sometimes a little boy sitting beside him, with a flute to set the tune. I remember how the people used to go to the churches Sunday after Sunday, and those churches which I had the privilege of attending then were certainly never anything like half filled—yet nobody seemed to think that anything was amiss, and everybody seemed to think all was going on right. In point of fact we were all asleep. Then with regard to other matters of a more public kind. We are told that we want Convocation to be reformed. Well, let it be reformed; although I may venture to say that many of the suggestions concerning reform do not touch our Northern Convocation. We have already been reformed. Our representation of the parochial clergy is upon a very good and common-sense principle, and we do sit in one body together, and, what is more, we admit the ladies to listen to our debates. Therefore, although Convocation may not be all that it ought to be, still considering that it was absolutely dead fifty years ago, so much so that a gentleman who wrote the history of Convocation, Mr. Soames, gives it as an antiquarian history of a body which had existed and might have done good in its time, but he states that it is not at all probable that it will ever be called into existence again. Then we want the laity and clergy to meet together in order to discuss all matters which interest all Christians and all Churchmen. Look at our diocesan conferences. There we have this very thing that we have all been longing for, and those dioceses which which have not got a conference at this present time are the exception and not the rule. Then, once more, look at this Congress. I am not going to pour any

butter down your backs, or to flatter you. I am not going to say what an intelligent body you are, but I say that this Congress is a great phenomenon. Here we have persons brought from all parts of the country, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and we have come together to the best of our ability to discuss those great questions which concern us all. I venture to say there never was a Congress hitherto in which matters have been discussed with such marvellous good humour and such toleration for each other's opinions as they have at this present Congress. I rejoice in it all the more because from certain fly-sheets which went about before the Congress, I confess I apprehended that we were going to have some storms. Look at all these matters together. Look at that exhibition of art which is to be seen not very far from this hall. There we have ten or twelve firms in London represented, and these firms are giving their time, capital, and skill to the production of objects of ecclesiastical art. I know that the ecclesiastical art is altogether a secondary machine, but still it is a great piece of ecclesiastical work and machinery. It has its power. The very existence of such an exhibition proves that a marvellous change has come over the Church of this country, so that it is not now that which it was fifty years ago. No doubt, in one sense, thank God, it is the same, and must be the same. It rests upon the one foundation which no man or evil spirit can change. But looking to the indications to which I have referred, looking still further to the work that is doing, looking to the manner in which the English Church is working in every corner of the country—in the vales of my mountainous diocese, and in the alleys of the great metropolis close by—looking to what is doing now, and comparing it with what was done fifty years ago, I say the Church of England, in the truest, best, and most spiritual sense of the term, is a reformed Church.

Rev. W. Walsham How.

I could wish that I had been called upon before the Bishop of Carlisle, that his bright cheery hopeful utterances might have been the last to rest upon the ears of the Congress, and you must forgive me if for the few minutes allowed me I recall your thoughts to somewhat graver matters. I believe the present relations of Church and State present a tangled and intricate knot, which it will require much skill and patience to unravel; and I should like to point out two things which would, I think, greatly hinder the successful disentanglement. On the one side there is great danger in the restless impatience with which the problem is approached by some, and in the bitter resentment felt and expressed against what is held to be unsatisfactory or oppressive. On the other side there is great danger in the want of generous sympathy with the difficulties and anxieties which are troubling the minds of many good men. In mitigation of the restless impatience I have named I would urge that we must be content with less than the best; that history teaches us that in all ages the Church has had to bear with many anomalies and a large measure of restraint; above all, that the present difficulties and distresses are not the result of deliberate intention or a purpose of aggression, but are the gradual, perhaps inevitable, outgrowth of political changes wrought out during an age of ecclesiastical apathy and slumber. At least the ecclesiastical conscience was slow in awaking, and has only very gradually became fully alive to the consequences, as regards the relation of Church and State, of the political changes I have referred to. On the other side, are not these anomalies and incongruities serious evils? Does it do to make light of them, and to say, 'What has been borne can be borne, and there is nothing new to be complained of'? Ought it not rather to be honestly confessed that, however originating, there are

things in our present relations of Church and State to cause perplexity and anxiety? May not a man, for example, be righteously disquieted at some such things as these:—the possibility of grave doctrinal questions being adjudicated upon by men with no theological training?—the practically unfettered choice of Bishops by the Prime Minister, who at some future time may possibly not be a Churchman? And may I not add (though I am aware I am touching very delicate ground) that it would seem that the framers of the Public Worship Regulation Act (and I do not forget that that Act was in a great measure re-framed in its passage through Parliament) were scarcely alive to the extreme sensitiveness of Churchmen to the least admission or omission which might seem in any degree to compromise the position of the Church in respect of the moderate amount of freedom and self-government she at present enjoys? I believe we do want a careful and gradual readjustment of the relations of Church and State, and not a cutting of the Gordian knot. I believe our very first need is that of *clear laws*, rubrics about which no mistake could be made and no litigation could take place. And for this end I believe we want such an Act as the Bishop of London's Bill, the mention of which has been received so favourably by this Congress. Above all let us disentangle, and not cut, the knot.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 11th.

The Most Reverend the PRESIDENT took the Chair at at Half-past Two o'clock.

THE POSITION OF VOLUNTARY SCHOOLS UNDER THE EDUCATION ACTS OF 1870 AND 1876, AND THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH WITH REFERENCE TO BOARD SCHOOLS.

PAPERS.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT, M.P.

IT is a fact which needs no proving, that we live in an entirely changed condition of things, with regard to the education of the people. My object will be to show what opportunities are still open to the Church, and how they may be used.

I am not going to "cry over spilt milk," nor do I think this the place or the occasion for exposing what I may consider the defects of the Acts which have been passed upon education. I may say generally that looking to the position which, after all changes, the Church still occupies in this country, and the work which she has done for education in days when scarcely anyone else showed any zeal for it, I do not think it can be said that recent legislation has been unduly strained in her interests. Rather, I should say, that any advantage she might have fairly expected, for the reasons just mentioned, over rival systems, has been scrupulously ignored.

The field, if not altogether what Churchman would call fair, is certainly absolutely open, and there is "no favour" shown by the State even to the Church, of whose connection with the State we sometimes hear harsh things said.

The latest Act, though a useful piece of legislation, and likely, as I hope, to bear much fruit if wisely worked, will probably astonish the future historian if he should have his attention called to the acrimonious debates which accompanied its passing: and he will, I fancy, search long before he finds a shadow of justification for the impassioned language in which a typical member of Parliament described it as "the most tyrannical measure passed since the reign of Queen Anne."

Let us consider, first, the field open to the Church; second, the hindrances in her way; third, the possibilities for overcoming those hindrances and doing her great work.

1. The field open to the Church of England is, in the matter of Education, as in other matters, confined by no narrower limits than those which confine the country which we call England and Wales. As her Churches stand, or should stand, open to every parishioner who will enter them, as her clergy are ready, or ought to be ready, to minister to every one who will seek or even who will receive their ministrations, so her schools are open, or should be open, to every child in the country whose parents will commit him or her to their training. This, no doubt, is a bold claim to make; but nothing less will justify the position—I will not merely say of an established—but even (for the two things are not synonymous) of a national Church.

And if to this it be objected that our Churches are not enough to accommodate all the parishioners, nor our schools large enough to educate all our children, my answer is, "No, because we recognise facts; but if the day should ever come when all parishioners should seek the ministrations of the Church, or be ready to send all their children to be taught in her schools, then the Church ought at once cheerfully and thankfully to recognise the practical obligation, which in theory she has never ignored." Nay, I go further, and am ready to confess that the present state of things which we sum up in the phrase "our unhappy divisions," is due in great measure to the imperfect way in which the Church has in past days fulfilled these obligations.

Recognising as I do most thankfully the great efforts which Churchmen have made in the cause of education, I yet am constrained to admit that they have been inadequate and incomplete. And if a wise prescience had enabled our forefathers to foresee the future, if they had provided fully for the wants of their days, and left us only to do our part, I believe every parish might be now in the condition in which many are, of having accommodation in Church schools for every child of school age.

This may be considered, by some, Utopian, but I think it right to say so much, in order to show that I do not shrink from the responsibilities and consequences of the claim I have advanced.

But not only is the field open to the Church a wide one; she has

great advantages for filling at least a great part of it. By the word "advantages" I do *not* mean privileges—for (as I have previously said) the State gives her, at least in this matter, no favour.

But there is this important fact. Every child in the country, of a certain age, *must* now go to school. "Stop," some will say; "that depends upon the will of the local authorities." In one respect it does, *i.e.*, compulsory byelaws cannot be enacted in rural districts without a requisition from each individual parish. But we must not forget sec. 11 of the last Act (1876), which spreads over all vagrant and idle children a net whose meshes are very close, a net spread indeed in the sight of all whom it concerns, but still a net not easy to escape, except by regularity of attendance. I do not propose to go into educational details, because I am to be followed by those who will speak of them with authority. But generally I shall be right in saying that the powers of the State, both central and local, will be enlisted in the cause of driving the schoolboy, let us hope "with shining morning face," let us hope *not* "unwillingly to school."

This is, indeed, an advantage for the Church. Why so? Not because the children are driven into Church schools more than into any other schools, but because the Church has at least done some part of its duty and provided in great part the educational machinery of the country. On this subject a few statistics may be allowed, and though I know they are distasteful to many, they give a foundation for statements, and a sort of court of appeal to which we can refer when we differ on conclusions; for it is I think, hardly enough remembered how large a proportion of the elementary schools of the country are still those of the Church of England.

Take these figures: out of 1,152,389 children in average attendance at school in 1870, 844,334 were in Church of England schools, *i.e.*, more than two-thirds of the whole. Yes; but those were the days before school boards. Well, take the year ending the 31st August, 1876, of which the statistics are contained in the report of the Education Department recently issued; and there we find that while the average attendance of the whole country was nearly two millions, the average attendance in Church schools was 1,217,619, so that all the efforts of all the School Boards, up to that time have not reduced the proportion of Church-taught children much below the former two-thirds.

But if we take it in another form, the opportunities of the Church seem even larger. For of the total number of places provided in elementary schools (3,426,318), the Church provides 2,105,849. Nor can it be justly said that the Church gives an inferior secular education; for whilst there is a remarkable uniformity in all sorts of schools of the amount of grant earned per child, it should not be forgotten that the Church schools earned 13s. 2¾d. a head, whilst the Board schools earned 13s. 0¾d. a head. Wesleyan, British, &c., schools earned 13s. 7¼d. a head; Roman Catholic schools earned 13s. 3½d. a head. And it is only reasonable to suppose that if the last Education Act answers the expectations of its promoters, and the attendance of children increases in places where no School Boards exist, the results attained by Church schools will still further improve.

One more point may be noticed before passing from this branch of the subject. I imagine it would surprise many who have not gone into the practical details of this question (I know it has surprised myself) to find how much is still being done by Church people to meet the growing requirements of our still increasing population.

These are the words of the official report (note to p. ix) :—" The increase in the accommodation in voluntary schools since 1869 has amounted to 1,104,224 places (or 62.52 per cent), while the average attendance has increased by 593,503 (or 55.83 per cent.)." Of this increased accommodation the Church has provided 806,018 places, leaving 298,206 supplied by British, Wesleyan, Roman Catholic, and other voluntary bodies.

And even in the last year of which we have official records, ending August 31st, 1876, we have this remarkable result of the energy of the Church :—597 additional Church Schools were provided, giving accommodation for 96,233 children. With regard to the other denominations of voluntary schools, additional accommodation for 13,921 children was provided; but owing, as I conclude, to the abandonment of small British and Dissenting schools, the number of voluntary schools other than those of the Church of England was diminished by one. So that the net increase of the number of voluntary schools in the year is 596.

2. Turning now to the hindrances in the way of the Church, they may be summed up in one expression—the School Board system. On this point I am anxious not to be misunderstood. I am far from taking up a position of simple and bigoted opposition to School Boards. On the contrary, I am ready to admit that they are in some instances doing a great work, and doing it (so far as they are allowed) well. But what I mean is this : the theory of the Church (as I have tried to show) is that she provides education for all who will come and be taught in her schools; she is not legally bound to do this, but in many places she does it, and, in my judgment, has nobly and wisely determined to do it. But, then, where there is a School Board she is hampered in the following ways. The Board has the control of the public purse, and has only to put on another penny or two upon the rates in order to build as many schools as it pleases. Now, supposing one of the many cases in which Board Schools and Voluntary Schools exist side by side, it is obvious that the subscribers to the latter have a double burden to bear. As ratepayers they *must* pay rates to keep up the Board Schools; as Churchmen preferring Church schools, they must subscribe to these also. Nay, more, the schools themselves which they help to support have actually to pay rates to keep going the Board Schools which are their rivals. This has always seemed to me a refinement of rating cruelty which is not appreciated.

But then it will be said, where there is a School Board with well-built and well-taught schools, why keep up your Voluntary Schools at all ?—why not let all the parish work together as one man in the education field ?

The suggestion is plausible, but no more. For first, whereas hitherto the theory of each parish has been that the school is part of

the parochial machinery, only second in importance to the Church, now the school organisation is sought to be separated from the Church altogether, and the parson of the parish has no more position in the school than the blacksmith or the innkeeper. It hardly needs that I should dwell, before an assembly of Churchmen, on the blow which such a system deals to the position which we still contend for. But further; so long as the Cowper-Temple Clause remains part of the Magna Charta of School Boards, so long must the instruction which they can give be inadequate in the eyes of Church people. Against this unhappy and illiberal compromise I have never ceased to protest; and I venture to think that if any subject but religion were in hand, its provisions would be swept away forthwith. Although every member of a Board, aye, and every ratepayer who has elected them, prefer the Church Catechism as the safest and easiest way of teaching religion to children, yet, because "Irreconcileables" in Parliament raise the "religious difficulty," which scarcely exists elsewhere, School Boards cannot use that venerable document. Nay, so far does this horror of distinctive forms proceed, that I have heard of Board Schools in which the Lord's Prayer is taught in the language of the Authorised Version of the New Testament, and not in the familiar words known to every Christian household found in the Book of Common Prayer.

I say again, what would be thought of an Act of Parliament which should say, "You may teach geology, only avoid any form drawn up by Professor Huxley; you may teach botany, only beware of Sir William Hooker"? So long, then, as this irrational restriction remains, Churchpeople cannot be content with Board Schools.

3. I come, lastly, to the possibilities which the Church has for doing her work; and, first, to prove that my first words about School Boards were honestly said, I will take the case of those places in which Boards exist, and in which the maintenance of Church schools is, or is thought to be, impossible. I would say here, in that which I hold to be the wise spirit of Christianity, make the best of circumstances, and believe that, though you cannot do all you would, yet you can always do something. And so I hope Churchmen will continue to seek election as members of School Boards; that they will pay special attention to the choice of school teachers, on whom (especially in Board Schools) so very much depends; that they will act vigorously on school committees appointed under School Boards. This is a point of importance, on which I may be allowed to dwell for a moment. Good management is the *sine quâ non* of a good school; and it is much harder to get good management for Board than for Voluntary Schools. This assertion I make not on my own authority only. Here is what Mr. Rice-Wiggin, Her Majesty's Inspector for Staffordshire and Derbyshire, says:—*"A marked pre-eminence in efficiency belongs to the schools attached to the Churches of England and Rome, and to those entered as "British." The superiority of these schools in management is equally marked.

* Report of Committee of Council for 1876-77. App. p. 543.

. . . . Board Schools, even where the Boards are composed of persons of higher social and educational position, must, I fear, be expected generally to lack that hearty *personal* interest and watchful care which is the *rule* in the case of Church of England and Roman Catholic Schools, and is the *fact* in the case of the British schools, which I have classed as "satisfactory." This lack of interest is, of course, likely to be greatly intensified in cases where Boards are called into existence against the wish of the electors, particularly in country places, which, under the most favourable circumstances, would have the utmost difficulty in selecting an efficient Board."

Again, the Rev. G. Steele, Her Majesty's Inspector in the Preston district of Lancashire, whose district (be it observed by the way) has been almost entirely supplied with school accommodation by voluntary effort, and who has only one Board School in operation in his district, says, after criticising many defects in management, particularly the inadequate supply of teachers—* "It would ill become me to fail of recognising the disinterested zeal and benevolence, as well as the patient and faithful attention to the requirements of the department, which are so largely exhibited by Voluntary School managers." These extracts will be sufficient to show how great is the need of careful management in the case of Board Schools, and therefore what an opening there is here for voluntary zeal in those places which have been too poor (or too supine?) to retain their own Church schools. But, of course, what I chiefly wish to insist upon is the possibility which the Church still has for doing a great, even an increasing, work, in the education of the people. If what I have said has suggested the principles upon which we ought to contend for the right to do this work, let me by a very few examples, show that it can be done.

We have seen what has been done in one busy district of the north. And let me here remark on the curious discrepancies between the statistics of School Boards in various counties. Yorkshire, with its vast population of 2,500,000, has 103 School Boards having schools belonging to them; Devonshire, with a population of 600,000 (not one-fourth of Yorkshire), has 96 such Boards; Lincolnshire, with a population of 436,000, has 20 School Boards; Norfolk, with a population of about the same, has 62. But, perhaps, the most notable fact is the contrast between north and south. In the north it is commonly thought the Church is weak, whilst she is stronger in the "sluggish south." But what will such theorists say when they hear that Northumberland has only 11 Boards and Sussex 25 (population about the same); Cheshire has only 7, and Essex (with smaller population) 23; and (most remarkable of all) Lancashire, with nearly three millions, has only 14 School Boards; whilst Cambridgshire, with about one-fifteenth of the population of Lancashire, has 18?

But, speaking in the south, let me encourage those of the south, amongst whom my own lot is cast. Take the town of Bromley, in

* Report of Committee of Council for 1876-77. App. p. 584.

this diocese: there Her Majesty's Inspector, Mr. Alington, tells us* that in 1871 there were five school departments under inspection, having 597 children in average attendance; there are now 12 departments, with an average attendance of 1,048. He rightly says that in this parish "voluntary agency has made up very large arrears."

And, lastly, take the town of Ramsgate, also in this diocese. Here the vicar (Rev. R. Elwin) tells me "the requirements of the Education Department have been more than met by voluntary action, by means of a voluntary rate, subscriptions, and grants from national and diocesan societies; and since the Education Act of 1870 we have in one parish built a new infant-school for 350 children, and have converted the old infant-school into an upper boys' school for 170 (fees 9d. a week), and have built a new school (mixed) for the lowest stratum of children, accommodating about 190. This school is under government inspection." In the other parish additional accommodation has also been provided for 200 children (about). So that when what is now in hand has been finished, there will be in Ramsgate accommodation for 1,980 children, provided by the Church of England. There are two other schools in Ramsgate, each holding about 100, of which one belongs to the Roman Catholics, and one is "undenominational," so that of about 2,200 children provided for, the Church provides for 2,000, or 10-11ths.

Those who know Ramsgate know that the quality of the education is equal to the quantity, and I may add that already vigorous measures have been taken for enforcing the compulsory provisions of the last Education Act. I can only hope that the effect of this my last and not worst example may be to show that the Church can still do a great educational work in the country, and, if any are hesitating or desponding, that it may stimulate them to do what others have done.

In sum: avoid Board Schools if you can; where you have them, make the best of them; but do not be content with them alone.

Rev. J. Nunn.

In reviewing the position of Voluntary Schools under the recent Education Acts, we shall find nothing, I trust, to dishearten us, but much to stimulate us to renewed efforts on behalf of religious education.

There is no doubt that our position in this work is much altered since the Act of 1870.

Up to that time every year saw a steady increase in the number of Church Schools. It is possible that with a more hearty encouragement the Church might have proved herself able to provide for the educational wants of the country. But she was hindered in

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* Report of Committee of Council for 1876-77. App. p. 397.

her work, and now the Act of 1870 has in part taken the work out of her hands.

The existing population will very shortly be completely provided with schools. Only in new districts as a rule will the Church be able to enlarge her borders; while there will be danger constantly lest she should be receding from some post already occupied.

The number of Church Schools transferred to School Boards up to the date of the last Blue-Book was 379. This beginning of mischief may prove to be as the letting out of waters.

We may be pointed, however, to the large increase in the number of Church Schools, and in the amount of voluntary subscriptions, since 1869. The number of Church Schools under Government has risen from 6,103 to 10,076, and the voluntary contributions from £317,337 to £550,189. We must not, however, suppose that all this large increase represents new schools and new subscriptions. In great part it is accounted for simply by the fact that many teachers of small Church Schools previously not under Government have obtained certificates either (Art. 47 b. 2) by examination, or (Art. 59) by an inspector's report; and have thus brought their schools into the Government system. We have, in fact, no means of accurately gauging the effects of the Act of 1870 in stimulating Church education. But, though we cannot do this, we may readily sum up the changes effected by that Act in the general status of Church Schools, as seen both in the altered relations of the Government towards them and in the establishment of the rival system of Board Schools.

By the Act of 1870 a complete divorce has been effected between the Government and the religious education of the people.

Formerly, no grant was made to a school except upon the condition of religious instruction being given. Now, the grant is expressly said not to be made in respect of any instruction in religious subjects. Formerly, every pupil teacher in a Church School was required to produce, annually, the clergyman's certificate of attendance to religious duties. Now, it is thought necessary expressly to exclude from a pupil teacher's indenture any Sunday engagement. Formerly, religious instruction might be given at any time. Now, it is regulated by a time table, the only essential condition of which is, that the time allotted to secular subjects be kept intact.

Great efforts have been made by means of diocesan inspection to neutralise the evil effects of this obtrusive ignoring of religious instruction, and with much success. But it is quite plain from the facts elicited in our Diocesan and Training College Examinations that these efforts will need to be redoubled rather than relaxed. It will become more necessary that the clergy should everywhere take an active personal interest in the instruction of scholars and pupil teachers; that they should strengthen the teachers' hands in this part of their work, and train up among the younger clergy a generation of apt catechizers and instructors of youth. We must notice one most hopeful fact. We have still the training of the bulk of the teachers in our hands.

We pass on to consider our pecuniary position as regards the Government. No new building grants can now be obtained. This need not be regretted.

Let us observe that Churchmen must now be ready to build schools in anticipation of the needs of new districts. Otherwise they may find the School Boards before them. Apathetic Churchmen should be reminded that the erection of a Board School in a parish will not relieve them from the necessity of building a Sunday School.

With regard to school maintenance the Government grant is now fairly liberal in the case of large schools.

The Act of 1870 was professedly founded on a compromise, under which Voluntary Schools were to receive sufficient additional aid from Government to enable them fairly to compete with Board Schools, in lieu of their receiving help from the rates, as at first proposed. In the face of this promise the amount of the grant was most unfairly limited by the Act (sec. 97) to a sum equal to that received from other sources. This restriction was greatly aggravated by the Education Department under Mr. Forster in the notorious Art. 32 a. 1, 2 of the code. This injurious restriction was repealed in the Act of 1876. We owe this act of justice to the present Government.

I regret to be obliged to add that, no doubt by an oversight, a new wrong was allowed to be inflicted on Voluntary Schools by Lord Sandon's Act.

Mr. Forster was allowed to carry the repeal of sec. 25 of the Act of 1870, while sec. 10 remained intact.

The result is, that School Boards can now remit fees in their own schools, but cannot pay them in Voluntary Schools. The child of a parent unable to pay school fees can enter a Church School only through the relieving officer of the Guardians, and under such a test of poverty as they choose to apply. A poor child may find admission to a Board School without any such degradation, and, as a rule, on a far less severe poverty test. This is most distinctly in contravention of the principles of the Education Acts.

Let me add that it will be needful for Churchmen to scrutinise carefully every proposed change in the Educational Code, and to bear constantly in mind the principle of the compromise of 1870, under which the new system of Board Schools was introduced.

We must now address ourselves to the second half of our subject —the duty of Churchmen in reference to School Boards and Board Schools.

To avoid misrepresentation we must carefully distinguish between School Boards engaged in their proper work, and School Boards abusing the powers committed to them. Their legitimate work is to supplement and not to supplant the Voluntary system: to take thought for the poorest and most neglected children, and to carry out, under the large powers entrusted to them, such compulsory measures as may seem advisable.

So long as they are doing this work well we must rejoice in their success: and only envy them their opportunities of doing good.

We conceive it to be the duty of Churchmen not to stand aloof from School Boards but to assist them in every way, and in particular to secure as complete a system of religious instruction as possible in the Board Schools. The religious teaching of the Board Schools we regard as at the best imperfect. We know that in some Board Schools it is altogether wanting. But on the whole, we cannot but be heartily glad that many thousands of neglected children in our large towns, and in remote villages, have been brought under the elevating influence of the school, and in most cases in a greater or less degree under the purifying power of the truths of the Christian faith.

If, then, the School Boards were found only pursuing their proper work, no more need be said. But very many and serious questions arise when we find that the School Board system threatens to injure or absorb the existing Voluntary Schools.

At the time of the passing of the Act of 1870 little was said upon this subject. But we now learn that some of the promoters of that Act regarded the extinction of the Voluntary Schools as a probable consequence of that Act; whilst other persons are bold enough to repudiate the idea that any other result was intended. It is for us to see that the anticipations of false friends, and the hopes of avowed enemies, are falsified by the event.

The aggressions of the School Board system assume a two-fold form. In our large towns some parish is usually found which is insufficiently provided with accommodation. A small theoretical deficiency is enough for the purpose. Or, if there be no deficiency, some Nonconformist school conveniently transfers itself to the Board, and affords the necessary point of attack.

The new school is of course built upon the most approved principles. This is as it should be. It is often built regardless of cost. This is as it should not be; seeing it is a provision for one class of the community at the expense of all. Most commonly the Board School commences by underbidding the Voluntary Schools of the neighbourhood. The numbers in these schools fall off. The income from school fees and Government grant is diminished. Possibly the subscribers to the schools fall off too; some persons being glad of the excuse that they are already heavily rated for education.

To the managers of a school thus impoverished is presently addressed by the School Board the tempting invitation, "Come out and make an agreement with us by a present." Is it to be wondered at that the promise of peace and plenty sometimes proves irresistible.

The condition of affairs is somewhat different in country places. It is no question here of a rival school. The accommodation in the National School is sufficient for the parish. The difficulty is how to maintain the school.

Hitherto, the annual deficiency has been made up by the squire or the clergyman, or by the proceeds of a concert, &c. The question is suggested to many an over-burdened clergyman whether it would not be better to fall back upon a School Board, and thus compel those who will not subscribe voluntarily to do their part in the work

of education. There is little doubt that he will be the chairman of the Board. He will be able to visit his school as usual, even though objection may be made to his taking a part in the instruction of the children, and though, of course, the Prayer Book will be excluded from the school. He will, at any rate, have more time for study, and be free from much trouble and expense.

To the clergy, especially in poor country districts, the temptation to fall in with the School Board system is sometimes great. To the laymen in town or country the question often seems much more simple. Where a School Board has adopted a liberal religious scheme, it may seem to him a comparatively small matter that the Catechism is excluded so long as the Bible is retained. It is true that the school will no longer be a Church School; which is to be regretted. But then it will have as a set-off the substantial aid of the rates. It will know poverty no more. The sunshine of prosperity will beam upon it and it will forget its change of name. And besides, does it not argue a "sweet reasonableness" of temper to yield thus much to our neighbours, and unite with them in a common enterprise?

There is no doubt that many plausible arguments may be discovered why Church Schools should be handed over to School Boards. It becomes, therefore, necessary to put the question very plainly; are Church Schools worth preserving; and, if so, how is it to be done?

The reasons why Church Schools are worth preserving may be thus briefly given:—

1. They afford the only security for the continuance of religious instruction in elementary schools. The instruction given in Board Schools may be altered, cut down, or abandoned, as the result of any triennial election. The best security for the maintenance of the religious teaching in those Board Schools which have adopted it, is in the continued existence, side by side with them, of efficient Church Schools.

2. In Church Schools only can the formularies of the Church be taught, and full justice be done to her younger members.

3. The Church Day School is essential to the proper maintenance of the parochial system. Here is the Church's common point of contact with all the parishioners. Here they may learn something of what the Church is, before their minds are warped by the prejudices of the sects.

4. The Church Day School affords the only opportunity to the pastor of thoroughly discharging his duty to the young of his flock.

5. The Church Day School opens the doors and hearts of the parents to the pastor.

6. Last, but not least, our Church Schools provide for the careful selection of suitable candidates as pupil teachers, and for their adequate moral and religious training in the most critical period of their lives.

These reasons appear to me to be conclusive. It is true that the day school is not always made as useful as it ought to be. But a clergyman is much to be pitied who has not this means of usefulness

afforded to him. A day school is as much an instrument of spiritual usefulness as a Scripture reader, a Bible woman, or a mission.

Shall we make great exertions to maintain such agencies as these, but abandon our schools, without an effort to retain them? But then how is it to be done in the face of the difficulties already referred to?

Only by the same means as have been employed before; by labour, and pains, and self-denial.

The same enthusiasm and liberality that built the schools can support them and endow them, if necessary. But there must be no hesitation.

If the clergy speak of the possession of a day school as a doubtful advantage, it can hardly be expected that the laity will be very anxious to secure it to them. If scholars and pupil teachers are uncared for by the clergy, and untaught in the elements of the Christian faith, can we wonder if men fail to rally at the cry of "Church principles"?

Our spiritual rulers will need to give us no uncertain watchword. They must let both clergy and laity know what is expected of them. And we must take such practical steps to secure our position as experience proves to be of service. I have no panacea to offer, and yet one or two suggestions may be made.

Do not seek to compete in cheap fees with Board Schools. Make your schools as nearly self-supporting as possible. We would, as heretofore, embrace the poorest children within our care. If this is not possible, our school being undersold, we may at least retain those of them whose parents feel that they ought not to come upon the rates. Let our schools be kept in the highest possible efficiency. This is the chief thing.

In some districts help may be needed from a central fund, like that recently established for the Metropolis. But whatever means the peculiar circumstances of each case may suggest as needful, one object must be kept constantly in view, the maintenance for our children of their sacred inheritance in God's Word, and the formularies of the Church; lest unhappily it should ever come to be said of her, "This Church had the fairest opportunity which ever opened out to a religious community, of training a nation's youth in the fear of God, but she lost it through apathy, through indifference, and niggardliness."

Rather may we "redeem the time," and sowing the good seed with diligence, "joy" at length "with the joy of harvest."

Mr. W. Grantham, M.P.

Seven years have now passed away since the Education Act of 1870 was passed, and sufficient time has elapsed to enable the advocates of the voluntary and of the School Board schools to gauge the strength of their respective systems, and the value of the support each is likely to receive from the public at large. My task to-night is confined to the position of voluntary schools as affected by the

Acts of 1870 and of 1876; and it must be satisfactory to a body of Churchmen, such as I have the honour of now addressing, that I am almost obliged to confine my remarks to schools maintained by the Church of England; for, although the ratio of schools maintained by the Church was as eight to two prior to 1870, that ratio must be considerably larger now, from the number of denominational schools formerly supported by Nonconformists which have been since 1870 handed over to School Boards. Not that I would for a moment underrate the struggles of those schools which have been in a few instances so successfully maintained since 1870, through many trials and difficulties, by Dissenters, and particularly by Roman Catholics; but taken as a whole, there is no doubt that while the Church has increased the support which it previously accorded to its schools, the Dissenting bodies have materially relaxed their efforts, and allowed many of their schools to become absorbed in the new system. The relative position of the voluntary schools with Board Schools, and the way in which they act and re-act on each other, being, then, the subject of our discussion, I cannot but congratulate the Congress that the site for this discussion is the town of Croydon; for there is no town in England in which their respective positions have been so well understood, and no town in which they have re-acted with greater, I might say as great, advantage to each other. And why is it that such has been the case? Herein lies the secret of the advantageous application of School Boards, and of their working side by side in amicable relationship with voluntary schools. It is this: that the friends of voluntary schools and of religious education fought a great fight for supremacy at the first School Board election, and, having won it, inculcated certain principles which took good root and have never since been eradicated. Those principles were based on this: that Board schools were to supplement and not to supplant; and, consequently, after the school census had been taken, and it was well understood what children were to be provided for, schools were only planted in those districts which had no efficient existing schools. On the other hand, as opposed to these principles, and to bring out, as it were, in perfect contrast the principles contended for by the extreme section of Nonconformists, one of the most energetic and useful members of the Board, though representing strongly the Nonconformists' views, advocated, nay, insisted on, the duty of the Board to erect Board schools in every district in the town, however good, efficient, and sufficient were the voluntary schools already there, on the broad principle, which he conceived it his duty to enforce, that all parents should have the option of sending their children either to a Board school or to a voluntary school, whichever they chose, and however few were the parents who would prefer the Board schools. The majority of the Board, being composed of men determined to see the Act carried out in accordance with the principles on which it is framed, set their faces against such views; and, as a justification, found that the voluntary school in the district particularly aimed at carried off for two years, at least, in succession, the highest prizes in the annual competition open to all scholars in the town—a competition wisely started under

the auspices of the Board for all elementary scholars attending either the Board or voluntary schools. The result of this action has been that there is a healthy competition between the two sets of schools: the voluntary schools are flourishing and more efficient, while the Board schools are, I believe, as efficient as any, and more efficient than most, schools in England; the members vieing with each other in their efforts to make them a success, and sinking altogether their rival political and religious feelings in their united efforts for this purpose. This, then, is the great principle to be kept constantly in view. The friends of voluntary schools must not only make up their minds to work actively at the School Board elections, but must be always ready with candidates who will pledge themselves not to use the Act as an engine of destruction and absorption of existing schools, but to assist voluntary schools wherever they may be found; and when found worthy of support and fit to take their places in the ranks of efficient schools, those mighty instruments of good, and weapons of destruction (destruction not of life and material wealth, but of ignorance and of sin) assist them in every way they can.

The parishes and towns in which School Boards have been unpopular are those where the majority on the Boards have been actuated by motives of dislike to, or jealousy of the Established Church, and have directly felt it a pleasure, and perhaps a duty, to injure all the voluntary schools they can, by erecting other schools near them; or, if not themselves actuated by these feelings, by allowing those who are so actuated to gain the control of and become the guiding spirits on the Board. In fact the Nonconformists as a body, during the discussions that took place last year on the Act of 1876, avowedly opposed that Act because it would stop the growth of Board Schools; not because it would deteriorate the standard of education, for the education in voluntary schools has been proved by Her Majesty's inspectors to be every whit as good as that in Board schools, but because it would prevent that ultimate absorption of voluntary schools by Board schools, which they believed might ensue throughout the country. Prior to 1870 the Nonconformists, as a body, were content to allow the Church to do the work of educating the masses, making no complaint of the way in which that education was conducted; but after obtaining a weapon with which, by converting it to a purpose for which it was not intended, they hoped to inflict a fatal blow to Mother Church by destroying her favourite offspring, they felt acutely the introduction of the Act of 1876, which gives greater vitality to that offspring and indefinitely postpones the period of its decay. That the feeling of the large majority of moderate men is strongly in favour of maintaining and giving free scope to voluntary schools, is proved by the large majorities that supported the Government when introducing and passing that Act through the House of Commons—the political majority at the back af the Government being only 49 or 50, whereas they obtained majorities ranging from 100 to 220 in the various divisions that were taken upon it.

Having shown, then, the means by which School Boards can be made to work harmoniously, and with mutual advantage to voluntary

schools, I pass on to the next great question which we have to ask ourselves, viz., Ought voluntary schools to be supported? And next, Can they be supported? I answer both in the affirmative. They ought to be supported, because without them religious education would fall to the ground. They are the backbone of religious instruction among the young; for, much as Sunday schools are to be commended, Sunday ought not to be made too much a day of learning and a day of labour. Everything taught in them that has no connecting link with the weekday learning savours very much of the Children's Sunday clothes, which on Sunday night are put on the shelf till the following Sunday morning. Religion, to be deep-seated and natural, must have its seed sown early: it must practically be indigenous—must grow with the growth of the body, and develop with the power of the mind: so that we should look upon it as the natural instinct of the human race, and not something learnt, like the classics, like geography, or like social science. In School Boards there may be no religious teaching at all; but at its best it is obliged to be given subject to such restrictions that it almost always wants sharpness and vitality, for the life has been taken out of it. Doctrine is not, as is supposed, merely another word for sectarian teaching. In teaching the young the creeds are the life of religion; they are like the great anchors which will steady a ship in the wildest storm, or hold her steadfast to the wharf while she is being stored with her cargo, on which perhaps the lives of thousands may be dependent on far distant shores. Although the creeds are the doctrines of the Church of England, and so nominally savouring of sectarianism, they are not proselytizing, and are not taught for the purpose of making converts. Look at the thousands and hundreds of thousands of scholars who have passed through the Church schools up to the passing of the Act in 1870. Half of them, or nearly so, were not members of the Church of England; yet who ever heard of their ceasing to be Dissenters in consequence of the teaching there given them? Religious truth was better engrafted in their minds by their becoming accustomed to define in a tangible form what otherwise would have been all mystery and shadow—religious notions, perhaps, but religion without form and without substance. When, on the other hand, you have members on such an important School Board as that of London who openly proclaim that the first thing School Boards have to do is to unlearn the religious superstitions that children have been taught at their mother's knee, are we not justified in preferring schools where the religious teaching cannot be moulded to suit the wishes of such teachers? On School Boards where no religious teaching is given I can well understand those members who are anxious for it thinking of the words of that beautiful hymn, "Behold I stand at the door and knock":—

O Jesu, Thou art standing
Outside the fast closed door,
In lowly patience waiting
To pass the threshold o'er.
Shame on us Christian brethren,
His name and sign who bear,
Oh, shame, thrice shame, upon us
To keep him standing there!

Again, voluntary schools ought to be supported, because they have faithfully fulfilled and are fulfilling the purpose for which they were introduced. We cannot impress too strongly upon the people of this country that the School Board system was only introduced to complete the work so ably begun by the denominational schools. It was introduced to create an agency whereby schools might be erected and maintained in districts which were too poor to provide them by the voluntary system. That system, successful as it was, was found wanting in two respects: viz., being dependent on the subscriptions of the richer classes, there was a gap in those districts where that aid could not be obtained; and, secondly, it had no power to enforce regularity of attendance. Irregularity of attendance, there is no doubt, is the mother of half the shortcomings in the past education of this country. It was not so much that children did not go to school at all, but many of them went so irregularly that they soon forgot the little which they had learned; and as a proof of this, of all the children brought together in the Croydon Board schools during the first few years, amounting to 2,000 children, and for which apparently there had not been sufficient accommodation, very few could be found who had not been to school at all. The Act of 1870 thus introduced School Boards to fill up this gap, and not to interfere with the old schools: but it still left omitted one great need, and that was the power to compel regularity of attendance in the old schools. This omission has been remedied by the Act of 1876, and we may now consider that provision has been completely made for the efficient elementary teaching of all the children of the poor. Again, another reason why we ought to support them is because of the non-political and non-controversial character of the election of the managers of the schools, and the absence of the necessity of those contests for School Boards, in which great expense is incurred, and still greater strife and ill-feeling is so often engendered. The greatest blot upon the Act of 1870 is the extreme and violent political character that the elections are so constantly assuming. It was not anticipated that such would be the case. Where the only desire has been to supplement existing schools no politics have been introduced, and men of all political and religious shades of mind have worked happily together; but where candidates and their supporters wish to foster Board schools at the expense of voluntary schools, there religious animosity is stirred up. As an example of the way in which it is attempted to make political battle-fields of these contests by the extreme section of the Liberal party, I read in the *Daily News* of September 25 the following paragraph:—"The Liberal party in Westminster have held a meeting and selected a candidate for the vacancy recently announced." And this, too, remember, when the election was to be made by the other members of the Board, under the provisions of the Act of 1876, and not by the ratepayers. As time presses, I must only give one more reason for their support; and that is, because they are carried on far more economically than Board schools. Even now that the Act has been in operation six years, and School Boards have had every opportunity, by their powers of compulsion, of forcing

children into their schools, and so to keep up their numbers and keep down the average of their expenditure, yet the cost of maintenance per child in Board schools is, by the last return, £2 1s. 4½d. per head per annum, as against £1 13s. 5¼d. in voluntary schools; and, while the managers of the latter schools are enabled to educate their children by voluntary subscriptions to the amount of 8s. 8½d. per child, School Boards *take* directly from the pockets of the ratepayers £1 2s. 2¾d. per child. This is beyond the school pence and Government grant received by each school alike. Where there is an unlimited purse to dip into, and the body spending the money has neither to find nor collect it, a greater expenditure—not to say greater extravagance—is sure to creep in; and as ratepayers, many of whom have a difficulty in paying, are taxed so highly now, every effort should be made to keep on foot an agency which is so economical at the same time that it is so efficient. I now turn to the question as to whether voluntary schools can be supported; and I say yes, because I believe the good sense and liberality of the people of this country will in future years provide, as they have provided in the past, the necessary subscriptions to maintain them. In all cases in which there are no Board schools the good sense of the people will provide them, because it is directly to their pecuniary interest to avoid School Boards; while, to avoid any class jealousy that might otherwise arise, I am strongly in favour of giving farmers in country districts, and tradesmen in towns, some interest in the management of schools, by electing some of those classes as members of the various committees appointed to carry out the education required in the districts in which they reside. The only difficulty to be encountered is, that some few ungenerous people, who have the means to subscribe, will not do so as long as they can get others to find the money; and, to punish such men, some will be inclined to spite themselves by throwing everything upon the rates; but these instances are getting fewer; and there will soon be, I hope, on that score but little cause of complaint. In those districts where School Boards exist, no doubt greater difficulties arise, because so many people think they are paying twice over; but no greater fallacy exists than that, and the feeling is, I believe, also becoming less and less every day. Let us test it and see how it stands. They did subscribe formerly to voluntary schools when there was no School Board at work, and they were then content to keep up these schools themselves, knowing that they were supported by comparatively few people. It was, however, found that greater accommodation was required in certain districts; and, as these good people could not provide it, or did not feel called upon to provide it, exclusively themselves, the whole of the extra expense for the new schools is divided rateably among all the ratepayers in the parish or district, leaving the other school expenses just as they were. Subscribers are, therefore, no worse off than before. Let us test it by taking an instance. Assume a man subscribed £10 or £2 or £1 a year according to his position and his means. This was all so much more than was done by his neighbours who gave nothing. Take the case of a man giving £2; now he has to pay a rate of say sixpence in the pound,

and is rated at £100 per annum. This makes his payment £2 and £2 10s., whereas his neighbours has now to pay £2 10s. to the rate, so that the voluntary subscriber only pays now the same sum more than his neighbour as he did before, and in many cases he can afford to pay £4 10s. better than his neighbour can £2 10s. Besides all this his obedience to the call of duty in voluntarily providing for the wants of his poorer neighbours, by maintaining the old schools, stands out as prominently as ever. The readiness to *give* or *subscribe* their money to assist the wants or misfortunes of others, has long been the glorious characteristic of Englishmen, in the same way that centralisation and State provision out of rates and taxes is the characteristic of other nations; and so the voluntary schools spread over the country in almost every parish in the land, are a mighty record of this generous spirit. Long may they remain as emblems of what religious feeling has done for England! and so long as this spirit prevails, you may depend upon it that God's blessing will rest upon us in the future as it has done in the past.

ADDRESSES.

Rev. Canon B. F. Smith.

The position of voluntary schools under the Act of 1870 reminds me of a certain Irishman who received what seemed a fatal blow in a faction fight. He suddenly rose up, to the astonishment of the bystanders, and said, "*I'm not dead, but I'm speechless.*" Voluntary schools may well be dumb-founded to find themselves, in spite of the fears of friends and the hopes of foes, six years after they were supposed to have received their death-blow by legislation, not only still alive, but showing unmistakeable signs of vitality. Taking Church schools alone, we find that in that period the number of them aided by Government has increased 58 per cent., their voluntary contributors by 67 per cent., the annual subscribers by 55 per cent., the total income 72 per cent., and the Government grant by 83 per cent. Nor is this the full extent of the advance. It is the balance of gain over loss. It covers the loss of 400 schools (or 4 per cent. of the whole) which the Church has handed over to School Boards. Such figures warrant the extension to the whole of England and Wales of the prognostication of Mr. Matthew Arnold, founded on his experience in Westminster. "I feel certain," he says, "that a good many years must elapse before, by natural process, the old type of schools will have expended all the life that is in it, and will perish on that account." But a more remarkable proof of the continued vitality of voluntary schools lies in the additional accommodation now recognised as efficient, which they have provided since 1870, of above a million of places, of which the Church has furnished nine-tenths. We justly admire the vigour with which School Boards have filled up the vacant places throughout the land since 1869. But after all, they only provided for 556,150 scholars; and twice that number of additional places have been provided in efficient voluntary schools in the same period. And to a large extent this additional accommodation must be due to additional buildings. Now, it is one thing to maintain schools already established; men will sometimes fling good money after bad, rather than confess themselves beaten. But it is quite another thing to embark afresh on the same enterprise when the ground has been cut from under their feet. Nor is this all. It is one thing for

Churchmen to invest their money, as they did before 1870, on the faith that trust deeds would secure the schools they built for the religious teaching in which they themselves believed. But it is quite another thing to expend several millions on buildings after the Act of 1870 has made those trust deeds so much waste paper; and when the schools built to-day may be handed over to-morrow to a fortuitous body of men, forbidden to carry out to the full the intentions of the promoters, and at liberty to use them for a purely secular education, which those promoters would from their souls abhor. This implies a faith of a very high order, at least in the promoters, in the permanent utility of voluntary schools. They must embody some convictions dear to Englishmen. If the principle of the survival of the fittest regulate the struggle of schools for existence, voluntary schools must correspond in some peculiar way to the fitness of things. They must possess some inherent advantages which we shall do well to recognise and cherish—I will not say for the Church's interest, but for our country's good. Of those advantages which voluntary schools possess in virtue of their constitution I will specify but four:—1. They are perfectly free to organise their religious instruction. Not only are they free from the restriction which the Act of 1870 imposes on rate schools, prohibiting the teaching of distinctive formularies, but they are free from the chill penumbra of these restrictions. That undefined spectre which goes by the name of "the spirit of the Act of 1870" does not haunt the deliberations of their managers, waving them back from the debatable border of religious worship and instruction. Their managers have voluntarily associated themselves round a definite religious standard. They can, without internal jealousy or struggle, give effect to those convictions in the education of the school. Let voluntary schools only put this inestimable advantage to its full use. Instead of decrying the laudable efforts of School Boards to organise the best religious education they can in their more divided counsels and under more hampered conditions, let the Church put to full proof the greater facilities she possesses, and she will be conferring a boon on the country, which will not be forgotten whenever her day of reckoning comes. 2. But the freedom of religious organisation will not wholly account for the vitality of voluntary schools. They have, besides, a rock of strength in their theory of management. Mr. Rice Wiggin rightly exacts for managers to be effective that one at least of their number should (1) understand the work; (2) take an interest in its progress; (3) have leisure and the zeal to devote to it; and (4) have some social position. When these are the requirements, we are not surprised that he awards the palm of management in the district to the Church. The managers of voluntary schools have great advantages. They are brought together, not by public election, but by a process of natural selection. They enlist men who could not be induced to go to a poll. They have not to direct the delicate machinery of school management under the glass case of publicity. They can wash their dirty linen in private. Moreover, the tie that connects them with their schools is personal rather than official. It has a large element of what Mr. Oakley well calls "the priceless tie of sympathy." Evidences crop up thick in the Blue-Book how imperfectly the clerk of a School Board can fill the place in the management of a school vacated by the clergyman and his friends. Let, then, the managers of voluntary schools realise the theory of their duties. (1) Let them, in making appointments, go behind testimonials to get at personal character; (2) let them keep up a sufficient and efficient staff; (3) let them effectively check the registration; (4) let them keep their buildings and machinery in good order. And they will fill up the missing link, whose want is felt by Her Majesty's Inspectors where money is most in abundance; and the latter at least will not be the persons to improve them off the face of the earth. 3. Another advantage was conferred by the Act of 1876 on those voluntary schools which are out of

a School Board district when it gave them effective compulsion. In the smaller areas of parishes the Blue-Book is full of confession that compulsion by School Boards is in nine cases out of ten a dead failure. It must be so; men will neither compel themselves to observe the law, nor compel their next door neighbour. It needs a wider area and an external and independent compelling body to bring absentees to school, and to prevent employers using prohibited labour. This the Act of 1876 has supplied in the school attendance committee of the union to those parishes which are not saddled with a School Board. The committee sits at a distance; it is an impersonal body; it contains in the *ex officio* guardians a body of men of independence and position. It can put into operation throughout its jurisdiction without fear or favour the compulsory clauses of the Act of 1876; and, if any parish wish it, bye-laws of its own. And thus, where the compelling powers of the Act of 1870 have hopelessly broken down in small School Board areas, the Act of 1876 has applied a sounder system to parishes not otherwise governed, and their voluntary schools may enjoy the benefits of effective compulsion. 4. Words need not be wasted on the last but not the least advantage attaching to voluntary schools:—viz., their comparative cheapness. They are cheaper to build, cheaper to manage, cheaper to support. Hence have arisen those voluntary rates which have answered so well in the west of England. And this has, no doubt, much to do with the change of mind in North Wales, which rushed precipitately into School Boards, and would now as eagerly escape from them were not retreat cut off. It is a grovelling consideration, but not the less true, that the last line of defence of voluntary schools lies in the ratepayers' breeches-pocket. One word must be said, in conclusion, on the attitude of the Church towards Board schools. I do not envy the man who can look at the work done by School Boards such as that of Croydon and the metropolis, without pride and thankfulness. The name of their parent, Mr. Forster, will be handed down to a grateful posterity, along with those of Bell and Lancaster, of Kay-Shuttleworth, and Lord Sandon. Nor can I understand Churchmen standing coldly by and refusing to lend a hand where their assistance would be welcome in carrying on such public enterprises merely because they are not organised according to their own *beau ideal*. But it is another thing for voluntary schools to commit a happy despatch on themselves. The greatest service the Church can render to School Boards is to maintain their own schools in full efficiency; to hold up before them a pattern of excellence for them to aim at, in those points in which voluntary schools have such special advantages—free religious instruction, good management, regular attendance, and economy. That man must be blind who is not thankful that he lives in a land where the Poor-Rate stands between him and destitution, and it is every citizen's duty to help to make the Poor-Law work. But it would be a folly and a sin for any one to make away with his money and break up his home that he might taste the blessings of throwing himself on the rates, even in the best ordered union in the county. So I am convinced that the Church of the future, nay, the country, will not acquit us of criminal rashness, if for any cause short of absolute necessity, the Church should efface its work in Elementary Education, and fail to turn to the best account those special advantages which she possesses in her own schools, of bringing up the children committed to her care in health, wealth, and godliness.

Rev. F. S. Dale.

The subject of primary education is neither so fresh nor so exciting as it was seven or eight years ago, when we were in the thick of the conflict, and the allied forces of Secularism and Nonconformity threatened the Church.

But, while less exciting, the subject is no less practically important. And, in the first place, we, as Churchmen, shall do well to realise our actual position in the field. It is not one of defeat, but of victory. We were the attacked; and we have not only held our position, but driven back our assailants. There were those who thought that the passing of an Education Act would afford a grand opportunity for undermining the Church. Men who disliked the definite teaching of her liturgy, and men who viewed with jealousy her growing power and prestige, formed an *alliance*—I venture to call it an unholy alliance between misbelievers and Dissenters—whence sprang the National Education League. How formidable that alliance then appeared to many Churchmen, may be a thing forgotten by some of my hearers. But those who were best able to judge at the time, foresaw that the struggle would be a severe one, involving nothing less than the whole question of religious education. And sharp and severe the struggle was. The public meetings, deputations, pamphlets of those days can hardly be remembered without weariness. But look at the actual position of things *now*. The Act of 1870 was passed, and the means of education were secured for every child in the land; but chiefly owing to the manly determination of one Christian statesman, who resolved that no bill bearing his name should be made the stalking horse for irreligion, nor yet afford shelter to the enemies of our Church—I say mainly owing to the noble stand made by Mr. Forster, the attack planned by the League party failed ignominiously, and to-day the Church is as strong as ever, and that not only in the Church, but in the school; fair play was secured to us, and with fair play we are not afraid of competition. But, whether afraid of it or not, competition we must expect. When even the noble self-sacrifice of Churchmen was unable to overtake the ever increasing work, the State was compelled to make further and independent provision; "independent," I say, for I suppose no one will really venture to assert that school rates should have been simply handed over to the Church. At any rate, now the thing is done, and Board schools divide with Church schools the work of education, and supply the acknowledged deficiency.

But upon the whole, especially since the Act of 1876—so wisely conceived, and so ably carried through Parliament, by the present Vice-President of the Council—the Church schools have been placed as far as possible on a fair footing, and saved from disabilities. Our position now is as favourable an one as I think we have any right to demand. What, then, is the Church's duty with respect to this rival system? I answer in a word—*generous co-operation* in our common work. This we are bound to give—1. Because the Church has long been the great friend and promoter of education. She must, then, still speed the good work, even when it has fallen into the hands of others. So long as we can do so without violence to our Christian conscience, we are bound to help forward every agency which tends to enlighten the ignorance all around us. 2. We are called upon to utilise and improve the victory already gained on the side of religious teaching. The nation generally has accepted the principle that no system of education can be recognised which excludes the teaching of our holy faith. This national conviction should be well worked and improved, not only by the Church diligently availing herself of the opportunities afforded in her own schools, but also by exerting all legitimate influence over Board schools and Board school teachers.

But now comes the practical question, How may this *co-operation* be given? I say—

1. By a readiness to serve on School Boards. It is not always pleasant for hard-worked men, or for men of refinement and quiet habits, to expose themselves to all the disagreeables of a School Board election, and to the possible annoyance of Board meetings; but I do feel that, in many cases, good Churchmen ought here to practise the "self-denying ordinance," and not to shirk their responsibilities in this matter. It is, of course, an easy

thing to say:—"I never half liked School Boards. I will take no part in trying to mend that which is essentially bad." But, seeing that we must take things as they are, is it not wiser to try to make the best of them than to indulge in mere dreams about things as they might be?

2. No co-operation is more valuable than a vigorous emulation in our own schools. It is often a great thing to *assume* success—to accept as an axiom that the Church school need not be one whit behind the best Board school. Where the clergyman becomes downhearted, his people pronounce the Church schools doomed, and begin to lose interest, and to withhold their support. Let it therefore, be held as a first principle that in ordinary cases no Church school need succumb. I may just say that, as far as I know, the raising of school fees has, in all cases, been found to work well; and I think it is satisfactory to hear that the London School Board, instead of advancing in the direction of free schools, are proposing gradually to adopt a higher rate of fees. If I may refer to my own parish, we in Dartford, where there are some admirable Board schools, have found in our Church schools that the raising of fees has had a most satisfactory effect. May I venture upon another hint? In these days of palatial Board schools money is well spent in improving the fittings and general appearance of our Church schools. A few additions in the way of pictures and maps are well worth the cost, and tend to make our schoolrooms bright and attractive.

Lastly, it is very important to encourage feelings of personal friendliness between the clergy and the teachers of Board schools. These teachers often come into a parish as entire strangers. A word of kind sympathy, instead of the "cold shoulder," may make all the difference in the relationship between the Board schools and the Church. Many of these teachers are, I believe, quite ready to teach in our Sunday schools. In some cases the Board school may itself be used on the Sunday as a Church school, and the work of religious teaching in the day school be thus strengthened and completed by the teaching of the Sunday school. To sum up in one sentence my own conviction, I should say the Church has still a grand opportunity for work *in the school*. Instead, then, of sensitively drawing within our shell because of the presence of a rival system, let us faithfully and hopefully do our part, and we shall soon find that that part is no inconsiderable one even in the Board schools of our land.

Mr. Sydney Gedge.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 gave a great impetus to the exertions of those who prefer Voluntary Schools to Board Schools, and the Church of England nobly responded to the call by raising in five years a million and a quarter, and earning a Government building grant of £267,000, and increasing the number of Church Schools from 6,382 to 10,046, and the accommodation from 136,500 to 210,000. The number of certificated teachers has risen from 9,600 to 15,000, and of other teachers from 10,700 to 21,400, and by the liberality of Churchmen the annual endowments of Church Elementary Schools have been raised from £45,000 to £95,000. The result is that the average attendance at Church Schools has increased from 844,000 to 1,211,700 children, and the annual Government Grant from £407,000 to £805,000, showing an increase of 3s. 9d. per child. This increase is owing partly to the more liberal provisions of the new code of 1871, which was issued in accordance with the understanding upon which the Act of 1870 was based, and partly to the vigorous efforts made by the school managers to improve their schools.

On the other hand the expense of keeping up these schools is much greater than it was before 1870, and shows an increase of 6s. 6d. per child

per annum, and after making allowance for the additional Government Grant of 3s. 9d. per child, there is a greater deficiency of 2s. 9d. per child to be provided by the managers; and no doubt one effect of the Act has been to diminish the number of subscribers, as many persons being compelled to pay the School Rate are unwilling to subscribe to Church Schools also.

School Boards are said to be mainly answerable for this deficiency, because (1) they have needlessly raised the salaries of teachers, and (2) they charge too low fees.

As to salaries there is no doubt that teachers' salaries are 16 per cent. higher than they were in 1870, but this may be accounted for partly by the suddenly increased demand, partly by the general rise in wages of all classes.

The first cause will probably right itself in time, as increased demand will bring increased supply, and looking at the facts I doubt whether the charge brought against School Boards will hold.

I find that School Boards pay masters on an average £11 more than Church Schools, but then the Church gives a teacher's residence in three cases out of five, and the Boards only in one out of four. It follows that the salaries are about the same and that the Boards have not really overbidden the Voluntary Schools.

With regard to school fees there may be some truth in the charge. It is the natural tendency of all persons and all bodies, including School Boards, when they first set up in business for themselves to try to get on by underselling others. Yet the fact is that the Church has a larger proportion of children than the School Boards have, in her schools, paying a penny a week or less, and has only 5½ per cent. fewer who pay fourpence a week or less.

There is no doubt but that the repeal of the 25th section did handicap Board Schools favourably as against Voluntary Schools in enabling School Boards to remit fees, while parents who want their childrens' school fees paid at Voluntary Schools must go to the Guardians; yet it must be remembered that it is open to the managers of Voluntary Schools to remit the fees if they like, and hitherto they have done so to a large extent rather than that the children should not be educated; but there is no longer any need for this, as the Guardians are now bound to pay the fees of such children, and so nearly all that will be obtained from this source will be clean gain to the managers of Church Schools.

There seem to me to be two modes of making up the deficiency of 2s. 9d. per child.

(1). The effect of the Act of 1876 and of the new code of 1877 will be that the children will be able to earn more liberal grants.

I am informed by those best qualified to speak that this additional grant will probably amount to from 3s. to 3s. 6d. per child, which will more than make up the deficiency.

(2). Church School managers may take a hint from managers of British Schools. These find that there are two sources of loss, namely, infants who earn very small grants, and children of the lowest ranks who can pay only very low fees. Board Schools must admit both these classes. Voluntary Schools need not. British Schools have few infants and charge comparatively high fees. On an average each child attending British Schools pays 3s. 8½d. a year more than children attending Church Schools, and this enables the British Schools to pay salaries which on an average are higher by £15 than those paid by the School Boards.

I would suggest that whenever the circumstances of the neighbourhood render it possible Church Schools should do the same. Get better masters, improve the education, and raise the fees. The Church will thus reach a class of children higher than has hitherto attended her schools, namely, the children of small tradesmen and superior artizans. In the poorest

districts this plan cannot be followed, and there it may perhaps be the best plan to transfer the Church Schools to the Board.

Out of 10,000 Church Schools only 379 have been transferred, and in the whole of the metropolitan district only 17, and I, having been behind the scenes, do not hesitate to say that with perhaps two or three exceptions the transfer of these 17 schools was a matter of absolute necessity.

Let me contrast the state of matters before and after the transfer. The clergyman (and I am giving real instances) had a population of some 5,000 people of whom scarcely any kept a maid servant. He had, before the Act of 1870, with great difficulty raised subscriptions, supplementing them out of his own pocket at a cost often exceeding a tenth of his own limited income. Then came the Act and School Rates. His poor parishioners, themselves only just above the class whose children attend Elementary Schools, could not pay rates and give subscriptions also. He found his School becoming less efficient every day. The deficiency increased and the demand both on his time and money became more than he could meet, and even if he shut up the school, rates and taxes must be paid and repairs effected.

Under such circumstances the clergyman came to the Board imploring them to take his schools, and to do it as quickly as possible before he got hopelessly involved in debt. Well, the transfer takes place, and what follows? In country districts very little difference. The clergyman becomes chairman of the School Board. Those who have cared most about Education, both Churchmen and Nonconformists, become members of the Board, and the school goes on as before under their management and with the same teachers, while everybody in the parish is compelled to pay his fair share of the cost.

In London the old committee with other neighbours interested in education are made managers of the school under the Board. They superintend the education, select the teachers for appointment by the Board, and recommend the fees to be charged.

The clergyman reserves the school buildings for his own use for Sunday School, and on some week-day evenings for parochial purposes, services, &c., and on certain agreed days in the year. All rates and taxes are paid, and all repairs effected, and very often improvements made without expense to him, and a great burden is taken from his shoulders.

But it may be said that it has hitherto been the glory of the Church of England that by her means "to the poor the Gospel is preached," and that I bid you either leave the poor and take in the better classes only, or transfer to the School Board where the religious teaching will not be such as you approve.

I will endeavour to meet these objections.

As to the first no doubt it is the glory and duty of the Church to *preach* the Gospel to the poor, but it is not necessarily her duty to teach their children the three R's. A century ago the Church nobly stepped in to supply a gap, which would otherwise have been left empty, but if the nation had at that time undertaken the elementary instruction of children I doubt whether the Church would have thought it necessary to interfere. Consider the enormous gain it is to the clergyman as a preacher of the Word, that by transferring his school he can set himself free from large claims on his time and money, and devote his whole energies to his chief work of preaching the Gospel.

Let it be understood that I except from my remarks all such schools as the godless ones in Birmingham where no religious teaching is given. To my mind it was not the Cowper-Temple clause which was the blot on the Education Act; the blot was the provision which delegated to the School Boards the question whether there should be religious instruction or not; and every Christian should try to make the London Board system universal. The best way seems to be this: It should be declared to be a sufficient

excuse for not sending a child to school that there is no Public Elementary School within reach in which religious instruction is given. It is commonly supposed that very different laws regulate religious teaching in Board and other Public Elementary Schools, and to illustrate the difference this story has been told me. Scene, a Board School: Time, 11 o'clock in the morning. The schoolmaster asks the boys, "Who was the wisest man the world has ever seen?" A boy answers "Solomon." The next boy shouts out "Solon." "Quite right my boy," says the master. "Take him down! We know nothing about Solomon after 10 o'clock!" A very good story this, but it might as well have been told of any Church School, for the law is the same for both. Religious instruction must be given at the same time in each, and it may be the same, except in one point only, viz., that no religious catechism or formulary distinctive of any particular denomination may be taught in a Board School.

I maintain, nevertheless, that the religious instruction in the London schools is admirable, and if those who call out "no, no" will take the trouble to read the report of July, 1877, of the examination of the 80,000 children who competed for the prizes so liberally given by Mr. Peek, for religious knowledge, they will come to the same conclusion.

For religious catechisms and formularies there is the Sunday School, and I do not myself believe that it is wise to make distinctive dogmas part of the ordinary religious teaching of young children. It is difficult enough to make them thoroughly understand much simpler precepts.

I not long ago was present at an examination in religious knowledge by our Diocesan Inspector. The children answered well and recited their texts perfectly. The last they recited was, "Be ye kind one to another, tender hearted, forgiving one another." The examiner stooped down and chucking a little girl under the chin, kindly asked her, "Now what would you do, my little dear, if a boy were to hit you?" "Hit him again" was the unhesitating response.

Now when so simple a precept as this is thus misunderstood, or so soon forgotten, why should we try to teach children distinctive dogmas which we ourselves approach with reverence and often find it so difficult a matter to understand?

But the spirit of teaching in Board Schools. Is that good? In London I say most certainly, yes. The spirit depends on the Board and the managers. Now there is no public prayer at the meetings of the School Board for London, but a room is set apart for prayer immediately before the Board meets. In this room are wont to assemble a very large proportion of the members of the Board, laymen and clergymen, Churchmen and Nonconformists, and there unite weekly in prayer for a blessing on their work.

Let me read a few extracts from the prayer they offer up.

"Grant that we and all associated with us in the great work of teaching and training the young and ignorant, may be so guided and overruled by Thee, in all our thoughts, words and works, that the children entrusted to our care may learn in early days to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent. Guide with Thy counsels those who may be called to select teachers, and grant that there never may be wanting able and godly persons to carry forward the education of the children of this country. Bless the religious instruction. May those who are taught have their hearts so opened by the Holy Spirit as to attend to the things spoken in Thy name from Thy word."

Religious teaching, given in this spirit, 999 out of every 1000 children attending the Board Schools in London receive daily; and such religious teaching may be given in every Board School in England, and I say it is the duty of Churchmen and of all other Christian men and women to take care that it *is* given.

Let Churchmen maintain their own schools if they can. If not, let them

transfer them to the Boards, making the best terms in their power on the lines which I have suggested. Let them become members of School Boards and managers of schools, and use their influence to see that the fees are sufficient, that godly men are chosen as teachers, and that religious teaching is given in the spirit of the last clause of the prayer, from which I have just quoted;

"We thank Thee, that many, by means of the schools hitherto established, have been taught in childhood those Holy Scriptures which are able to make them wise unto salvation though faith which is in Christ Jesus. Vouchsafe the continuance of Thy blessing to those who may come under instruction, granting them in this world knowledge of Thy truth, and in the world to come life everlasting, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

To Churchwomen I would further venture to read from the report made this year by Mr. Myers:—

"There are very many ladies in want of employment who might easily qualify themselves for such teaching as is needed in an elementary school. By the exercise of an amount of intelligence and energy which is certainly not too much to expect from any one who wishes to make her life useful to others, a poor gentlewoman may attain in two or three years to a position where she will receive a salary of £90 or £100 per annum, will be perfectly independent for two days in each week, and for a great part of each of the five remaining days, and will be able to make every good quality of heart or head which she possesses effective for the permanent welfare of a hundred young lives committed to her charge. When I had charge of the Hackney district I visited a School Board School, when almost all the girls were the children of professional thieves. The mistress was a lady who had resigned a good position as a private governess out of desire for this missionary work. The result of her work as seen in the contrast in expression, speech, and aspect, between the new arrivals, and those who had enjoyed a year's schooling was almost startling. I certainly felt that this lady had made herself a career which was entirely satisfactory, when every power that she possessed was guiding its full exercise in a direction and without drawback, beneficent."

May I be allowed one word more in answer to those who have shown that they dissent from the remarks I have made upon religious instruction. Even if it be granted that that which they desire to give is better than that which is given in Board Schools, let them remember that the religious instruction given in London by the Board Schools is *good*, and it is eagerly received by 999 out of every 1000 children; but if, my friends, you had your way, and forced upon the children religious instruction distinctive of your own views, the parents of perhaps half the children would, probably, withdraw them from religious instruction, and the children, instead of getting the admirable teaching now given, would simply get no religious instruction whatever.

Rev. Evan Daniel.

Mr. Gedge has told you that he has been behind the scenes of the London School Board. I also have been behind the scenes there, and before you yield to the glamour of his seductive voice, I hope you will listen to a few brief statements which I shall have to lay before you. The effects of recent legislation upon Voluntary schools may be conveniently considered with reference to the growth of the Voluntary system, with reference to finances, and with reference to compulsory attendance. First, with regard to the growth of the Voluntary system—Is that system advancing, or is it retrograding? I am rejoiced to be able to say that it is not only advancing, but that it is advancing with gigantic strides. Since 1870 the accommodation in Voluntary schools has been increased by nearly a million places. Last year the accommodation was increased (and that shows that

the increase is steadily going on) by 110,000 places. It may be interesting to know how this increase is to be distributed. We find that in Church of England schools the increase has reached 740,000 places, nearly 200,000 more than have been supplied by all the School Boards of the country. The British and Wesleyan Schools have increased their accommodation by 150,000 places; the Roman Catholics have increased theirs by 100,000. Surely nothing could prove more conclusively the vitality of the Voluntary system, its complete adaptation to the wants of this country, its consonance with the national genius and the determination of the English people to provide a good, sound, and complete religious education, such as denominational schools only can provide. I propose for a few moments to compare the two systems—the Voluntary system and the School Board system—as they are at work side by side. We hear so much of the work of the School Board; they occupy such a large space in the public journals of the country; their advocates boast so loudly and triumphantly of the progress of the School Board system and the victories that it has achieved, that many of us are tempted to believe that our Voluntary system is doomed, and must very speedily be superseded. Now what are the real facts of the case? The total accommodation of the elementary schools in this country amounts to three-and-a-half millions of places. Of that number only one-sixth has been provided by School Boards, whereas the Church of England alone has provided three-fifths. In a similar fashion of boasting we are reminded that the population under School Boards is already nearly 13,000,000, but it should be borne in mind that the population under School Boards is no measure of their popularity. No one would consider that it was a proof of the popularity of prison discipline that Millbank Penitentiary was quite full. London was called upon by the Act itself to provide a School Board. There at once are three-and-a-quarter millions accounted for. I find that of the 1,791 School Board districts 874 were formed compulsorily, and what about the remainder? They established School Boards because they knew that if they did not they would be compelled to do so. So much then for the popularity of the School Board system, which a representative journal recently had the audacity to call the National system. Why, we might as well call the Workhouse system, the National system of domestic life. The only truly National system of this country is the denominational system, the system which sprang up spontaneously, the system which alone can supply the kind of religious education which the nation will insist upon. But while the Voluntary system is advancing as a whole, it is advancing at very different rates in different parts of the country. Two years ago I ventured to say at Stoke that the Church of England, with reference to elementary education, was in the position of an invading army which had ceased to conquer, and found as much as it could do in holding the territory it had already conquered. I had then mainly in view the educational statistics of the Metropolis and other large towns, and I am sorry to say that the statement I then made, and it was a very unpalatable statement, is only too true. According to a Parliamentary return which was moved for by Lord Francis Hervey, I find that the increase in the Voluntary schools of London since 1871 amounts to only 19,000 places. Other large towns could very probably tell the same story. Surely it must be a matter for regret, that a system which has shown such marvellous capacities for development in the country at large, should be comparatively arrested and paralysed in our great centres of population. We were told in 1870 that the object of the School Board system was simply to supplement the existing one. Many of us welcomed the School Board system, and wished it God-speed so long as we understood that it was to confine its operations to those neglected portions of our people, with whom our Voluntary system was unable to grapple. But what do we find? We find that the School Boards almost invariably pursue an aggressive policy towards the

Voluntary system. It is not surprising, therefore, that our enthusiasm has been considerably chilled. When we find schools erected unnecessarily near to our own, when we find they outbid us for teachers, and underbid us for children, it is not surprising that, though we are still willing to co-operate with them to the utmost of our powers, we should keep a vigilant eye upon their proceedings. Surely we have a right to ask our statesmen, how it is, and why it is, that the system, which is doing so much work, and showing such capacities for development elsewhere, is doing so little in great centres of the population like the Metropolis.

I would say one word on the subject of compulsion. Since 1870 the effect of compulsion has been tried, and although six years have elapsed since it was introduced, it would still perhaps be premature to say whether it has been a success or a failure. The difficulty of determining that point arises from this, that there have been many concurring causes at work, and it is very difficult to assign to them respectively the results which they have produced. For instance, it might seem a great thing, that since 1870 the attendance in our Voluntary schools should have increased by 373,000. That might be set down to compulsion, but when you know that our accommodation has increased by 740,000, or nearly double that number, then I say our feeling is one rather of disappointment than of satisfaction. Without denying to compulsion much real good which it has effected, we may safely say, that even where it has been tried in the most favourable circumstances, the results which it has produced have as yet been very disappointing. I find, for instance, from the last Blue book, that the vacant places last year in England and Wales amounted to nearly one-and-a-half millions, that is, 42 per cent. of the total accommodation. I found that in London, where compulsion has been tried almost from the outset, the number of vacant places, on the average, last year, amounted to 120,000. Let us take the case of Church of England schools last year, the number of vacant places in them amounted to 880,000, a number which would have accommodated the average attendance in all the British schools, in all the Wesleyan schools, in all the Roman Catholic schools, and in all the Board schools put together, and have still left more than 100,000 places unoccupied.

I pass on to the duty of the Church towards Board schools. I say that the first duty of the Church is to see that she is fairly represented on School Boards; that is her first duty, because it is one condition of the faithful discharge of all other duties. Let us see that in all our School Boards, and in all the local committees appointed by them, the Church shall have a voice in the working of the School Board system, and that she is fairly represented. Our second duty is to secure the maximum of religious instruction allowed by the Act. Now, the Act, I believe, allows of the use of formularies, if they are not distinctive of any particular denomination. There is, therefore, no reason why they should not be introduced into Board Schools. But I do not attach much importance to that, because, unless we could interpret the formularies in a Church spirit, it would be a sorry thing to teach the mere letter of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. For instance, how could I teach a child to believe in the Holy Catholic Church, unless I was prepared to tell him what the Church was, how admission into it was to be gained, what were its means of sustenance, and so forth. The fact is, we can give very little religious instruction through our formularies, unless we are permitted to interpret them. But we may do a great deal more. We may, for instance, instruct all Church pupil teachers who are attending Board schools. That would be a very valuable work.

Now I will say a word with regard to some of the points touched upon by Mr. Gedge. With regard to the salaries of the British school teachers, he forgot to tell us that they were not paid by the managers of the schools to any great extent, and in the large majority of cases they farmed the

schools, and in that way obtained such large salaries. With regard to the transfers, let me implore you not to transfer to a School Board, any school, or any department of a school that is in your hands. You do not know whether any religious instruction will be allowed in that school to-morrow. At any moment, the London School Board, or any other School Board, may determine to strike religious instruction out of its syllabus altogether. If you are compelled to transfer your schools, keep some hold upon them, and never part with the control of their religious instruction.

Now, is it necessary for poor districts to act in the way suggested by Mr. Gedge? Have we not rich districts as well as poor districts, are we not members of the same Church, and shall not our rich parishes come to the assistance of the poor? Surely here is a way of overcoming the difficulty. We do not wish the burden to fall upon the poor Clergyman, who is already overburdened, but I think we may reasonably ask that our richer parishes shall come to the assistance of the poorer ones.

DISCUSSION.

Rev. Canon Money.

I was inclined to say to myself just now as I waited for your Grace's summons, what the Clerk in Scotland said to his Minister when he was drying his wet clothes by the fire, and complaining of the damp state in which they were—"Ye'll be dry enough when ye gang up in the pulpit." Now, though I may be very dry in what I am going to say, I think it is better that we should deal with facts than go into the regions of fancy. Your Grace struck a key-note which vibrates still when you told us that there were better prospects in store for our Church, and I think we may apply the same remark to the great question of Education. I wish to speak not as to what Churchmen might desire to be the case, but as to what we find to be the case—the facts with which we have to deal under the recent Acts which have been passed. I think there is one conclusion in which we all agree, that although we have passed through troublesome times, and Churchmen have had many anxieties and difficulties, we ought to be thankful for this—that the interest of the country has been raised as it never was before on behalf of this great subject of education. The people of this country have declared first of all that schools shall be provided for all the children; in the next place, they came to the determination that those children should be sent to fill those schools. It certainly was an anomaly that while compulsion was used to send children into Board schools, no compulsion was being employed in many parts of the country, in order to fill our voluntary schools. That anomaly has now been corrected, thanks to the Act of Lord Sandon, and I hope in every part of the country those local authorities who are now entrusted with the responsibility of compelling children to attend schools, will put the Act in force and will not allow it to become a dead letter. There is one more important question both with regard to our voluntary schools and our Board schools, and that is if we get the children into these schools, what is the education we are going to give them? I am very much concerned to think that there is a very great danger of a sound and useful elementary education being imperilled by the desire to give to these young children, before they are ready for it, scientific instruction. Mr. Matthew Arnold, in his valuable report which has already been referred to, bears testimony to this, and he says, in answer to a very great authority who had urged that science is more important than any other subject, "In order that we may use the data of natural science, it

is necessary that children should be instructed in literature, in poetry, and in religion." And then he goes on to ask what we should think of a child who should go out of our schools knowing that a wax taper, as it burns, is turned into carbonic acid and water, and yet would be unable to give a paraphrase to a simple sentence in Shakespeare, like this—"Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased?" The paraphrase which a child in a high standard gave him is this—"Doctor, can you fulfil the duties of your profession in curing a distracted woman?" Now, what I say is that there is something more important than mere learning, and that is the tone of the school. Whenever I cross the threshold of a school I feel something like a doctor feeling his patient's pulse. I can tell by the very look in the faces of the children what is the moral influence which is being exercised in the school. I am not going to repeat what has been already said with regard to the advantages which we have in our schools, through managers taking an interest in them, but I must say, with reference to our School Board schools in London, and I say it in justice and in fairness to them, that the instruction which is now being given in the Holy Scriptures, as evidenced in the School Board Inspectors' examination and report, is very thorough instruction. I have been myself present when some of these examinations have been going on, and I can only say I hope our friends will take care that children in our Church schools are not surpassed by children in the Board schools. There is one other question upon which I will touch. I do very earnestly hope that our friends will not be discouraged in regard to the position which voluntary schools now occupy. Mr. Daniel had not time to refer to the financial part of the question, and therefore I will take the liberty of reading two or three figures to you. First of all, during the last year as to the voluntary contributions applied to our Church of England schools, they amounted to £592,300. Then what was the amount of the school pence? I think this is a very significant fact, showing the interest which the parents of these poor children take in the instruction given in our Church schools. These payments amounted to £612,913, while the pence paid for the instruction in Board schools was only £146,322. The Government grant for Church schools was £739,403, and the whole amount contributed for the teaching of children in our Church schools reached the large sum of £2,055,611. I say, under these circumstances, we have no right to be discouraged. We were reminded very forcibly at the opening of our proceedings here, that there was a living voice of the Church which made itself heard by example and by quiet influence in the villages and homes and schools throughout our country. Whenever a School Board school is opened, our excellent chairman—and he is a right good fellow—Sir Charles Reed, attends with some of the members, and there is a great deal of *éclat*, and a great deal said about the work of the School Board, but we never hear much about the work in our Church schools, it is all done quietly and unostentatiously by the clergyman and his better half, and any others in the parish who will assist him in his work, and who are seeking daily and weekly not merely to teach but to influence the children in these schools. That is a mighty and enduring work which God forbid should ever cease throughout our land. I was examining a child in religious knowledge sometime ago, and in answer to the question "What cost Saul his kingdom," the child said "Disobedience," and then the little Republican added "This shows the evils of Monarchy." I mention this simply to show that we have sometimes a counter-acting influence in the home, and therefore it is all the more important to see what is the moral tone of the school. In conclusion, I desire earnestly to urge upon my fellow Churchmen and Churchwomen that they will not be discouraged, but that they will seek by every possible effort to maintain their schools. Do not allow the miserable notion, that because you have to pay the rates for a Board school it is therefore unnecessary to put your hand in your pocket to support the Church school, to influence you. Let me urge you to maintain and to watch over the

religious instruction in these schools. Already there is some danger that the Board schools are out-stepping our Church schools in regard to secular instruction. Do not let them distance you with regard to the religious teaching of the children. If there is one motto I may press upon Churchmen, it is hopefulness and watchfulness; and, in conclusion, I would say let Churchmen come at some sacrifice of their time in a tolerent spirit to take their place on School Boards, and to do work there. I believe they will be met in a tolerant spirit, and that we shall thus all be enabled to work in this great cause of education.

Mr. Heygate, M.P.

There are two points arising out of this discussion to which I would like to call attention. The first is that relating to the more or less satisfactory nature of the religious education which School Boards now give, and I was induced to offer these remarks from the circumstance of the gentleman who spoke last but one, the able solicitor to the London School Board, having made a statement which I think is calculated to leave a false impression on many of your minds. After drawing a very laudatory picture of the kind of religious instruction, which is given in London under the auspices of the London School Board, he ended his statement by saying "that is the instruction that is be found in the cases of 999 out of every 1000 children in the Board Schools!" [Here Mr. Gedge explained.] I am glad to hear the correction made that that was intended to refer to London alone, though that limitation was not mentioned in his speech. But whatever may be the kind of religious instruction which is given in London in the Board Schools, there is a more melancholy tale to be told with reference to the country in general. This is not a question for rhetoric, I do not need to travel beyond the region of fact, for, in proof of my statement, I can point to a Return which can be relied upon, a Parliamentary Return in answer to an order of the House of Commons upon the motion of Mr. Sampson Lloyd, in 1877, which gives us the following statistics:—Out of 1038 Board Schools at the time of this return, in 200 the Bible was allowed to be read without note or comment; in 27 of them the Bible was forbidden altogether, and prayer only permitted; whilst in 68 others all religious instruction was excluded entirely; and in those 68 was included the town of Birmingham with its 450,000 inhabitants! Therefore we have something like three-tenths of all the School Boards in the country, giving, at the time of the Return, either no religious instruction whatever, or what you will all consider a most meagre and insufficient kind of religious education. Now I ask whether that is a satisfactory state of things, and whether it is a state of things which would tempt you under any circumstances to give up your present voluntary system where you happily possess it? But, if that is an unsatisfactory state of things, I would ask you to remember at the same time that even the condition of things which, we are assured by Mr. Gedge, is so much better in London and in other Board Schools, may not remain after the next triennial election. Mr. Gedge spoke very favourably, and I daresay he is quite correct in saying it from his point of view and the condition of the religious instruction which is given in London at this moment, but I would ask him to bear in mind, in speaking in so favourable a manner of it, that it is a system which may be swept away at the next triennial election, being entirely dependent upon the popular vote, and that the latter may be decided at any time by an appeal to the pot-house, by an appeal to trades' unions, by an appeal to all the lower passions of men, which we know have so much influence in all our contested elections, that too often the last thing which is thought of in the selection of those who are to represent such important

interests, and to determine such important matters, is whether they are fitted by education for the post which they seek to occupy. My second point refers to the speech of Mr. Dale, who has done good service in the cause of education, but who made one remark which I should like to qualify. He said "we must look upon School Boards as a fact, as they had been established in this land." I agree with him "that School Boards are a fact" *in those parishes which have adopted them*, but they are happily not a fact in the great majority of the parishes in this country. School Boards are established in those unhappy places that are afflicted with them; they are not established in those other thousands of parishes which have happily been able to avoid the evils with which they are connected. I may just refer to this fact: there are, I believe, something like 14,000 civil parishes in the country, and out of those, up to last summer, not more than 2000 had been compelled to adopt the School Board system. Therefore I say it is not a correct statement, but one calculated to mislead, that "School Boards are established in this land." I will only, in conclusion, add my entreaty to that of those who have so ably addressed you in the same sense, that you hold fast what you have got now, and when the seducer comes and says 'Transfer your school,' I give you the same advice which *Punch* gave to parties about to marry—"Don't."

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 11th.

The Lord Bishop of St. Albans took the Chair at Half-past Seven o'clock.

PERSONAL RELIGION IN DAILY LIFE—CHRISTIAN DISCIPLINE—CHRISTIAN LIBERTY.

PAPERS.

Rev. Canon Barry.

In order to give definiteness of idea to the vague greatness of the term "Personal Religion," it has been thought good this year to limit the papers, which deal with that momentous subject, to the special consideration of the right function in the spiritual life of the two great correlative principles of Christian discipline and Christian liberty. It will be (I cannot doubt) taken for granted by all of us, that there is a true function for both, and that on the right harmony of both the spiritual health depends. But it has also been thought good, that—starting from this common basis of agreement—each writer should choose (for the limited time given him) to dwell only on one of the two great principles, not, of course, ignoring, but not directly handling the other. I propose, accordingly, having been charged with the responsible task of opening the discussion, to suggest to you some thoughts on what I venture to believe to be

the leading principle both of Christian doctrine and Christian life—the principle of Christian liberty.

(1.) I call liberty the leading principle. For discipline, in whatever form it presents itself—and it is with the two forms of Self-discipline and Church discipline that we are mainly concerned—is essentially of the Law. It is the imposition of a rule of life on the individual will, seldom excluding the idea of some sternness of control and chastisement. Like all law, it "is added because of transgression," rendered necessary by the sinfulness or the actual sin of man. According, therefore, to our conception of human nature must be the position we assign to discipline. A man who recognises no inborn sinfulness in the soul will be likely to decry discipline, as either needless, or at least capable of being needless, to humanity. A man who looks on our nature as almost utterly corrupt, must (unless, indeed, he altogether despairs of humanity) exalt discipline to a leading place in human life, regarding the freedom of man as mainly the seedplot of evil, and anxious, therefore, practically to reduce it to a sterile inactivity. The Christian who believes, before all and after all else, that man is made in the image of God, redeemed from the power of sin by the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, regenerated to the capacity of a new life by the in-dwelling grace of the Spirit; yet who knows and feels that, in the imperfect condition of this life, there is still in him the φρόνημα σαρκός, seeking to enslave him through the appetites to the lower world of things, tempting him through the passions to idolatry of the higher world of persons, capable of perverting and poisoning even the spiritual life itself—such a man (I say) is bound to recognise at once the sacredness of liberty and the need of discipline. But I conceive that he is taught in the New Testament to rely mainly, not on the law, but on the spirit. He must, therefore, consider as the primary principle of spiritual life the free growth of the soul under the grace of God; he can give only a secondary position to the power of discipline, whether to scourge the evil or to direct the good. For this is simply to rely mainly on the inherent power of the seed of the eternal life, as at once sown and watered in the heart by those positive influences of a Divine grace, which can only be accepted in simple faith and love—rather than on any process, however necessary, of training and pruning from without.

On the inversion of this true spiritual order turns the error—I believe the fatal error—of the ascetic life.

It is, indeed, most true that the extremest bondage of the law is as perfect freedom compared with the worse bondage of sin, to which the license of self-indulgence inevitably leads us. I can well imagine that in the tendency to luxury, softness, excessive delight in material comfort, æsthetic beauty, and the like, which we cannot but feel as besetting us at this present time, men should rush, by an instinct of self-preservation, to the hardness of discipline—now to some pledge of abstinence—now to the law of some ascetic brotherhood. Far be it from me to deny that by such an impulse many and many a soul has been swept out of the reach of temptation, and

led one stage on the way to Heaven. But we do need to be warned that the life which depends mainly on discipline is not yet in the most excellent way. It is often called a higher life, but it ought to be regarded as still in the lower stages of the spiritual growth. To exalt it above the life of Christian liberty appears to be the same error, which in older days called the life of the cloister—often (as we may well grant) the one obvious path of escape from the "present distress" of an unhappy age—the true "religious life" holding it as the ideal at which all Christians should aim, from which all other forms of Christian life were but declensions, only permitted to the human weakness which was unwilling to ascend to the higher things of God. The study of the results of that ascetic fallacy, as they are written on the pages of Church history, is to my mind the most emphatic warning against inversion of the true order of Christian liberty and Christian discipline.

(2.) For, after all, what is the Christian life, first in its individual reality, and then in its relation to Church unity?

In its individual reality I take it to be simply the "formation of the Christ in us"—the renewal of the image of God, in which true humanity consists, by a spiritual unity with Him Who is at once Son of God and Son of Man. Such regeneration to us, as sinners, implies (as I need hardly remind you) the Justification in the Blood of Christ, which is the restoration to sonship in our Father's house, and the Sanctification by the grace of the Holy Spirit, which is the gradual perfection of the spirit of that sonship. Surely it is of the essence of both that they be accepted freely and gladly, as fruitful germs of principle, capable of growing by their own inherent life. It must be so in Justification. I suppose that in different souls the order of the spiritual process leading up to it may greatly vary. In some cases it is the deep sense of sin under the pure eyes of God, which leads men to Christ and His salvation. In the perhaps higher experience of others, it is rather the clear vision of God in Christ, in His perfect righteousness and His unwearied love, which works out in the soul the deeper sense of sin. But in either case the faith which lays us at His feet is the free impulse of the soul within, answering to the pleading of the Holy Spirit. It must be so in Sanctification. When we have found God, or rather are found of Him, the sanctifying grace which conforms us to the image of Christ must grow of itself within the soul—still accepted freely in faith, and that faith "worked out into energy," not by constraint of fear, but freedom of love. Still we must plead (under Paul's guidance) that a life, which is not one of liberty, which depends mainly on anything else than the free growth of the inherent life, which rests upon the power of law and system—be it ever so holy and good—is simply a falling away from the true Christian ideal.

Nor should we forget in considering the relation to Church unity what the theory of Church unity really is. It has always seemed to me that much error has arisen from looking upon the unity which binds men together in the Church, as if it were a direct unity between man and man, between the individual and the whole body, instead of being—what I conceive our Lord declares it to be—a

unity of each soul directly with Him and through Him with God, and indirectly through Him with one another—"I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be one, as We are One." In that error lies an almost infinite difficulty in reconciling Church unity with individual freedom, and in rightly conceiving on what that unity depends, how it may be preserved, how alone it can be broken.

Can we not perceive how singularly the true idea of Church unity is illustrated by the process, through which it is provided in the Church that the individual spiritual life shall grow? I would remind you that there are, among what we call means of grace, some of which the soul can lay hold of for itself, without any intervention except of the One Mediator between itself and God, although it is always helped to receive them in full perfection by the privilege of Church membership. In the spiritual devotion of prayer, praise, thanksgiving, adoration, in the reading and engrafting on our souls of the Word of God, every Christian in his own individual priesthood can come alone to his Father; nay, could grow up in the spiritual life, though with loss of much perfection of blessing, were he suddenly cut off, as on some desert island, from all communion of the visible Church. There are other means of grace—the two great sacraments and the ministry of absolution—which an individual cannot have except by the ministration of the Church. Yet how characteristic it is that to these he has an indefeasible right, forfeited only by gross heresy or sin; he has not to sue for them, but to claim them as his own, at the hands of the Church and her ministers. Who will dare to deny the ministration of baptism, the gift of absolution, the access to the holy table of the Body and Blood of Christ, to any man who comes to them in humble repentance and earnest faith? Who shrinks not from that terrible audacity, which in days of yore used these sacred things as instruments of Church discipline or even as engines of sacerdotal power? In the power of that individual participation of Christ—first by its own secret and individual act, and next by its indefeasible claim to Church privileges—I seem to see the charter of Christian liberty, written in characters which he who runs may read.

(3.) Hence I come back still to a very earnest plea (in these days not wholly needless) for the spirit of freedom as the true characteristic of Christian life.

Freedom of thought—first engraving deeply on the mind the great principles of the revelation of God in Christ, and then giving full scope to thought, sure that they must exercise their right influence over its development—whether in searching by science into the works of nature, and the character and history of humanity, which to us are simply the works of God, on which we know His handwriting to be, on which we believe that it must be, and will be traced—or in the higher meditation on God Himself, the dealings of His Providence, the laws of His revelation, the glimpses of His very self, which He gives us through the clouds of this life, that in the sight of Him we may live anew.

Freedom of action—first again writing on the conscience the great principles of Christian morality, and bringing home through faith

the image of the life of Christ Himself, in that union of purity and righteousness, of faith and love, by which we grow up into Him Who is the Head ; and then, trusting mainly to their free inspiration and guidance—whether in the work which men call secular, but which we hold to be a showing forth of God's glory by fellow-working with Him, or in the directly religious work of saving our own souls and of evangelising the world.

Freedom of devotion—first planting in the spirit the great principles of the spiritual relation to God—the implicit reverence in which the creature hangs on the Creator—the godly fear in which the sinner bows before the All-righteous Judge—the love in which the child rejoices to arise and go to the Father—and using to the utmost all the worship and form and ritual, in which the Church has embodied these eternal principles, and on which there rests His peculiar blessing ; but then, accustoming the soul to that unbroken consciousness of God (approaching to the Apostolic picture of " the prayer without ceasing"), in which it pours itself out freely, in words unstudied, without word spoken—in which, even without conscious devotion, it rests on the known and felt presence of God, and in that presence has at once the secret of energy and the secret of peace.

Such I venture to believe to be the true principle of the Christian life, which nothing can depose from its rightful place of supremacy.

(4.) There will be room, indeed, for self-discipline, in any of its three great forms—self-chastisement for the past, self-control in the present, self-guardianship against temptation in the future. For this self-discipline is a law imposed by our better self, in the highest and holiest phases of our life, for the guidance of the lower self, to carry us (so to speak) over the dead points of spiritual coldness, and against the counter impulse of passion, felt in our weaker moments. But I confess that I trust far more to the positive cultivation in the soul of the love of purity and beauty, of righteousness and charity, of holiness and faith, than to the negative power of " Touch not, taste not, handle not"—a power often too slow to meet the swift crises of temptation—too coarse rightly to discriminate between the true good and evil of such crises—too apt to dull and deaden the glowing energy of the free spirit within.

There will be room for Church discipline—meeting as a higher form of law those evils, doctrinal, ecclesiastical, moral, with which temporal law dares not meddle, and public opinion deals but fitfully and uncertainly. I can echo from my heart the desire of our Ash Wednesday Service that the primitive form of discipline might be revived, with the changes needful to suit our own changed times. Not can I for one moment doubt that, even in the later form of private confession and absolution, it may step in at some critical moments between a man's higher and baser self, and serve to bring home to him the awful and yet merciful judgment of God. But it seems to me an evil, fraught with very fatal consequence, to exaggerate this discipline in any form into the normal rule of Christian life. That nation is held to be happiest, in which law has least to intervene, because its free citizens are individually a

law to themselves. Why should the Kingdom of Heaven be guided by a less noble and spiritual principle than the kingdoms of the earth?

(5.) Am I warned that Holy Scripture bids us endure hardness and our Lord points us the way of the Cross?

I answer that if a man's soul is once set on fire with this free spirit of devotion to God, and if that fire catches and inspires his active life, there is no fear but that—this world being what it is—he will find hardness enough. We need not seek or make our crosses. The very condition of this fallen world, in its weariness, its disappointment, and its suffering, and the positive hatred of the world and the devil against the servants of God, will lay on us the Cross as it did on Him. And beyond this, the very power of our own sin, at once in its awful guilt and in its cruel bondage, will strike nail after nail into the soul, and crucify it in the worst agony of crucifixion. In all this there is on the one hand the curse of sin, but on the other that discipline, better than all that self-discipline or Church discipline can devise—the discipline of Him Who chastens His own children as a true Father, at once willingly and unwillingly—sorrowing at the sight of their tears, and yet rejoicing at the knowledge of the joy so wrought, which shall wipe those tears away.

So I come at last to urge that it is this discipline of God which is the true Christian discipline. For it is the only discipline under which the true Son of Man was made perfect. Our lower forms of discipline are good, only so far as humbly and secondarily they subserve this. For in this discipline alone is there that perfect wisdom and tenderness, which can harmonise with it—what we ought to have in measure here, if we are to have it in fulness hereafter—"the glorious liberty of the children of God."

General Sir R. Wilbraham, K.C.B.

It was after much hesitation that I accepted the invitation sent to me to read a paper at this meeting, and I did so, not, I can assure you, from any confidence in my ability to do justice to the subject entrusted to me, but because I felt it to be the duty of every member of our Church to come forward, when called upon, and bear his part in the important work of the Church Congress.

The subject which we are considering this evening is one in which it is especially desirable that laymen should take part, for the clergy, by reason of their office, have a definite sphere of Christian work appointed for them, whereas each layman has to determine for himself in what way he can best carry his personal religion into his daily life. Not, indeed, that many of us will have far to seek if we follow the wise precept too much neglected in the present day, to seek rather to do *right* than to do *good*, for there are few among us whose path of duty is not clearly marked out if we will only look for it; and the nearer *home* that path lies the more will our personal religion become a part of our daily life. Indeed, if

it does not make itself felt *at home* it must be very imperfect, however active we may be in Christian work abroad.

An interchange of the experience of laymen of various callings, and widely differing habits and modes of thought, cannot but be profitable to us. It will, I think, teach us that there are certain general principles *essential* to personal religion, and common to *all* earnest Christians; for personal religion, if it be anything more than a name, must—like the Faith from which it springs—be adapted to the needs of our common nature under every possible condition of life. It must rise above the conventionalities of custom and fashion, and mould the character after that perfect type which has been given us in our Blessed Lord's own life for a pattern to his followers of every age and country. That such might, and should, be its constant effect our own experience may assure us, for we see from time to time, though too rarely, examples of the highest mental culture and refinement of modern civilization united to a childlike faith, and an unworldly spirit, which remind us of what the Christian life must have been in Apostolic days, and show us that it is still within our reach.

The subject before us opens out so wide a field, that the first question a speaker has to ask himself is—What small portion of that field his own experience has made him most competent to deal with. The selection of speakers of various *professions* was probably made with a view to some subdivision of the subject in that direction, but after careful consideration I have thought it better *not* to treat it from a *professional* point of view. "Personal" religion is, I think, something apart from, and in a great measure independent of, outward circumstances, although those circumstances will necessarily modify the *form* under which it manifests itself. A long experience of the most varied classes of men, at home and abroad, has taught me that an agreement on the vital question of religion goes far to level all distinctions of rank, and calling, and country, showing that Shakespeare's well-known words, "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin," may be applied with equal truth to man's spiritual nature.

The fact of my being almost the only lay speaker this evening, if it does not suggest to me what part of the subject I should *choose*, shows me at least which I should leave for others. That most important part, "how we may lay the foundation of our spiritual life," belongs of right to the clerical speakers, and I shall confine myself to the consideration of how we may best bring our personal religion to bear upon the duties of daily life.

In appearing for the first time as a speaker before a Church Congress, I feel strongly the responsibility of the task that I have undertaken. The importance of the subject on which I have to speak ought, indeed, to prevent me from feeling any of those ordinary fears that I might, under other circumstances, feel in addressing so large a meeting; but, on the other hand, it only increases my fear lest I should have done wrong in undertaking a task which is beyond my power.

I am not, however, presuming to come before you as a *teacher*.

In these great gatherings of our Church we *all* come—speakers as well as listeners—for *mutual instruction*. We come with a desire to learn, from a comparison of the experience of others with our own how we may better perform our duties as Christians and as Churchmen.

It is encouraging to feel that in this large assembly we are all of one mind on the subject which we are considering this evening. We are all convinced of the vital importance of personal religion; we are all, I trust, sincerely, however imperfectly, endeavouring to act upon that conviction, and to prove our sincerity by the consistency of our lives.

The division that has been made of our subject under the two heads of Christian Discipline and Christian Liberty, is intended, doubtless, to guide us in our discussion. And certainly no more important or more difficult question can arise than the relation which Christian Discipline and Christian Liberty should bear to each other in the formation of personal religion.

If we look into the past history of the Church, or even if we look around us at the present time, we shall see how grievously each has been abused in turn. On the one hand, Christian Discipline has degenerated into self-imposed austerities; on the other hand, Christian Liberty has been perverted into license. We have much reason to thank God that our Church has been guarded from this twofold danger.

It would, I think, be a mistaken and a dangerous view of the relation between Christian Discipline and Christian Liberty to consider them as in any way opposed the one to the other. Christian Discipline is an express command binding upon all Christians; Christian Liberty is not a relaxation of the strictness of that command. It was a caution given against the danger of falling back into the bondage of sin or under the yoke of ceremonial observances, and is always coupled with a warning, lest it be abused to our own or to another's hurt. The relation between them seems rather to be this: the one enforces a strict control over ourselves, while the other enjoins a watchful care lest we should put a stumbling block in our brother's path. Viewed as regards ourselves only, there *is* no real difference between them. If our personal religion were what it should be we should feel that Christian Discipline and Christian Liberty are, in truth, identical; that, in the words of our Liturgy, God's *service* is perfect *freedom*; but it needs a long course of Christian practice before we can hope to attain to that loving obedience to God's will which shrinks *instinctively* from everything that is displeasing to Him.

Yet nothing short of this should be our aim. The Christian Liberty that we should seek is that true Liberty—the Liberty to serve God with a free and willing service. Nothing less than this can be acceptable to him. Nothing less can *satisfy* ourselves. It is a miserable thing to be asking how little service we *need give*, not how much we *can give*. To one who is really striving to live a Godly life it will, I think, be easier to practice Christian Discipline than to use his Christian Liberty aright. It is easier to

think of ourselves, even if it be to deny ourselves, than to think habitually of others, to bear in mind that our smallest action, our lightest word, may have an influence for good or evil on those around us.

It is not possible to lay down *rules* for the regulation of our social intercourse; that part of our daily life into which it is, perhaps, the most difficult to carry our personal religion. Nor would it be good for us, were it possible. It is a weakly religion which is always seeking for guidance—human guidance, of course, I mean—in the perplexities which beset our Christian path. They are part of our probation. We must not hand over the keeping of our conscience, even to those whom we most reverence. No one else can judge what is lawful for us; still less what is expedient. They may have safeguards which we unhappily have not.

Our personal religion, to be consistent, must pervade the *whole* of our daily life. It is not enough that a portion of it be given to God's service. A sense of His presence must be with us wherever we are. If at any time we cannot, or dare not, feel His presence with us, it is because we are where we ought not to be. This makes the danger of society, unless we are ever on our guard. Some of the best and most earnest men have felt it to be a snare to them. We learn this from the diaries of such men as Wilberforce. To one so fitted as he was to shine in it, the intellectual and refined society of modern civilization must have had an especial attraction; but who among us has not felt that it has unfitted him for serious thought? If we do not perceive our danger, it is only the more likely to be real.

I need not say that this is no reason for us to withdraw from society. With many of us it is a *duty* which our station demands. Like everything else, it is a help or a hindrance to our religious life, according as we use or abuse it. Nowhere perhaps might we exercise a greater influence for good. How much of that tone of levity, bordering on irreverence, with which we too often hear the most sacred subjects discussed, and that by men whom it would be unjust to call irreligious, might not be checked if Christian men, still more, perhaps, Christian women, had but the moral courage to discountenance what they feel to be wrong. A word or a look might often suffice.

But it is sometimes said that by fixing too high a standard we shall repel some who might be attracted by religion. I believe this to be a mistaken idea. A half-hearted profession of religion has no attractive power. A long experience in the army has convinced me that it is a manly, uncompromising course, which, in the end, has most influence over others.

If an earnest Christian does sometimes repel, it is not because his standard is too high, but because his own practice falls short of it. Even if there is no evident inconsistency in his conduct, which would at once destroy his influence for good, there may be some want of sympathy with others' failings, which a truer knowledge of himself would have taught him, or some harshness in his censure of what he justly disapproves.

But this is not the side on which we are likely to err in the present day. Talent, however misapplied, is so worshipped in society that we see men, of whose religious sincerity we cannot doubt, associating on terms of the closest intimacy with avowed sceptics, content to retain in silence their own convictions. It would be thought narrow-minded and illiberal to shun the society of such men. Yet surely it is at some risk to our own faith that we hear our most cherished beliefs slightingly spoken of and acquiesce even by silence. Too frequently this so-called liberality is but another name for indifference—an indifference arising from the absence of a firm conviction of the truth of our own belief.

More deadening to our faith than even the open avowal of unbelief is this indifference—this want of earnestness—which we so often see even among the young. It is the natural outgrowth of a self-indulgent age, and the light literature of the present day, which turns everything into ridicule, does much to foster it, Arnold grieved over it in his time, as it affected religion. Carlyle has forcibly inveighed against it in secular things. If the influence of an earnest and manly religion does not arrest it, it will go far to sap the foundations of that national character of which we make our boast.

I have not time to speak about the active Christian work which forms so necessary a *part of our* personal religion. But there is one caution in connection with this work, which is, I think, much needed by all among us who live in comfort and luxury. We feel it to be wrong to live selfish and useless lives, and we devote a portion of our time and means to visiting and relieving the poor. Such work, if done in a right spirit, will, indeed, act as a corrective to the selfishness which luxury is apt to produce, but we must carefully guard against the danger of even unconsciously compounding for our own self-indulgence by relieving the wants of others; and also against the more subtle danger of looking upon our work among the poor rather as a means towards our own religious growth than as a plain Christian duty. In all such work we must, as far as possible, forget ourselves if we hope to do good to ourselves or to others,

One word in conclusion. There has been, thank God, a great and encouraging advance of late years in our personal religion. We see it in many ways: in the stricter and more frequent observance of the services of our Church, and in the increase of Christian work of every kind. But we must ask ourselves seriously whether that growth has been as much in depth as in extent. We still need more of *reality* in our religion; more earnest efforts to make our lives consistent with our religious privileges. Above all, we need to make, by the self-denial of our lives and a bold avowal of our faith, a more vigorous protest against the self-indulgence and religious indifference of the age.

Rev. John Richardson, M.A.

Religion is worth but little, if it be not personal; and if it be personal, not merely professional and perfunctory, but personal, it must show itself, assert itself in the life, the daily life of the individual man in which it lives and rules. And personal religion will be found to be a curious mixture of liberty and restraint—the discipline of a subject and the devotion of a Son, appearing in the complex life of the new creature in Christ. The expansion of all that is noblest, and the keeping under all that is selfish and sensual, will explain its action.

Thus a primary element in it is that *the body must be subject to the soul*. This may be found in a religion which is only natural, as when prudent men, noble men, in every age and race, have mastered their lower nature, so that their higher intellect and emotions might have wider, fuller, nobler play. It has been found in religions that are false, founded upon men's fears, and working practically upon men's selfishness. But it *must* be found in the personal religion of a man who follows Christ. On the other hand, this subjection of the body to the soul, may be, and often has been, a sore trial to a really faithful man. The torture of martyrdom—the mysterious sympathies of human hearts when father and mother must be forsaken for Christ's sake—such things test the strength of a man's faith: but they also prove the reality of God's faithfulness. But "they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts." The man that is using an opiate, or a stimulant—the man that is yoking himself to ambition, or pleasure, or business—to such sort, that the reins which direct his course are in the hand of the body and not the soul—is illustrating every day of his life, that religion is not a personal, not a practical, not a real thing to him.

Then, the *soul as well as the body must be subject to the Holy Ghost*. There have been cases, and there may be such again or still, in which the spirit of evil masters and governs the whole man. In such a case we know that "a strong man armed keepeth his palace, and his goods are in peace." On the other hand, "Hereby know we that we dwell in Him, and He in us, by the spirit which He hath given us." It is this great subject of the daily religious life that St. Paul treats in his Epistle to the Galatians, when he says, "We through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith" —"Walk in the Spirit and ye shall not fulfill the lusts of the flesh" —"If ye be led of the Spirit ye are not under the law"—"If we live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit." The unit in the Christian Church is the individual Christian—not the baptized man, and not the ordained man, but the man who is "alive unto God, through faith that is in Christ Jesus." And the permeating principle, that which unites the unit to the organism, is the Holy Ghost; "so that if any man have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of His." It is not fanaticism, it is not super-naturalism: but it is of the very essence, and life, and spirituality, and power of the personal walking after Christ, that the individual Christian shall be, and realize that he is, in constant, intimate, loving communion, moment by moment,

in thought and act, both as to body and soul, with the Holy Ghost. The real beauty of the Church's holiness, the practical vigour of the believer's life, never can be or will be seen and felt, till this matter of the presence, prerogative and power of the Third Person in the ever-blessed Trinity, becomes more than an article in a creed, and really an experience in the every-day walk and life of all who call themselves Christians.

And a third consideration follows when body is subject to soul—and soul and body are subject to the Spirit—then "your whole *body, soul, and spirit must be subject to the Lord Jesus Christ.*" Christian life was never intended to be merely or mainly a life for self. And asceticism on the one side, and Epicureanism on the other, have gone astray at this point. Some men are in spiritual, as we find it to be sometimes in physical matters, the victims of a religious hypochondria. They are always treating themselves as invalids. Now in this, and now in another matter, they distress and dissect their own souls, till they become hopelessly melancholic. Their religion has themselves for its centre, and it must be narrow and cold and dark on that very account. "Real religion before God and the Father" is active, bright, loving, thankful service in the kingdom and for the glory of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Thus personal religion begins in the Grace of God bestowed upon the individual, in the exercise of His sovereign will, and by effectual manifestation of His love. It continues in a personal contact and union between the believer and the glorified Lord Jesus, not by some mysterious descent of the physical body of Christ, but by a wonderful ascent of the believing soul to "sit with Christ in heavenly places." It issues in the creation of a personal character, not copied from another Christian's example, but brought out in the special training and individual instincts and distinctive opportunities, and definite action of each man's station, and calling, and gifts, and graces, as the Lord has "divided to every man severally as He will." It is the religion of the day, because it has become the religion of the life. It is personal because it is as much a part of a man's inner being, as his head, heart, or hand is a part of a man's physical nature. "The life that I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God."

Such is the thing that lives. Now we have to inquire what *the life* is to be—the sphere, the surroundings, the circumstances—under which the existence so given is to act, and grow, and live. There is a craving in our day, amongst many men of very different views, for greater holiness of life. The world expects it, the Church requires it, and God seems to be stirring many earnest minds and hearts to attain unto it. We do not ignore or make light of the very serious mistakes and perilous distortions of the truth which have risen up amongst us in the midst of all this zeal. It is the common device of the ever wakeful enemy, who destroys the well regulated beat by pushing the pendulum beyond its place. But it is a glorious thing to live in an age like this, and to pass in and out amongst mankind, as they are girding them everywhere for fresh work.

Now personal religion must assert for itself a place in common daily life. It is not a thing to be only in the clouds. It is not a thing chiefly for the closet or the cloister. It is not a thing merely for the contemplative or the consecrated few. Its place is everywhere, its opportunity anywhere; its life, its presence, its power are to be such as that men must admit that it is, even when they have argued that it cannot, and wished that it should not be. But in order that religion may be really personal, it must be free. Many earnest men have considered that spiritual direction by some specially qualified counsellor must be sought in such a case. Now there is a Counsellor in Heaven, more true, more sympathetic, more approachable, than any human guide. And there is a director upon earth, so searching, so satisfying, so suggestive in all the phases and emergencies of soul life, that no other supplementary instructor is wanted after that. The Lord Jesus Christ, a teacher sent from God, and the revealed Word of God, an authority primary and paramount on all questions that concern our life and duty—these are to be our counsellors. The Christian man who comes daily fresh from converse with Jehovah in His word, will so find himself amidst the thoughts of the All-wise, and the purposes of the Almighty, and the grand expectations which the All-loving has prepared for them that love Him, that he will come down amongst the difficulties and the anxieties of daily life, as if he were bringing with him an atmosphere of light which makes every dark place plain before him. And the servant of the Lord Jesus, who sees heaven open and the glorious Redeemer still at the right of the Majesty in the heavens, will deal with all the affairs of his earthly calling in this holy frame of humble trust which bids him feel and say how true that still is which the departing Saviour left as our divine encouragement, "All power is given unto me, in heaven and in earth." No doubt there are sweet communings on earth between soul and soul; no doubt there is a ministry for instruction and suggestion by which the people of the Lord are kept together; but before all others, and distinct from all others, personal religion for daily life, needs direction from the Living Head—through the Living Spirit—in the Living Word. Let every man examine his own soul in this matter of communion with the mind of God in the Word. If ever there should come over a soul, or over a Church, from any cause whatever, neglect of the Holy Scriptures, the life of the soul and the Church will be low. Be it from some lower appreciation of the inspiration of the Word, as in a day of prevailing doubt and scepticism—or be it from some other studies, as when the controversies amongst men, or the histories of saints, or the speculations, rules, and suggestions of human teachers hold unduly prominent place—in every case, personal religion waxes puny, and fanciful, and intermittent, and low, because it is not fed, warmed, invigorated by the thoughts of God from Heaven.

And if a man is to be thoroughly transparent, with his sin tracked over all the doubtings and windings of the self-deceptive heart, he must daily lay bare his very being, not to a creature, for that may only intensify the mistake, but to the Lord Jesus, our only High Priest, of Whom this gracious testimony has been given, "The

Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins." I would lift up every brother's heart and conscience into this higher life of holy fellowship with Jesus and the Word; because I am deeply impressed with the feeling, that here, and here only, lies the true answer to that deep question which many earnest men are asking, How shall a man live every day under the dominancy of that religion, which, if important at all, must be all-important.

There is another branch of this great subject also, which is indicated by the words "discipline and liberty." Many men, longing after spirituality, are ever conscious of the resistance of their own fleshly nature. And the attention of such men, in their very earnestness and honesty of purpose, is directed to self-control. And self-denial and self-discipline *are* of the very essence of the religious life. But the body will never sanctify the body. The sufferings of the flesh will not induce holiness of life or walk. The hatred of the evil is one thing; but the love of the holy is the better thing. A Christian in the flesh must not war after the flesh. It is when a man realizes that he is saved, and not while a man fears that he is unsaved, that the holy service begins and abides within him. He who is among the tombs—the habitat of his old corruptions—needs to be told that he must not seek the living among the dead. Let any man look at his position, outside the dungeon which cannot shut in his free spirit—let any man look at his own surroundings, shackles lying broken behind, and freedom with all her appliances beckoning before, and he will see that while discipline may remind him what he was, it is his liberty which tells him what he is and ought to be. The solution of many a difficulty would be this—go a step further. You believe much about Satan, and sin, and self; go on to believe more about salvation, and grace, and the Lord Jesus. The discipline will keep you down amongst the things of creature-hood and time, and those perilous times which are to come before the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ. But the liberty will carry you upward, till in the stillness of your adoration at the footstool of the Lord Jesus, and in the bright expanse of those wider views by which you know that "the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the Sons of God," you will find what a real, what an abiding, what a consoling thing, personal religion, in its liberty rather than in its restraints, is in the hourly, daily life of a godly man.

There are one or two practical points which may possibly be of some service to some younger men. In the personal religion of daily life, I would say "*do not mope*." There is such a thing as a weak conscience; and a tender conscience, a conscience seeking to be without offence need not be weak. In the spiritual, as well as in the intellectual or emotional life, we need to be shaken out of singularities and set forms. Our holiness needs the fresh bracing air of actuality in this testing world. Religion may stiffen in frames, and grow vaporous in feelings. Attitudes, forms, expressions, may be but the scaly tomb out of which winged thought and feeling and devotion have passed away.

In the personal religion of daily life, I would say "*do not mystify*."

Nothing was ever so real as salvation—so tangible as grace—so clear as the account which the Gospel gives of Jesus and His love. A Gospel mystery is not something so mysterious as to be on the very confines of being a myth. It is an unknown thing made known, and an undiscoverable thing revealed. It is easy for a man to make himself believe everything; but that may be suspiciously near to the condition of mind in which a man can receive nothing. The extremes of superstition and scepticism have nearer approaches than many a hasty man suspects. In ceremonies, in services, in testing of your soul, do not mystify and suffer not others to mystify. "Secret things belong unto the Lord"—let us bow submissively before the things too high for us. "Things that are revealed belong unto us and to our children," and round all such things, let the light be made to play—the light of a reverent inquiry, the light of a divine communication. "If we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another."

In the personal religion of daily life, I would say in the third place—"Do not *magnify the difficulties* with which you will have to do." The Lord's service is a very glorious privilege. "Underneath are the everlasting arms"—overhead is the never-sleeping eye. "If God be for us, who can be against us?" The Church of Christ has often suffered from the timidity of terror-stricken men. And our age, with its grand opportunities, and its yet more startling necessities, puts a strain upon every man who will work and can work for Christ. It is not all discouragement. It need not be, it must not be, it will not be, always defeat. The men that stay by the staff are wanted in the field. The men who sigh, and shake their heads, must take other modes of shewing their sympathy with the truth and their shame because of abounding error. Personal religion in daily life, must not be a stay-at-home daughter, even under the seeming necessity of "being cumbered with much serving." Every day, seek the noble task of bringing some soul to the Lord Jesus. Every day, make it a personal matter to prove that you are yourself alive. The Devil seems always to have his poor slaves busy;—the drunkard blasphemes, the sceptic sneers the more, because some holy man of God is passing by. The Saviour expects his ransomed subjects to be proud of their high calling. And the world, even in its dizziest whirl, and loudest din, will find a moment for a more curious attention, when both by his discipline of self-control, and by his liberty of self-consecration—the Christian proves that his personal religion is a thing for daily life.

Rev. Canon Walsham How.

I think it has been wise to guard against vagueness and discursiveness in the treatment of this very wide subject by marking out a track in which the thoughts of the readers and speakers should endeavour to run. And yet the more one thinks about the two words "Discipline" and "Liberty," the more conscious one

becomes of the vast breadth of the course left open to one. For it seems to me that these two words really cover nothing less than the whole sphere of moral action and energy, and are almost as broad as the words "Personal Religion," which they are meant to limit. I suppose the truth is, they do not limit the range of the subjects which may be treated, but rather suggest a definite mode of treatment, or perhaps, more exactly, a definite aspect in which the subjects are to be regarded.

I understand by "Discipline" all those moral actions and energies which are of the nature of restraint and limitation; and by "Liberty" all those which are in their nature spontaneous and free. On the one side would be ranged all law, all rules and methods, all forms and ordinances; on the other all emotions, all impulses, all natural outflow of the inner being.

Now the first thing that strikes me about these two sides of our inner life is this, that they are necessary complements each of the other, and that a moral being is inconceivable in the absence of either of them. They seem to bear to each other almost the relation of body and spirit, or of channel and stream. A body without spirit is dead; and a spirit without body is (to our present powers of apprehension) too impalpable to be realised. A channel without water is useless; and water without a channel is a pernicious flood. So "Discipline" without "Liberty" would be the dreariest slavery; and "Liberty" without "Discipline" the wildest chaos. The healthy vigour of the spiritual life seems to depend very greatly upon the due adjustment and relative proportion of these two principles. Perhaps we may say broadly that the former, "Discipline," is the more prominent feature in the Old Testament, and the latter, "Liberty," in the New. It is easy to see, in even rapidly turning over the pages of the Bible, how far larger a space, in proportion, is occupied in the New Testament with matters of feeling and motive than with definite injunctions and directions. From all which it is plain that, however absolute is the inter-dependence of these two principles, yet that represented by the word "Liberty" is the greater and more exalted of the two. Indeed, it is clear that every active energy of the soul must be a higher thing than the restraints and limitations imposed upon it.

But another thought presents itself in regarding the mutual relation and inter-dependence of these two principles—namely, that, if we may reverently say so, they describe the manifestation made to us of the very nature of God's own actings. So far as we can discern, it would seem that in God's actings we behold spontaneity restrained by law. Only in the case of Divine action the law is, of course, wholly self-imposed. In our case it is partly so, and partly imposed from without. And this seems to be another of the manifold points in which we discern the truth of the revealed fact, that "in the image of God made He man." Man's highest moral state is one of spontaneity restrained by law, or, in other words, of "Liberty" restrained by "Discipline."

We will now come down from theorising to practical every-day life. The habits of each one of us are formed by discipline. Law

meets us from the very first. The child is confronted on all sides and in a thousand ways by restraints. The discipline of circumstance, the discipline of external will, by degrees the discipline of acquired self-government—these are ever moulding and defining the character. Even the most wilful and ill-disciplined is to a very large degree unconsciously the creature of law. He has been fashioned at least into the capacity for social life and tolerable regularity of conduct by the pressure of external forces. But the practical question for us is this:—Being what we are, in what forms and in what degree shall we accept discipline as a principle of life and conduct? To put it still more plainly: How far is it right to live by rule, and to regulate the conduct by strict laws; and how far is it right to trust to the spontaneous impulses of the free being? I suppose the answer to such questions would be twofold:—1. That different characters require different treatment, and that, while all require the combination of discipline and liberty, for eager, self-willed, or careless natures a large amount of discipline is necessary; while for calm, orderly, and unemotional characters, liberty is the element to be most insisted on. 2. That, as the Christian man advances in his spiritual progress, there will be a gradual shifting of the centre of motive power from the side of discipline to the side of liberty. I know that men experienced in the ways of holiness tell us that in the aged Christian the spiritual life is very free and unconstrained, and that very few rules are needed. Perhaps this may be because of the increase of God-imposed restraints. When God carves out the channel so clearly as He often does for us in advancing years it may be safer to lean more to the side of natural impulse. But, meanwhile, which of us can do without the element of law and discipline? He seems to me a bold man who can say, 'I am not under the law, but under grace, and therefore I no more need the restraints of discipline.' And I think I should be a rash man, if I were to say to any one with whom I might chance to speak of these things, 'My friend, don't be a slave to rules and discipline; you are called to liberty; trust to the generous impulse of your own heart, and you cannot go far wrong.' I think the great majority of people want counselling in the other direction. They want rules and discipline. Their life is frittered away and wasted, or robbed of all its strength and purpose, for want of rules and discipline. I believe, for most, to live by rule is just the thing most needful. I would say to them: 'Make yourself a rule of early rising; a rule as to your private prayers, your Bible reading, your self-examination; a rule as to preparation for Holy Communion; a rule as to the due employment of time; a rule as to the due regulation of your almsgiving; a rule of self-denial; and a rule of labour for others.' It has been said, "Rules for children; principles for men." I am afraid, if we are to judge by this standard, very few of us have emerged as yet from childhood. When we find ourselves in all things governed by principles, it will be time enough to discard rules. In all our self-discipline there are two obvious dangers to be guarded against:—(1.) Formalism, the resting on the observance of rules as though it were an end and not a means; and (2.) Setting traps for conscience, by making one's rules too stringent or too burdensome.

And now I turn to "Liberty." This is the pure fountain of living water which must spring up in the soul, and flow through all the channels of law and discipline, if the man is to be saved from the deadly dryness of a dreary formalism. Christianity is not an elaborate system, but a divine life; not a complex net-work of rules and ordinances, but a pure atmosphere; not a Book of Leviticus, but a Gospel of St. John. If the living flesh and blood need the framework of bones to give them form and stability, the framework of bones without the warm living breathing flesh and blood is a bare and ghastly skeleton. Rules and systems, forms and ordinances—these need the breath of life breathing into them. Fill them with the free and genuine outflow of faith, hope, and charity, and they are as the streams that water Paradise. Let the spirit of adoption turn all service into love, and the child of God is indeed free. "Love is the fulfilling of the law," yet love is liberty. "Perfect love casteth out fear," and even imperfect love makes the Christian man to be "not under the law," forasmuch as what the law commands, that he does, not because the law commands but because he loves. If we sorely need the restraining force, the informing power of law and discipline, we need no less (shall I say even more?) to be lifted above the drudgery of mere obedience by the living power of love and liberty. We do need to learn what is meant by "the glorious liberty of the children of God." We would reverence Law. "Her seat is in the bosom of God; her voice the harmony of the world." But we should show our reverence for law by bathing it in the sunshine of liberty. Our law shall be what God's will is to the Angels—the "perfect law of liberty." And law shall be so suffused with liberty, and liberty so interblended with law, that at last there shall be no contrariety between them; but law shall wear the semblance of liberty, and liberty of law. But this will, I suppose, be only when we are "equal unto the Angels."

Meanwhile, we are here on earth, and I scarcely know which cry goes up oftenest from poor struggling fainting souls. One cries, 'I have no system, no method. My life wastes itself through lack of discipline. I am aimless, purposeless, useless. Give me rules whereby to live.' And another cries, 'I cannot love; my heart is cold, dry, lifeless. If I try to serve God, it is a barren slavish service. Teach me to realise God's love. Teach me to love God.' And perhaps more persons still really need to put up both cries at once. For the best prayer we could offer would be 'Give me discipline that I err not from Thy commandments, and give me liberty that I serve Thee not in the spirit of bondage and of fear.' Or, in better words still, though rather of a resolve than a prayer, "I will run the way of Thy commandments, when Thou hast set my heart at liberty." "I will walk at liberty, for I seek Thy commandments."

And so we come back to the truth that the health of the spiritual life consists in the due adjustment of these two principles. There are those who in the diligent and punctual observance of the strict rule of some religious order yet shut themselves out from light and love and peace. There are those who in the glowing realisation of

the unseen and the beautiful dreamy sense of heavenly thoughts and aspirations are in peril of self-seeking and of self-indulgence.

I should not like to end without one thought of our great Example. How does His earthly life bear upon our subject? Behold Him in the form of a slave. Listen as He cries, "My meat is to do the will of My Father which is in heaven. I can of Mine own self do nothing." See Him "subject" as a Child, accepting as a Man the constraining law of outward things, bowing to circumstances, the servant of all, "made perfect through suffering." Surely He has consecrated Discipline. Behold Him again the Son "in the bosom of the Father," conqueror in the Temptation, glorified in the Transfiguration, triumphing over death and hell, all power given unto Him in heaven and in earth, exalted to the right hand of God, quickening whom He will. Surely He has consecrated Liberty.

Then welcome Discipline—God-imposed and self-imposed. This is the mould of the spirit and the school of Liberty. Of this is begotten all strength and firmness and stability and endurance. And welcome Liberty—Divine, angelic! This is the spring of life and the inner force of all things. This, too, has its seat in the bosom of God, and by it are engendered all great and holy impulses and motives of the spirit.

Welcome a life, shaped and moulded by the outward ordering of the laws which God has ordained, yet inspired and glorified by the God-like liberty wherewith Christ has made us free!

ADDRESSES.

Rev. W. J. Knox Little.

It was a saying of one of the acutest thinkers and one of the greatest teachers of modern Europe that if you force a man truly to answer the question, "What sayest thou of thyself?" you penetrate into the most secret sanctuary of his inner life; and it is equally true, I think, to affirm that if you force him truly to answer the question, "What sayest thou of thy God?" you thereby enter into the innermost penetralia of his personal religion. If to be a personally religious man means, as I contend it does, to realise and recognise the constant relation between the creature and the Creator, then the one point upon which I insist, not venturing to cover the wide ground occupied by the able papers which you have heard, is this, that there is the most imperious necessity pressing upon every creature to adopt such discipline and only such as may enable him to maintain in activity and develop to keenest intensity the one central sense of personal religion—namely, the sense of the individual responsibility of the immortal creature. That it is the one great design of discipline, the test of what is good discipline, to make him realise luminously, constantly, distinctly, and with increasing vividness the two great objects—the soul and God.

Now I will take three or four examples of discipline of this kind.

First, I say we want the *discipline of self-search*, to examine the conscience carefully, regularly, and searchingly, which meets two dangers: first, the danger of a vague, aimless, drifting life, by which the force of the soul being squandered, the strength of the moral being is lost.

Secondly, the danger of a perpetual miserable introspection, by which there comes narrowness and pettiness, and at last despondency. A regular rule of self-examination meets these difficulties, for it enables the soul, by patient struggle, to be *in possession* of itself. "In patience possess ye your souls."

If that be the case, it seems to me that there may be, there must be, times when the soul desires not only to do that which it must do—confess its sins to God—but to use the wide, the gracious, the holy liberty of the English Church, and to use the ministry of consolation by confessing its sins to God in the presence of His minister. I therefore entreat my brothers of the laity to remember that while there may be strong ones amongst them (if the absence of such desire be any proof of *strength*, which I seriously question), they ought at least to bear with the infirmities of the weak (if the use of such discipline be *weakness*, which I unhesitatingly deny); and I ask them to recollect, in the name of those struggling young hearts that I have had to deal with amongst the young men of our great cities—how the crisis or crises of the life which an able reader to-day has dwelt upon as being the only permissible times for confession, sometimes come in a struggling soul *habitually*, and that there may be an *habitual* sin that needs to be fought down with *habitual* sternness. I would therefore say that the discipline which the conscience demands, and which we ought to receive in the name of Him Who is the Lord of liberty, is a discipline that does not shut out the soul from our most Blessed Redeemer; but that it is wisely intended, and is powerful when rightly used, to lead us, as other ministrations lead us, up to the One dear High Priest, the only Absolver of us all. And this most blessed ministration, I maintain, when truly used, leads to a deepening sense of personal responsibility. Therefore I ask you to remember this, that while compulsion would be wrong, while the statement of absolute necessity to salvation would be untrue, the permissibility of confession, as a part of the wide freedom accorded in the English Church, is merely in accordance with the inalienable liberty that belongs to the individual conscience which is seeking God through Jesus our Redeemer. But I further beg you to think of this, that such discipline in self-searching, or particular confession of sin, would be impossible, or if possible, would be one-sided, without another discipline, which I take as an example of what I mean—the *discipline of prayer*.

Let me remind you that it is that severe discipline which makes these things not one-sided. Prayer is not, as the German philosopher imagined it to be, simply a paroxysm of temporary madness. Prayer, as we know, is the rising of the creature into the presence-chamber of the Eternal. To regulate prayer is needful in order to give definiteness to our intercourse with God—to have stated places and stated hours; the courageous resistance to outside distraction is necessary that this discipline may act to keep alive that one great sense, the sense of individual responsibility, which is *the* sense of personal religion. If that be the case—if there be any truth in what I say—let me ask you further to recollect this as an example—the extension of prayer (which is brought about in the soul by regularity) is what I may call the discipline of recollectedness—the practice of the presence of God. You cannot force that consciousness, but you can assist its growth when planted in the heart as a latent idea; and if you do, recollect you are practising again a discipline that goes to form the central sense.

Now, I maintain that the need of discipline, the power of discipline, the use of discipline, whether it be of self-searching, whether it be of private confession, whether it be of habitual prayer, and habitual struggle to realise the presence of our God, leads up steadily towards that deeper sense of responsibility, of the face to face position of the soul of the creature with his everlasting Creator, which, in fact, is the glory of our liberty, and the solemnity of our fear. For our dear God Himself, in His gigantic love and

tenderness, has laid a discipline upon us all, which takes the stiffness out of our regulated methods of the *discipline of life*; the meaning of this particular discipline is to prepare us —to be ready for each emergency, always in the sight of God; by a disciplined will to force our love into a true channel that it shall not be wasted, but useful in raising the creature into communion with his God. For the end of it all, the meaning of it all, the end of moral law, the end of discipline, the end of duty, the source of perfection, the power of sanctity—oh! what is it, my brothers, but simply this—the everlasting, the blessed union of the soul of the redeemed creature with the life, the lovely, loving, glowing life of our most dear Redeemer? All are but means to that; and discipline is the tuning of the instrument for the Spirit to play upon, and the work of the Spirit is to bring it into harmony with Christ. The work of Christ and the work of the Spirit are not separable. The Spirit's work is to "take of the things of Jesus and show them" to the soul. We offer the instrument to the Divine touch of that tender hand that plays upon it, and He will bring it through this holy discipline into oneness with our dear and loving Lord. For the end of the creature is union with God by Jesus Christ, and, whatever means are used towards this ultimate attainment, it is the Blessed Spirit who is the life-inspiring agent; and means which are inspired by Him are instruments of the creature's freedom, for "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

Prebendary Cadman.

I feel a privilege, as well as a responsibility, in addressing such an audience as this upon the subject of personal religion in daily life. This seems to me to be the most important that has been treated of here. We may have different opinions upon other subjects, but personal religion is not a matter of opinion; it is that by which we ought to manifest in life that we are the children of God, and certainly that which alone can be important to us when we come to die. It would often be a regulating question of daily life when we are taking an interest in great subjects, especially of a controversial subject, if we were to ask of what importance will this be to me in the hour of death and in the day of judgment. Personal religion will indeed be of importance to us then.

Now, it seems to me that the discipline and the liberty of which we have heard in the able papers and addresses of to-night, are both of them brought before us in those precious words of revealed truth—"we are not without law to God"—there is discipline implied, "but we are under the law to Christ," there is the loving liberty of the child of God. For surely personal religion has to do and always had with a personal Saviour. From the very first promise that was given to our fallen parents that personal Saviour has been set before fallen man, suffering, yet triumphant, a substitute for the sinner, one of whom we can say He loved me and gave Himself for me. I look upon religion then, not as a matter of opinion merely, but as a real bringing of the heart in all the confidence of a sinner's trust to a real personal Saviour, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Then as to the regulation of all details connected with liberty and discipline, we have His own blessed Word to guide us, and we have His own blessed Spirit to lead us and to instruct us in the truths that are revealed in that Word. What a help, then, we have suggested to us in this subject for the realisation of the union which all of us who have spoken at this Congress have professed to desire. In proportion as each of us seeks personally to know Christ, to be guided by His Word, to be under the regulations of His Spirit, he will be sure, as the result of his efforts, to be at unity with his fellow Christians who also strive to be like Christ. Let me express here my solemn conviction

that as members of the Church of England, we all have great assistance, in God's good providence, in the services and ordinances of our Church. What, for example, can be a better description of personal religion, both as to discipline and liberty, than the epistle which was brought before us all only last Sunday, where we are told of the love of a pardoning God, of the advocacy of a gracious Saviour, of the work of His Holy Spirit—all these, as motives to us to put away all bitterness, to be followers of God, in the absence of everything that is unkind, and in the exercise of everything that is kind, according to the love which God has for us. There can be no doubt that we may recognise in these great truths, the liberty with which the Son of God makes us free, the liberty of sons who can come to a Heavenly Father with confidence, pardoned, adopted, provided for, reconciled, taught, guided; in a word, having "boldness and access with confidence by the faith of Jesus." This is our Christian liberty. We need to be on our guard against any entanglements that interfere with it. But when I say this, I grant our need of discipline. There are both difficulties and dangers in connection with religion in daily life. Of those difficulties I shall say only this, that the Collect of this week in our Church service helps us to see how to get over them. "O God, forasmuch as without Thee we are not able to please Thee; mercifully grant that Thy Holy Spirit may in all things direct and rule our hearts, through Jesus Christ our Lord." There is the secret of getting over the difficulties in our daily life. But then let me say a word about dangers. I will speak briefly but practically. One danger of personal religion being interfered with is that we should get the notion that finding fault with others is the way to secure our own excellence. We are guarded against this by our Lord's teaching about the mote and the beam. Another idea that is dangerous is that of supposing that while we reprove and find fault with the errors of others our own opinions are infallible. There is more Popery among those who profess to be Protestant than some of us are aware of. Again we have to guard against mistaking personal excellencies as if they were a security for correctness of opinion. One of our greatest statesmen lately said, "Some of the strongest cases of fanaticism known to me are also cases in which I am most convinced of the uprightness of the persons moved by it." This is a truth applicable far beyond the point to which he immediately referred it. St. Peter was a good man when he was blamed by St. Paul for interfering with the Christian liberty of the Gentiles; St. Barnabas was a good man when he was carried away to practices contrary to the simplicity of the Gospel. We learn from their examples, that personal excellence does not always imply soundness of judgment. The subtlety of the enemy with whom we have to contend is so great, that we shall do well to remember that even good men may be mistaken, and, therefore, that we need watchfully and prayerfully to examine ourselves, examine our views, and examine the spirit in which we act from time to time to see whether all be of God.

I would further say that to speak bitterly of those brethren with whom we differ is not to promote personal religion. Bitterness is not a fruit of the Spirit. There is a fault in this matter on all sides. Mention has been made during these discussions of the bitterness of some religious newspapers. This is a fault I maintain to be avoided on all sides. In reproving the bitterness of the high or the low Church (even the broad Church can be bitter), I think there were a few bitter herbs in the fragrant flowers of composition which were presented to us yesterday. But however this may be, let us remember the saying of Hooker, "There will come a time when three words uttered with charity and meekness shall receive a far more blessed reward than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit." I only add, then, these further remarks, let there be due government of the tongue and the pen; let us all take care not to give offence if we possibly can help it; let us take care not to take offence if we

possibly can avoid it. I believe that in such simple rules as these there is much to help us in the exercise of personal religion. All may not agree with us, but do not let us suppose that some Thomas is to be excommunicated because he has doubts. Do not let us, on the other hand, praise him as if his honest doubts were more to be preferred than the faith of those of whom our Lord said, "Blessed are they that have not seen and yet have believed." Let it be a constant question, 'What would my Lord and Saviour do if He were in my place—what would He have me to do?' Let it be our constant effort to be faithful witnesses for Christ, and our constant determination to set Him in His Person, His Work, His Grace, His Glory, His Kingdom, always before us,—"Secure, O Lord, if Thou approve, though all the world condemn."

Rev. R. W. Randall.

If there is one thing for which one must have felt more deeply thankful than for any other during the meeting of this Congress, it must, I am sure, have been this, that the night upon which the largest numbers have been gathered together, the night upon which the deepest attention has been paid to the words uttered in this place, has been that night which has shown that under all our deep interest in the matters that concern the Church of God, and under all the acts of love which have been shown for her, the deepest feeling which lies enshrined in all hearts is clearly to be found in the longing of men to lead a true Christian life which shall maintain in this world something of a communion with God, to be perfected in the world to come in the full blessedness of that union. It would be impossible after all that has been said to-night, to which one has been listening as a learner, and a most thankful learner, to add any one thought which could be at all fresh. I am even thankful to have marked off, time after time, one thing after another which had occurred to me as possibly worthy of mention, and to find often my own thoughts flowing from the lips of those, the nearness of whose hearts to one's own the world that misjudges Christians little knows. But there has been underlying perhaps every single speech this simple thought, which I venture to place before you as an assistance in considering the subject of this evening. I mean the thought of the mighty Fatherhood of God. If we are to think of Christian liberty, and if we are to arrive at the use of the real Christian discipline, it can only be by going one step beyond that mighty soul-governing truth which was pressed upon you by a former speaker, the sense of the soul's existence, and of the existence of a God; that not only does the soul exist, but that God exists. We must learn to see the full reality of all the blessing which is conveyed to the soul by the truth that God is the Father of the soul. I would venture to try and show you how this bears upon our question of to-night. When we speak of God as a Father, we speak of Him Who has made us His children in and through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ His Own dear Son. We speak of Him, therefore, as one who loves us for that Son's dear sake; Who yearns for our love, and, if I may use the word, pants in His spirit for the answer of our own spirits to His own uncreated love, and rejoices in the answer of created love, when it is poured back in answer to His own. Now, what is true Christian liberty? Surely it is the spring of the heart, the spring of the soul into the willing and waiting embrace of God. True Christian liberty lies in that which sets the soul free. Free from mistakes about God; free from the dread and fear that might keep it apart from God; free from cowering before God because He is a God of justice, while forgetting that He is as surely and as truly a God of Love; free because the soul knows what it is to be cleansed through the blood of God's own Son; free

from all that might hold it back from God; free from the most terrible of all slaveries, the slavery of man's own passions. Even a heathen has taught us that the worst, the lowest, and the most debasing slavery is the slavery of the man who follows his own will. True liberty, therefore, is found in the sense of what it is to be a child of God brought home to the heart through the power of the Holy Ghost, which makes us know what is the Love of God for us through Christ. And, then, with this surely comes the true Christian discipline. For in every human family which are the most true children? Are they not those who seek to fence and to guard themselves from the slightest approach to any single thing that might grieve a loving parent's heart? And is not this what lies at the bottom of all Christian discipline—the earnest desire to please God? So men learn to live by rule; to have their fixed and regular times of prayer, lest God should be disappointed; their fixed arrangement of time for each day; nay, as St. Paul himself has shown us, the soul must make use of discipline to control the body beating it down and bringing it into subjection, so that the soul may watch against the slightest approach to rebellion of the flesh against the spirit, such as might grieve the watching eye and the communing heart of the Eternal Father with His children in this world. Surely, then, we may just go on this one point further, and consider the way in which our Blessed Lord Himself passed through the discipline of life in the home at Nazereth; how He sat at the feet of His teachers; how He submitted so regularly in obedience to the laws of the Jewish Church as He kept its oppointed feasts. And, as God's own Son was trained through the discipline of obedience, surely we may say that God cannot have left those whom he desires to see conformed to the image of His Son without special training and discipline. It has, indeed, been sometimes said that in the pages of the New Testament you do not find strict rules and definite laws which Christians are to observe in the matter of their service of God; and it has been well answered, that this is so, because our Lord left perpetually the Spirit of God, the Holy Ghost, to be the guide of His Church, leading us into the truth, and enabling us to meet all the necessities of souls as changing times run on. And so in the writings of holy men, in the rules of true servants of God, and, more than all, in the rules of our beloved Prayer Book, I think we may trace the true discipline given by a loving Father, through the guidance of the Holy Ghost in His Church into that obedience on earth which is to pass on to the full obedience among the Blessed in Heaven. I venture to place this thought before you, and I hope that it may lead some to watch and control their hearts, and to lay out their days and their lives with some care. It may lead them to bring the morning prayer, the day's conversation, the business, the reading, the sufferings, and the acts of the day by offering them in oblation to God under a Holy discipline, as that loving eye is thought of. And yet more, it may make men try what has trained and reared the grand practical godliness of the English Christian, a faithful observance of the Book of Common Prayer.

Mr. Eugene Stock.

I think there is one thing more that needs to be said to-night. We have had some excellent advice, but where is the motive power to enable us to follow it? You may lay down between London and Croydon the best and most finished rails ever produced; you may place upon them the most perfectly constructed locomotive engine that ever came out of the workshop; but you will not get that engine to move a single inch till you have applied the motive power. And we need the motive power too, if we are to exhibit Personal Religion in Daily Life. Will the best discipline, the most perfect code of rules, give us that? The Mosaic law itself could not.

But "what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh," God did, by sending His own Son "in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin." I know that text has another application, but I contend that this application of it is a perfectly legitimate one. Yes; the secret of Personal Religion in Daily Life is a realisation of that "full, perfect, and complete sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world," offered once for all on Calvary. Now, is the tendency of minute rules of conduct, however good in themselves, to assist such realisation? I am afraid the tendency is rather the other way. It is very hard for our poor human nature to separate the idea of living by rule from the idea of a struggle to win the favour and acceptance of God. And that struggle is sure to be accompanied by a tormenting and perpetual sense of failure—utter and hopeless failure. I might give many illustrations of this, but time fails, and I will give one only. We all remember that godly monk, in the German convent some three hundred and seventy years ago, who subjected himself to every kind of self-denying bodily discipline in order to secure God's favour. Did it give him peace? He could not and never did get peace till one day the Vicar-General of his Order came to his cell, and said, "Brother, don't you know the words you say in the Creed, *I believe in the forgiveness of sins?*" And Martin Luther believed—believed in Him by whose finished work his sins were put away—and found for the first time the peace he had long so vainly sought. Surely there is a significant lesson for us in our Lord's treatment of the man sick of the palsy. The cripple came to be cured, and he got what he wanted. But he got something else first, something far better. First, "Son, thy sins are forgiven thee." Then, "Arise, take up thy bed and walk." And when, believing in the forgiveness of sins, we enter into Christian liberty, the true liberty of the children of God, and walk in the sunshine of a heavenly Father's smile, it is then, and not till then, that we can successfully show what is the practical power of Christianity in daily life. This is the teaching of Holy Scripture. "Rejoice in the Lord alway, and again I say, Rejoice." "The joy of the Lord is your strength." And it is the teaching of the Prayer Book too. I grant that there is in the Prayer Book a considerable penitential element; but it is the penitence, not of trembling rebels hoping to propitiate an angry King, but of wayward and sinful and yet affectionate children, confident in the love of a Father Who knoweth their frame and remembereth that they are but dust. Penitence and praise are never separated in the Prayer Book. In the midst of our noble *Gloria in Excelsis* we cry to the Lamb of God to have mercy upon us. In the midst of our penitential Litany, we burst forth into praise—"Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." Sinful as we are, we hesitate not to pray, "Make Thy chosen people joyful."

Is there then no place for discipline? Assuredly there is. "Wherefore then serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions." The forgiven man still has sin in his heart, and he needs the discipline of rule and law to guide him, just as the engine to which the motive power has been applied needs the carefully laid rails to ensure its moving in the right direction. Christian liberty and Christian discipline, then, are not antagonistic the one to the other. But it is by becoming more like our blessed Master and Lord that we shall be able the more to dispense with Christian discipline and the more to enjoy Christian liberty. It is just in proportion as we are able, like Him, to find it our meat and drink to do the will of our Father, and to say day by day, and hour by hour, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?"—"Not my will, but Thine be done"—that we shall show what is the true beauty of Personal Religion in Daily Life.

Rev. D. D. Stewart.

It is not hard to ascertain *principles* in the important subjects brought under our consideration this evening, but it is often very hard amidst the circumstances of common life, to *apply* them. To a man whose heart the Gospel has really reached, the principle of personal religion is plainly this:—that he must trust in the Divine Redeemer, revealed to him, and prove his trust by conduct in accordance with all the seven beatitudes. Then, when a further question arises, as to Christian liberty and Christian discipline, a second principle is plain that Christians, distinguished by a recognition of the Son of God as Saviour, must be mutually charitable. St. John's description of Christianity is a very brief one, "That we should believe in the name of His Son Jesus Christ, and love one another." Simple, however, as this rule is, it is often very hard to ascertain precisely who are to be treated as Christian brethren: because the very doctrines, or practices, or details of ritual by which some conceive that they declare or honour the name of Christ appear, in the estimation of others, grievously to dishonour it. Not unfrequently indeed, when men are only taking into account the varying schools of thought in their own religious community, they find it by no means easy to ascertain who are really the upholders of a true Christ. But the difficulty is greatly increased when they let their thoughts pass over the more extended range, among the tenets of other denominations. Yet, brotherly love is emphatically enjoined by Christ Himself as an essential part of true Christian discipline and as the proper watchword through all regiments of the one Christian army.

I have only time to add, in conclusion, that a single Scriptural rule, presented to us by St. Paul in his own pattern, gives instruction at once as to how to reach the true standard ourselves, and how to promote fellowship among those who ought to be brethren. "I press towards the mark for the prize to which God on high is calling me. I count all things but loss that I may be found in Christ, having the righteousness of God by faith." That was his own course. That was the course which he urged all the spiritually taught to follow. And he enforced his exhortation by the distinct prediction that through following it, they would, whilst insuring their own safety, be divinely drawn nearer and nearer to other believers. "Be *thus* minded: and if in any thing ye be otherwise minded God shall reveal even this to you."

Yes; yes; it is not the controversialist who of necessity acquires most truth; but the man who devoutly sets himself to reach the glorious kingdom by daily renewing his personal grasp of the King. Let us resolutely determine, by the use of all the means of grace, so to live. Then we shall not only obtain a firm assurance that we each know Christ, but we shall find ourselves borne heaven-ward along an ever-widening stream of brotherly charity.

SECTION ROOM.

THURSDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 11th.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of DOVER took the Chair at Ten o'clock.

THE OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S DAY.

PAPERS.

Rev. JAMES AUGUSTUS HESSEY, D.C.L., Archdeacon of Middlesex.

MY LORD BISHOP, — I confess that I experience considerable difficulty in approaching the subject which has been entrusted to me—"The Observance of the Lord's Day." Its deep, intrinsic importance, and its ever-recurring interest to all Christendom, are, I think, two most sufficient reasons for my embarrassment. But another is the variety and multitude of the questions connected with it, and the impossibility of doing justice in twenty minutes to what, as may be within your knowledge, I have had to devote a full-sized volume. This must plead my excuse if I leave very much unsaid, and if I forego on this occasion any attempt to investigate historically the origin of the Day, or to re-open the controversies which have been raised on that point.

I will, then, with your permission, confine myself, as closely as may be, to the exact terms of the Thesis, which, by investing the Day with a very solemn and endearing name, may be understood to assume its title in right of that name to be observed by us, and to suggest that our practical concern is to consider how it is to be observed.

Everything else I shall dismiss, contenting myself, in order to prevent any misunderstanding as to my views, with little more than a short citation of some words that I have written elsewhere. They are these :—

"This is the day which the Lord hath made. We will rejoice and be glad in it," not as servants, but as sons. The day of our Lord's Resurrection and the weekly earnest of our own—the day which, treading in the scripturally-recorded footsteps of the Apostles, the Church throughout the world has acknowledged for eighteen

centuries, and in which, even in the worst of times, God's saints have found rest from life's contests, spiritual and bodily—the day which reminds men that they are heirs of God, joint heirs with Christ, the Son of God, the Son of Man, and members one of another—the day which, though it be not the Sabbath, may have all the glorious things said of it which were said of the Sabbath, and so is to be "a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable"—the day on which St. John, even while on earth, "was in the Spirit"—the day which above all days, whether ordinary or stamped with ecclesiastical honour, is the day of the Holy Eucharist, of united prayer, charitable deeds, self-meditation, devout perusal of Scripture on the one hand; the day of Christian rest, Christian loving-kindness, Christian cheerfulness, and harmless relaxation on the other—the day which draws us closest to God, but which at the same time reminds us that God is brought near to us in Christ, Who was manifested in the flesh for our sakes, Who did truly rise again from the dead, and as Man is at the right hand of the Father—the day which in our foolishness we fancy we have adopted from expediency, or utility, or on political or sanitary grounds, or the like, but which we really owe to our moral wants and to our moral sense; our moral wants discovered to us, our moral sense guided and directed to a particular issue by the Holy Spirit speaking in Scripture and by the Apostles."

This statement of my views as to the obligation of the Lord's Day forms the concluding passage of my Bampton Lectures. I have nothing to add to it except the statement following, the substance of which has also appeared there. "I hold that in observing the Lord's Day I carry out the moral element of the Fourth Commandment, and I rejoice that that Commandment is rehearsed in our Liturgy. In my opinion he does no strange thing, but Christianises the oldness of the latter, who, when he hears that Commandment, thinks of the day hallowed by Christ's Resurrection, the birthday of the Christian Church, and, desiring grace to preserve it worthily, prays: "Lord, have mercy upon me, and incline my heart to use rightly Thine own day—the Lord's Day.'"

Well, how is this day (which I would describe as primarily a day of religion, and secondarily a day of relaxation from labour); first, how is it to be observed by the individual Christian? secondly, is he bound, in his observance of it, to have regard to, or consideration for any one besides himself? Thirdly, has the State anything to do with enforcing its observance? If so, upon what grounds, and how far may or can she do so in the way of prohibition, or of permission, or of provision for employment or enjoyment, without unduly intruding upon the liberty of the individual? And, fourthly, what should be the attitude of the Church, or rather of the Clergy as representing the Church, in reference to it?

I will treat of these questions in order.

Praise, Bounty, and Rest, according to Hooker (and Bishop Prideaux substantially agrees with him) seem to indicate, at least roughly, the duty of and the freedom to be enjoyed by the individual on the Lord's Day. The first two of them, Praise and Bounty,

point to the religion of the day. They are directly founded on the Scriptural intimations as to the manner in which the Apostles and their followers employed themselves, and in which they devoted something to the needs of their brethren on every occasion of its recurrence. The 20th chapter of the Acts, the 16th of the First of Corinthians, and the 1st of the Revelation are evidences on these points. No man, then, who regards Scripture should conscientiously pass that day without those special religious offices and that special almsgiving to which those passages allude, and without such other subsidiary aids to his devotion as are at his disposal, from the fact that he has what men had not in the times of early Christianity—an open Bible, stated public worship, and the freedom and rest desirable for its cultivation. I mention these particulars because certain ultra theories of the Lord's Day presume an independence of forms—a sort of non-religious observance of it—which supposes that men can safely dispense with all trammels, and yet be in satisfactory communion with God.

Again, there are too many persons who unconsciously carry out the analogue of that careless and profane maxim, "The Bible is only for Sunday," by—even on Sunday—having little to do with the Bible beyond hearing portions of it in church. There are others who, having attended an early celebration of the Holy Eucharist, imagine that they have concluded their religious duties for the day, and that all its remaining hours may be devoted, as is too generally the case on the Continent, to secular business or perfectly unrestrained pleasure. One may grant, and one does grant, that rest for the body and the mind are part of the privileges of the day, but care should surely be taken that rest as such, and if it be such, does not interfere with the soul; and it should be remembered that secular business, and especially if it be of a gainful kind, is foreign to the day which combines rest with religion—nay, which has in it the element of rest—because without that, no time would be found for religion. Besides, if a man is engaged in providing for himself, he is scarcely likely to be very genuine or very liberal in giving forth of himself, and in being bountiful towards others.

The amount of directly religious worship appropriate to the day it is impossible to lay down. One can only point to the opportunities provided by the Church, and speak generally of private devotions. It has been said, and said truly—

> "High Heaven rejects the store
> Of nicely calculated less or more."

And so it is with the amount and the character of the relaxation permissible to each individual. The infinite diversities of position, of residence, of age, of temperament, of week-day employment and pursuits forbid any attempt to define its character accurately; and the necessities of a highly artificial state of society render it equally impossible to define its amount; and both these things, again, are affected by the variable amount which individual consciences deem it necessary or desirable to devote to religion. All one can say is, generally, the Christian system is one of liberty, and

therefore subject to certain considerations, to be mentioned presently. Each adult person, at any rate, must be left to himself to determine what he will do and what he will not do on Sunday. As a general rule, too (though I am not forgetting that there is a righteous jealousy for God's honour which is not to be condemned, and that possibly the State may have some voice in the matter), persons should bear and forbear. I should not determine that my brother is irreligious; because, always supposing his religious duties not to have been neglected, he, having been six days pent in a city, spends part of one day in the fresh air of the country: and I should be similarly candid in my interpretation of his conduct if, being a son of toil, he requires more physical rest than I do; or being young and joyous, he demands more free vent for his animal spirits; or being in the midst of a noisy household, he seeks in the evening the quiet of a reading-room; or being of few intellectual resources, he needs society. And whatever my own views may be, and how capable soever I may be myself of concentrated and sustained religious thought, I should avoid that great error which Presbyterians of Scotland, and some among ourselves, have committed—namely, of imagining that all should or can employ their religious and rest day exactly after the same fashion.

And hence we formally approach our second question, Is the Christian, in observing the Lord's Day, to have regard to or consideration for others besides himself? To the latter clause of this I have already given approximate reply in the affirmative. As to the former, I must say this: As the observance of the day is a matter connected most intimately with the honour of God and the edification of His Church—that is, with the preparation of souls which shall swell the Church in heaven—we are very much concerned with others (with our children for instance, and indeed with all) in the way of example. Individuals though we be, and separate organisms, we are parts of a large and complex organism, and each of us by any unsoundness may affect the complex body injuriously. For our children we are most concerned not to make the day one of restrictions, one of austere ordinances, one of gloom and melancholy. Still it may be to them a marked day—the day of that Lord who loved those of their age, and of whose loving-kindness we may tell them much. It may be one which is set apart by intermission of customary tasks and pursuits, and one for which we, gently and almost without their discovering it, provide employments and enjoyments of its own. It may be one to which we train them to look forward as a privilege rather than as a pleasure—one on which we discreetly instruct them in the things of the unseen life, interesting them in Scripture and whatever may illustrate it, making it a special day of kindness on their part to the poor, and, as they go on in life, enlarging and developing these efforts. At the same time we may do all this without forbidding natural cheerfulness and even joyousness—without the "Touch not, taste not, handle not" (Colossians ii. 21) which Scripture condemns—and without wearying them with religious exercises. A policy opposite to this creates aversion rather than attachment to the day, makes sins where there is no sin, and, by a sort

of re-action, lawful things being interdicted, drives them to seek unlawful things. And this was in the mind of that shrewd old Scottish judge, who declared that "Sabbath-keeping, not Sabbath-breaking, was the parent of crime." He meant, of course, that a too harsh and unbending law was imposed upon children in regard to Sunday, that they broke that law, and, having once begun to break law, broke other laws accordingly. Meanwhile, however, our personal practice must accompany and illustrate our education. The parent who sits or sleeps at home while he sends his children to church; who is exacting of the attention of his servants, while he talks of Sunday being a rest-day; who reads the newspaper, while he sets his children a Collect to learn, or a lesson from the Bible, obviously neutralises his instructions. The child *μιμητικώτατον τῶν ζώων*, as Aristotle declares him to be, will regard the disposal of the day, and eventually the day itself, to be merely conventional ordinances for young people, which, as soon as he has grown to be a man, he is justified in shaking off.

Mutatis mutandis, so far as our influence goes, we shall care for our servants and dependents, being especially on the watch lest even our good be evil spoken of, and to some extent denying ourselves what is lawful, lest our liberty be misunderstood.

Hence, seeing that we cannot, if we would, divest ourselves, as individuals of many relations to our neighbours, in the matter of observance of the Lord's Day, we are prepared for the third branch of our enquiry—Are we bound to take any notice of it in our corporate capacity? If so, what notice? In other words, has the State anything to do with its observance? If so, upon what grounds? And how far may or can she do so, in the way of prohibition, or of permission, or of provision for employment or enjoyment, without undue intrusion upon the freedom of individuals?

I answer without hesitation that the State is bound to interfere to a certain extent.

And this on the broad grounds following:

Firstly,—That unless she adopts the Atheistic maxim, "*Deorum injuriæ, Dîs curæ*," she has to care for the souls as well as for the bodies of her population.

Secondly,—That merely as a matter of policy, she is interested in what may make her population orderly, as recognising a higher power than her own, and contented, as feeling the beneficial exertion of her own power.

Thirdly,—That thus she has to care for what concerns their duties as well us their rights, and their rights as well as their duties.

Fourthly,—That thus, again, she has especially to care for what are in danger of being encroached upon, the religion and the rest of the Lord's Day.

Fifthly,—That, although a large portion of her population is able to protect itself, she has to recollect that the many, the poor, the uninstructed, the weak, the young, are especially tempted, both to forget their duties, and to forego their rights, in reference to the Lord's Day.

Sixthly,—That she finds that even under a scriptural dispensation which preceded Christianity, and much more under Christianity itself, such persons were intended to be protected by the State.

On these grounds, then, and taking such views of her functions, both *à priori* and historical, the State interferes, to a certain extent, with the observance of the Lord's Day.

But she interferes,

Firstly,—On her ordinary plan, that is, only so far as she interferes in other matters, I mean, with external acts.

Secondly,—Mercifully and considerately, taking into account the circumstances of her population.

Thirdly,—Fairly, not legislating for classes merely.

Fourthly,—Practically, with no affectation of absolute and abstract consistency.

First she interferes on her ordinary plan.

It is in virtue of *this principle* that the State forbids the outward and public exercise of a man's calling, for gain's sake, on the Lord's Day. She does not say to any man, "You shall be religious," nor does she penetrate into the recesses of a man's home to enquire whether he is privately pursuing his calling. But she says, "You shall not induce others to work for you, so far as I can prevent it, and, so far as I can prevent it, you shall not induce others so to bestow their attention and money upon your productions on that day as to encourage you to offer them to their notice. And if it is alleged that by this prohibition I am doing more to promote morality in religion and rest than I do to promote morality in reference to purity and honesty, I make this reply: I am acting exactly in the same manner. I prohibit external acts; I prohibit what is offensive to public decency; I prohibit what trespasses on the rights of property. And if there are cases in which I do more, in which I actually punish offences against the proper observance of the Lord's Day, it should be remembered that these are cases in which I punish offences against those other commandments. I cannot do all that might be desired in any of these matters. No system of espionage, even were it desirable, would detect a millionth part of the transgressions which are ever occurring. I do what I can, showing my disapproval by what I do attempt, acknowledging the limited character of my power by forbearing to attempt more. What is beyond this, must be left, under Divine Providence, to other influences, those of the Church, those of education, those of example, those of the enlightened conscience. I do not profess to be able to make people good by Act of Parliament. I only profess to remove some of the grosser external hindrances to their being good."

Connected closely with this would be the second characteristic of the State's interference, namely, that it is a merciful and judicious one. The State does not, in a vast number of instances, carry out, or attempt to carry out her general prohibitions, or even her general threats of punishment. For instance. She recollects that there are many neighbourhoods in which the poor are so ill provided with places for storing their food, if purchased on Saturday night, that it

would be cruel to forbid their making certain purchases on Sunday morning. And in which again they are so incapable of cooking it, that it is necessary to allow the employment of public bakehouses on Sunday. She bears in mind that the physical need of change of air in order to escape from stifling dwellings, and low associations, and from the thoughts of business, is so urgent in great cities, that it would be cruel to forbid some amount of employment of railways. And, on such considerations, she consents to the carrying on their callings, by butcher, and baker, and railway official, to a certain extent, on the Lord's Day. There are, again, the callings of those who have to minister to the health of the body, of protectors of the public peace and safety, and of purveyors of perishable articles such as milk, and of other things of daily want. The exigencies of society and the nature of the case, justify her in permitting the exercise of these. And what if those exercising them do make gain by them? She may fairly say, and she does say: "granted that this is the case, it is only accidentally, and for the sake of the multitude. Their being permitted to do so, is not because I regard them with especial favour, but simply because others can as ill dispense with their services, as any household can dispense with those of its domestics. This is evident by the fact that I endeavour, as much as possible, to minimise what I cannot altogether prevent." Wherever the State has reason to believe that public utility is only a fictitious plea for the exercise of a public calling, the real reason being a desire to obtain pecuniary profit, as in the case of the Crystal Palace, there she is most stern in her prohibitions. There is another reason, indeed, for this and similar prohibitions. But of that I shall speak presently.

Next, the State interferes fairly, not legislating for classes merely. As an exemplification of this, she refuses to shut up houses of public entertainment during the whole of the Lord's Day, while the clubs of richer persons are left open. She refuses to put down public conveyances while those of rich private persons are allowed to carry their owners whither they will.

Next, especially in reference to rest and relaxation, the State acts practically and without affectation of absolute and abstract consistency.

I have noticed, generally, her prohibitions of labour. I may add that in nearly all the departments or spheres of employment immediately under her control, she carries them out, though a good deal is still to be desired, as an earnest pamphlet by Commander W. Dawson, R.N., shows me, in reference to the observance of the Lord's Day on ship-board, whether in home ports or at sea, or in foreign ports. By her prohibitions she encourages rest, and thus, opportunities for religion, on the Lord's Day. Another encouragement in this direction is her comparatively recent establishment of periodically recurring public holidays, other than Sunday, and the indirect sanction she gives to early ceasing from work on all week days, and to a Saturday half-holiday. With regard to relaxations she acts thus:—

She interferes as little as possible with private amusements on

the Lord's Day, some she even legalises, if not in the hours of Divine service, or beyond a person's own parish. As a rule, she leaves such matters to the conscience of the individual.

She gives a wise facility to the working classes, especially in crowded localities, of procuring fresh air and bodily exercise, by providing parks and similar open spaces, and of retirement by not forbidding clubs and reading rooms where working men may comfortably spend part of their evenings and be diverted from the public-house.

She throws no unreasonable obstacles in the way of those who, unable to find such requisites at hand, desire to move elsewhere to find them.

But here she pauses. She does not, as I have said in my work on the subject, if I may quote it, compel men to listen to and virtually to approve of, any public declaration like that of the "Book of Sports," that such and such things are lawful or desirable; or resort to ruder ages, such as those before the Reformation, for amusing and miracle plays—or to over-strict countries, such as Scotland, for exclusively devotional pleasures—or to lax countries, such as are to be found on the Continent, for a license which does away with the sanctity of the day altogether. She does not insist that all persons shall recreate themselves in the same way, or lay down that every mode of relaxation, abstractedly lawful, shall be permissible. She considers, on the one hand, that men of different labours and pursuits need differences of relaxation; and, on the other, that the following points fairly come under the State's notice; "Do such and such amusements make large and noisy gatherings? Do they involve or unduly extend the employment of attendants? Do they offer inducements to the multitude to forget, more than they do already, the religion of the day? Do they offend the reasonable scruples of the religious and well-affected, who feel that the Lord's honour is impaired, if the Lord's Day is secularised? Are they but pretexts of affording relaxation to the million, while they are really attempts to improve gigantic trading speculations?" So again, she does not pronounce it to be lawful or unlawful in the abstract, to contemplate works of art, or collections of natural history, or the like, on the Lord's Day. But she refrains from having them opened to the public. And this for various reasons. In some cases, because the plea of public health or necessity is not sufficiently established, to justify the employment of the attendants who would be required. In others, because if public collections were opened, it might be difficult to discover grounds on which similar private collections should be closed, and in others, because by a most unfortunate coincidence, men undoubtedly religious are found advocating such a measure, in common with men who design to get rid of the religious character of the day, under a specious show of devoting it to moral and intellectual improvement. Of those religious men I would speak with the greatest respect. I believe their motive to be a desire to win the inhabitants of degraded neighbourhoods, from the fascinations of the public-house. I believe that they have only adopted this method, after trying almost

every other method, to elevate such persons in the scale of society, and that they have thought of this as the last resort. I believe that they have no intention of contenting themselves with this, as a final method. But like persons using lower motives as educational appliances, when higher cannot at the moment be appreciated, they hope that, bye and bye, when more elevated tastes have been acquired, relish for religion may be implanted. All this I believe. But I think, that before sanctioning it, the State should consider,

Firstly,—That all things lawful are not expedient.

Secondly,—That the partakers with the religious men in this movement are many of them men holding very different views from theirs.

Thirdly,—That it is more than doubtful whether an intellectual taste can, any more than a religious taste, be implanted at once.

Fourthly,—That it is to be feared that such collections will attract persons very different from those contemplated, persons at present frequenting the ordinances of religion, but likely to be diverted from them if strong temptation is thrown in their way.

Fifthly,—That much that is said as to the benefit of visiting art collections may be said in favour of witnessing scenic representations. Tragedy, at any rate, it was laid down by an ancient critic, is a means of education—*ἔστιν οὖν τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας, μέγεθος ἐχούσης· ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ χωρὶς ἑκάστου τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις, δρώντων, καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν* (Arist., Poet., 13). But tragedy cannot be represented without opening theatres, and, the theatres once opened, what is to prevent other representations from taking place, not merely foreign to education but hostile to anything religious? Where, then, would be England's Sunday, which many religious men abroad—among them that distinguished preacher, Père Hyacinth—long for as contrasted with that of dissipation presented by the Continent.

Sixthly,—That though, at present it is only urged that collections of art should be opened in the afternoon or in the evening, it may be doubted whether the demand could or would stop here. And that it should not be forgotten, that the latter part of the Lord's Day, is, with the working classes generally, fatigued with the last week's labour, *the* part of it which, if any, they devote to the care of their souls.

To sum up this branch of our subject.

In general, the State seems to hold, that any systematic employment of the Christian rest which shall intensely direct the minds of the multitude to special studies not religious, and that any large assemblies, not religious or even pretending to be religious, then held, are an intrusion upon the character of the Day, in which, if men meet together, it is as the body of Christ, in commemoration of His resurrection, and in anticipation of their own.

This may be called an ecclesiastical account of the Day, rather than a political one. It is so, but it is implied in the name which legislative enactments, I believe, invariably give to it, the Lord's Day, though they add, commonly called Sunday. And, after all, so

much must be left to the Church to do, and the State is so indebted to the Church, that at the very least she should encourage the Church's efforts to improve the observance of the Lord's Day. By its observance a large contribution is made to the inculcation of that obedience of the powers that be, on the highest principle, that the State cannot, but at her peril, dispense with it.

And thus we are conducted to the final point which I propose to discuss, what should be the tone and teaching and action of the Church in reference to the observance of the Lord's Day.

I shall not, I think, be suspected of limiting the idea of the Church to the clergy only, instead of embracing under it both clergy and laity. But, having spoken a good deal on the part of the laity already, I must necessarily here limit my remarks to the duty of the clergy, who officially and especially represent the Church, as for many other purposes, so in this matter pre-eminently. My brethren of the clergy will pardon me, I trust, if I speak of their duty. I will do so, not as venturing to admonish others, but as encouraging myself with others; for in the words of an ancient Christian writer —"*Cum haec ad consacerdotes meos loqui audeo, simul cum illis quæ loquar, audiam.*" *(Pseudo Ambr: de Dign: Sacerd: lib.* 1 *ad finem).*

We should then, I suggest, be careful to explain to our people the manner in which, although for five centuries at least after the publication of Christianity the Sabbath and the Lord's Day were never confounded, the Lord's Day is a Divine and Christian institution, founded on scriptural indication and apostolical practice.

That it carries out and defines for Christianity what the Sabbath did for Judaism, the moral want of a periodically recurring special day to be devoted with rest to the special service of God.

That it thus shows that the enduring part of the fourth commandment has no more passed away because our religious day is the first day of the week, instead of the seventh, than that of the fifth, because the land to which we both look forward is not the literal but a spiritual Canaan.

That it is a day to be employed by all so far as may be, in the way I have endeavoured to intimate.

Therefore, we should try so to arrange our Lord's Day services, that they may be short, cheerful, and hearty, and adapted, some of them at least, to the special circumstances of the poor, the young, the infirm, and the like.

Especially we should avoid vexing and overtiring children by long sermons, and long lessons. Sunday school instruction is indeed necessary, vitally necessary, to supplement the secular teaching, and what is called the undoctrinal religious teaching of Board Schools, but it should be brief, and to the point, and be made interesting both by the earnestness and by the liveliness of the teachers.

And no Sunday School ought to be without its recreation ground, to which, under due regulations the children should be admitted. I look with great sympathy on the movement for allowing access to the recreation grounds of the Board Schools on Saturdays and Sundays. If children are not provided with proper places to play

in, and proper associates to play with, they will play somewhere, where they ought not, and with bad associates.

And everyone needs some recreation for the body. We should not, therefore, by harsh prohibition of change of place and scene, or of vexatious closing of houses of refreshment throughout the day, try to force upon the Lord's Day that gloom which our Lord Himself deprecated even for the Jewish Sabbath. We should throw ourselves rather into the movement for open parks and opportunities for fresh air. And as to other matters, encourage innocent meetings on the Lord's Day, of Church Temperance Societies, Church Guilds for Christian Works, confraternities for persons of different ages and circumstances, associations of choirs, and bell-ringers, and Sunday School teachers, interesting Bible classes, communion classes, and the like. These will sum up work for the week past, and inaugurate the week just entered upon.

Hence it will follow that we should not let the Lord's Day stand alone, either as a day of religion, or as giving opportunity for some rest. Henstenberg, I remember, says that the English cling to the Lord's Day as the only hold for religion. We should scarcely allow it to be so strange a parenthesis in our people's lives. We should show them that it is rather the intensifying, so to speak, of the religion of other days, in which we have encouraged prayerful habits, temperate lives, and abstinence from sin, and, from the bane of many, the public-houses. Thus, we should prepare them for it by at least offering opportunities of congregational prayer on other days, especially on the Church's festivals. And if we can prevail upon them, while favouring as much as possible early closing, and occasional holidays during the week, to use their secular rest not unholily, we shall do much towards making them use the Lord's Day, the sacred rest day, holily.

The time precludes my saying more. Those who would examine my views more fully I must refer to the eighth sermon of my Bampton lectures, if they possess the book. I am not advertising it by this reference, for it has been for some time out of print; but I may mention that the late Dr. Norman Macleod, whose intrepid assertion of Christian liberty did so much in Scotland, agreed generally with me, as indeed he acknowledged.

May our dear Lord enable us, by His Spirit's holy guiding, so to observe His own Day that we may be benefitted by it in both body and soul, until we pass

"To where beyond these voices there is peace."

Rev. J. C. Egerton.

If we take the title, "Lord's Day Observance," to imply—first, its public observance, and then its observance by individuals, each in their own case, one of the great difficulties which at once beset the question is the fact that in its public aspect it involves legislation. It is not merely a question of conscience for each man to settle for

himself, but it means constraint in one direction, or the wounding of deep-seated convictions, and long-cherished privileges and habits in another.

There is the further misfortune connected with the subject, that it seems to set philanthropy and religion in opposition to each other. Philanthropy appears to argue for liberty, religion for restriction. Anything, therefore, which may now be advanced will be spoken under a full sense of these difficulties, and with an earnest desire to appreciate the views of those who differ from myself as to the best way of meeting them.

I make no apology in an assembly such as this for saying that for any opinions which I may have formed on this subject I go first of all straight to the Bible, and to the words of Him Whose Day the title of my subject declares the day to be. In keeping close to Him from Whose appearance in the world the new ideas, which have by almost common consent culminated in modern civilization, take their date, I have no fear of being found false to the strongest claims which the humanity and philanthropy of our own times can urge.

Speaking, then, first, of the public observance of the Lord's Day, the right to legislate for it depends, from my point of view, upon the doctrine on the subject laid down by the Lord of the Sabbath. If this is not so my ground slips from under me, and I should willingly leave the subject to students of physiology and social philosophy. It is my earnest conviction, then, that our Blessed Lord did not abolish the Sabbath: He never unsaid the dictum that "the Sabbath was made for man." To say that it was made for man would seem to mean that it was made for man's good, and to meet some inherent necessity of his nature. This good and this necessity, as provided for by the Sabbath, is "rest"; and if those are moral laws which command what is essential to man's welfare, and the reason of which is clear, the law of the Sabbath is part of the moral law; and it was the real meaning and fulfilment of the moral law which was set forth by Christ in this instance of the Sabbath, as it was in His interpretation of "Thou shalt not kill," and "Thou shalt not commit adultery." His correction of the existing perversion of the Sabbath was not its abolition, and my own belief is that the primary essential element of the Sabbath, as qualified by Christ, is still what it was when re-affirmed by Moses—viz., simple rest from labour.

Worship of God on the rest-day, by the assembling of ourselves together or in other ways, is, I believe, a secondary element not to be neglected, but not so emphatically of the essence of the day. A Christian who worships God truly every day of his life may be able to do without a seventh day or any day of special worship, and for purposes of worship may esteem every day alike; but the best Christian cannot do without rest from secular labour; and "rest" I look upon as our inheritance and privilege of the Lord's Day, and, I thank God, as yet, as our possession also. All that our Lord did was to show that two human necessities cannot contradict each other, and that work and labour in satisfaction of the real necessities of man on the Sabbath was no breach in spirit of the day of rest, which is also

necessary for man. The right of legislation, therefore, as based on the law of God, would appear to be the securing, as far as possible, of public rest, while guaranteeing from penalty such breaches of rest as may be reasonably proved of public or private necessity.

But now comes the point of collision between the law acting as guardian of the day of rest on behalf of all, and men acting as judges of what is necessary, and therefore lawful in their own case, on the Lord's Day.

The form under which legislative relaxation of existing Lord's Day restrictions is invoked is, I think I may fairly assert, "Innocent recreation"; and here I would say at once that I sincerely believe many of those who seek for this relaxation to be just as honest as myself in the desire to solve the question on purely Christian principles. If they thought that the legislation which they seek was dishonouring Christ they would have nothing to do with it. Full of sincere philanthropy, others also who do not argue from a Christian point of view have compassion on the multitudes. They see what the Sunday is to them, they see public institutions of instruction and amusement closed, and in the name of the suffering multitudes they call upon the Legislature to open these institutions on Sunday.

I hope I have stated the case fairly. It is, however, interesting to notice how men, whose large-heartedness and love for their fellow-men no one can doubt, have differed on the subject of Lord's Day recreation. Frederick Robertson and Charles Kingsley were completely opposed to each other on the question of opening the Crystal Palace on Sunday. But to proceed. It is, I believe, a recognised dictum among lawyers that hard cases make bad law, which I take to mean that new laws, passed or existing laws, strained to meet some particular case of hardship, will in the long run create more evil than they cure. As far as I can judge, the need of Sunday, or the Lord's Day, or the Sabbath, as a day of rest is acknowledged in common by all those whose views are represented by the three titles, No one pleads for the day being thrown open unreservedly to labour. So to throw it open would be in the eyes of some, inexpedient, in the eyes of others, morally wrong. This consent, if I am right in assuming it, is a strong point, because if it is granted religion and philanthropy will then hold alike that there is good ground for deprecating anything which can be reasonably shown to tend to the practical abolition of the day of rest.

Logical conclusions in practical life I dread; and I can often boldly allow an if, and yet, with equal though illogical boldness, refuse to allow an inevitable therefore; and I do not mean to say that if the British Museum were opened on Sunday, therefore the nation would at once give up its Christianity. I do feel, however, that the difficulty of rectifying a mistake in legislation on this question would be so great, that very strict proof of necessity should be demanded before the existing law is altered.

On the score of true philanthropy, I plead for Christ's rule that the Sabbath or day of rest was made for man; and, not to mention the labour of those who would have to minister to the recreation of the many, the contention is by no means an unreasonable one, that

the unrest of the many who might seek rest in "innocent recreation," as that phrase is for my present purpose understood, would be no true benefit to them. I might plead, of course, that the very fact of possession of the day of rest gives those who possess it a right to resist encroachments upon it, but the real question is one of moral right to possess, rather than of mere possession ; and if our present observance of the Lord's Day is only a matter of sentiment, the ground for maintaining it, though still strong, would not be the ground of moral right which I wish to uphold for it. I do not then see that innocent recreation as understood by those who are now seeking legislation for the Lord's Day, has established such a title of necessity as to justify the public loss of rest which it would involve, and so I plead earnestly the right of those who now rest to keep that rest unbroken till a case of real necessity be made out. Sunday weariness and *ennui* may be a hard case, but the legislation which would meet it by infringing on the principle of public rest on the Lord's Day would surely be creating more evil than it cured. English ideas might for a long time stave off the complete secularisation of the day, still the doctrine that public recreation and public amusement are a public necessity on the Lord's Day has in it, I believe, seeds of labour and toil, which would, sooner or later, bring forth in their degree, the bitter fruit which always accompanies any breach of the moral law.

If it be objected that large masses of men in foreign countries repudiate the idea of Sabbath rest being part of the moral law, I can only urge that in one form or another they do nevertheless acknowledge the necessity of periodical rest from labour, and that for their neglect of what I have been treating as the Divine ordinance of a seventh-day rest, they pay, as I believe, national penalties of no trifling nature.

But if we come to the conclusion that altering the law about Lord's Day observance will not cure the evils which we acknowledge, is there nothing to be done? We dare not say this. Much might be done in a very few years by the same agency which has hitherto done good in the world. Faith in our principles, and love to our fellow-man. First let the doctrine be honestly taught in our Sunday Schools, and in our Day Schools where such teaching will be allowed, boldly preached in our Churches, and heartily acted on in our homes, that it is first of all and at any rate our Christian duty to rest, and to give rest as far as we can to others on the Lord's Day; to do to them in short as we would wish them to do to us in this matter; and this love would soon be the fulfilling of the law in this respect as in others. Let Christian men who believe in this principle as a true one, use their influence on the boards of public companies. We bring no wholesale accusation of hypocrisy against men who make the Lord's Day a day of rest and even of worship, for themselves, and who yet issue rules which keep "goods-yards," ships and seamen, and workers of various kinds busy on that day. We only plead that no mere considerations of profit should be a sufficient necessity for work. The first hope of real amelioration lies in Christian honesty on this point. If we honestly believe that

the primary principle of the Lord's Day or the Christian Sabbath is still, rest, let us honestly seek to carry it out wherever we have influence; not in the old spirit which Christ condemned, but much less in the spirit which, claiming Christian liberty, enforces on multitudes a bondage of toil even more grievous than the Pharisaic bondage of compulsory rest.

Let us apply to this difficulty the great solvent of moral difficulties, consideration for others—and then we have ground to stand upon. Children would be taught on an intelligible principle from the beginning to deny themselves habits and amusements on the Lord's Day which involve the labour of others. The questions of casuistry in our home life as to what is right or wrong on this day, would be greatly answered by the question, "What is kind to others?" and this principle grasped and acted upon would soon produce not only the negative kindness, so to speak, by which we abstain from certain things that others may rest, but the positive kindness by which we might turn the Lord's day into a day of doing good to others. I have said little about Church going and worship on this day, because I hold that the essential foundation is the belief that the day is primarily a day rescued by God for the good of all from secular toil—and where the day is truly accepted as God's gift—there will endeavours by natural consequence be made to do honour to the Giver on His own day. A man who honestly has this faith will wish to do as little as possible to secularise the day in any way, and will strive so to keep it, as that all, so far as he is concerned, may see that he holds it as a divine trust on behalf of toiling men.

Outside this room I should no doubt be confronted with those who look upon the question as a purely human one, and one which it is entirely within the competence of men to settle for themselves without reference to any divine power or authority whatever. To such I would say "Friends have not you and I a common interest in securing this day, as we would secure a common or a forest, as an open space free from the encroachments of selfish men? If I as a Christian deprecate certain ways of using the day as likely to destroy its real use, am I doing anything else than I should be by preventing people from amusing or enjoying themselves in our parks and public places in such ways as would interfere with the general advantage of the public? Surely here we may be on common ground. The arrangers of the new calendar in the French Revolution, and Comte in his new religion, left open spaces cut off from labour, and why should we fall out, if I, as a Christian bring what I consider the highest possible principles and motives to support our common object."

I am not wishing to coerce any man merely into my way of spending the Lord's Day—all I wish is so far as I may be able to aid the direction of public opinion towards the doctrine that the only guarantee of the Lord's Day, Sunday, or Sabbath being used for the real welfare, spiritual or physical, of the nation at large is first of all to secure it as a day of personal and public rest.

Rev. John Gritton.

There is an irrepressible vitality in the Sabbath Law of God. Many questions touching this law have never been settled, but can never be shelved. Multitudes neglect the law; multitudes forget it. There are multitudes who oppose it. Some there are to whom this law is an object of absolute and enduring dislike, and of these a certain number carry their dislike to the extent of combining in association for the purpose of rooting out from among us all reverence and all conformity to the Law.

It appears to many as if the imposition of Sabbath Law were an act of irresponsible tyranny on the part of God, by which He robs His creatures of one-seventh part of all the gains of life, and shuts out the sunlight from one-seventh of their week. Many persons who would not dare to put the matter thus, yet plead for a life of partial or utter disregard of the Law of the Sabbath, and, under the plea of convenience, or the louder plea of supposed necessity, live on as if their King had made no law on the subject—as if their Heavenly Father had made no provision for their need.

On the other hand, there is a very general recognition among us of the existence of the Law of the Sabbath, and a very general confession of the fitness of the law to our necessities, and of its benevolent character; while it is regarded by the vast majority of men who study the Word of God, and live in the enjoyment of the grace of God, as a boon of priceless value as well as a law of perfect wisdom.

The contrast and opposition of these various ideas in the persons of those who hold them lead to much friction and conflict.

Some would lessen the authority and limit the sphere of the law. Some would betray it with a kiss, speaking excellent things of it, but relegating it to past ages and to one single nation. Some confess its divine authority and its permanent force, but deal with it as with any other law of God, which stands in the way of their wilfulness or pleasure. Some again mourn and confess their neglect of the law, but excuse their transgression on the ground of necessity.

The varied but concurrent action of all these classes, would speedily bring about the neglect of the law, and its cessation from among the influences which mould society and form the habits of communities, were it not that on varying grounds multitudes of men who recognise only the temporal good of the law, and other multitudes of men who know also the spiritual power and eternal blessedness of Sabbath rest, stand in the gate against aggression, and constantly roll back the tide of battle.

This conflict, always proceeding, has become intensified in the present age, as have ten thousand other struggles which may cease when intellect is dulled and nations are asleep, but which re-awaken and become earnest when life from on High, or energy from beneath, stirs the mind of men, and quickens their hearts.

As when two opposing fleets lie becalmed in sight of each other, there is within each the spirit of conflict, but actual war must be

confined to the movement of smaller vessels of attack ; and when the wind stirs, and the sea rises and falls under its impelling power, the fleets approach, and war follows, with all its pomp and circumstance ; so, now that the Spirit of God has breathed over the nations, and the blasts of intellectual vigour have ruffled the sea of our indifference, and, let me add, when mephitic air currents from within the dark caves of error, and night, have come to confuse and to baffle, there is life and movement, conflict and debate, in the close gathering hosts of those who transgress and those who maintain the Law of Sabbath Rest, seeking to secure it for the people of God in their glorious sanctuary, and for the world without in its bondage and unrest.

Thus it is that the question has come to the front. Conferences and Congresses debate it, Legislative Chambers, our Educational Parliament, and the Board Rooms of Companies resound with it. Trades' Unions and clerical meetings discuss it. The press teems with it. An immense literature is created by it, and the interest in this question widens and deepens continually.

We who are assembled here as Christians and as Churchmen, will not be found among the enemies of the Divine Law. It is our desire to consult on the defence of the Day of Rest, to consider the foundation of its observance, and to determine by what methods it may be best advocated and advanced.

I invite you to consider the basis on which we may most effectually persuade and constrain men to remember the Sabbath Day, and to enjoy the good of which it is the fruitful source.

There is the humanitarian basis. Will it sustain the weight which we must place thereon ? Certainly there is something in man which responds to the offer of rest, and there is in the weekly rest-day something which commends itself to man. Experience agrees that one day's rest in seven is a good proportion, and physiology teaches us that that proportion commends itself to experience because of laws of wear and tear, of recreation and recuperation, lying deep in man's constitution. It would probably be the general confession of thoughtful men, that for man, as man, as simply a living mechanism, as a compound of body and mind, one day's rest in seven would be a good rule. This is true : but is simple humanitarianism likely to stop the rush of the world—to stay the wheels of commerce, of production, and of distribution one day in seven ? The law may not commend itself to some, and even if one day in seven be admitted as just, the conflict of benevolence and competition would almost certainly end in an attempt to spread the rest of the population over the whole week, in which case the rest-day of every seventh portion of society would fall (as many in Germany and some even in England have desired) on the working day of the other six sevenths. Would that be a rest in any high or even ordinary sense ? Alas for the working man whose Sabbath falls on the washing day of his wife, or the "fettling-up" day of his neighbours. Comte, Proudhon, John Stewart Mill, and others like them have been humanitarian Sabbath doctrinaires, but they were never found working to obtain for their fellows the real rest of a fixed

day for the whole community. Moreover, apart from some high external authority, how far will humanitarian principles go in correcting selfishness and in teaching man to love his neighbour as himself? Experience herein is not encouraging. All the laws of the second table have their weight and force by virtue of their association with the laws of the first table. This was felt at one Lord's Day Congress in Geneva last year. Among the more than 400 delegates and other brethren assembled from all lands at that Congress, voices were raised for the adoption of a purely humanitarian basis for the proposed International Lord's Day Federation, but, after discussion, and the communication of the experience of many present, this foundation was declared to be insufficient, and the Federation was based, by a well nigh unanimous vote, on Holy Scripture.

There is again the basis of mere human law. Is it sufficient? It is true the law of many communities protects the weekly Day of Rest, and true also that with many law-abiding good citizens this is esteemed a sufficient reason why people should keep the Rest Day, but can we lean on this as sufficient? First of all we should soon learn that this is no foundation at all, for that underneath this human law there confessedly rests the Holy Scriptures, and in the second place so universal and inevitable is the association of religion with the rest-day in the minds of men, that any attempt to enforce the rest-day by the arm of the magistrate will carry with it the opprobrium of religious persecution. Human law has its place in this matter, but it will only constrain those men who see that beneath and behind it is the might of a Divine rule.

Shall we try a simple ecclesiastical authority as our basis? There may be some who hold that the only authority for the observance of a rest day is found in the decrees and recommendations of councils and synods, and in the utterances of men of high influence in the visible Church of God. Any existence of a Sabbath under the Christian dispensation may be denied, and the connexion of the Lord's Day with the Sabbath held to consist merely in a certain resemblance of the two things, or possibly in the fact that the one suggested the other.

Will this do for us in our attempt to secure a general observance of the Lord's Day? I am sure that, amid the numberless divisions of the Christian body, we shall find ourselves powerless if we take this stand. My Church is but a sect to my neighbour, and the utterances of his Church may be to me but schismatical assumption. Again, how are they to be influenced, who know and care nothing about Church teaching of any kind, who are outside all our congregations, who are alien from all our Churches? Will they listen to this plea that the Church has spoken? I believe not; I am indeed sure that they will not. If I may tell them that the Church orders because God has commanded, and that the Church claims obedience only because speaking the Word of God, my position is very different and my hope of success far brighter.

There will be in this assembly a very general admission that whatever force there may be in other reasons, we must go the Word

of God for constraining motives; but there will certainly be a division of judgment as to the special Scriptural ground on which we shall go to men and bid them keep the Rest Day.

Some among us will be ready to repudiate the word "Sabbath," and the Sabbath Law itself; they will insist on the Lord's Day as something separate from the Sabbath—different in character, in the day of its observance, and in the sanctions by which it is commended to men. They consider the Sabbath of the twentieth of Exodus as a purely Jewish enactment, as having its origin in Jewish times; as designed for a simple Jewish sign of covenant, and as having no binding power on any but Jews. They may grant that the Apostles had this law in view when, under the teaching of the Holy Ghost, they instituted the first day of the week as a Rest day, or rather as a special and separated day. Is this sufficient? If recorded Apostolic teaching and example alone are to determine the nature of the Lord's Day, what will characterize that day? I know only two points which will be decided. The first day of the week will be a time for breaking of bread in the Lord's Supper, and it will be a time for laying up in store as God has blessed us, and of these two points one only is a matter of command. On the assumption with which I am dealing there is not one word of *Rest* for the Christian; there is no single word of any kind for the world outside the Church. The believer possesses a memorial day without Rest; the world, weary to death and needing rest, possesses no day at all different from the other days. For any wide purpose of good to the Church, or of rest to men, there is not in this position so much as a foot breadth on which to stand. This basis is not a basis on which we can build a day of rest. The law of the Sabbath is gone and the rest of the week is gone with it. What then remains? I know of but one other ground for Lord's Day observance. It is the Sabbatic ground. I find, embodied in the very heart of the Decalogue, a commandment which formulates a rule existing from the completion of the so-called Mosaic creation,—which takes the Divine example recorded in the history of the creation, and imposes it as a rule for the creature,—which bases the Rest of one day in seven, and the separation of that Rest unto Jehovah, on events which have equal interest and importance for all men, Jew and Gentile,—which has no mark to separate it from the canons of immutable godliness which precede it, or from the laws of universal morality and humanity which succeed it,—which is most clearly where it is by a fixed purpose of the Lawgiver, inasmuch as it stands between the section of the law which deals with God only, and the other section which deals only with our neighbour, and standing there, it looks back to God alone for sanction and authority, for motive and example; and, for the application of its rules, looks on to the neighbour—the fellow-man whose case alone is regarded in the remaining six words of the ten. It links God and man in happy association, and if wrested from its place would leave to God no security of honour, and to man no certainty of morality.

Has this Law ever been repealed? All statements in New

Testament Scriptures as to the weakness of law—the inability of law to save; the office of law as bringing us to Christ—the removal of law out of the way, and as to the justification of the believer without deeds of law; every statement, in a word, which seems to find fault with law can no more affect the Fourth Commandment than the other nine. They none of them repeal the moral law as a rule of life: they none of them warrant either Polytheism or blasphemy, murder or stealing, covetousness or Sabbath-breaking. The Fourth Commandment is just as much moral or transitory, just as really strong or weak, just as authoritative or as powerless as the other nine. In whatever sense the other nine remain, as binding the conscience and directing the life, in that sense does the Fourth Commandment remain. The breach of this law is as the breach of those, and the blessedness of obedience to this, is as the blessedness which flows from obedience to the other nine.

The change of day predicted in prophecy and accomplished on the morning of the Resurrection, the severe rebukes by our Saviour of the miserable Pharisaic Sabbath tradition of His day, and the stern condemnation of the observance of Jewish Sabbaths by Paul are all outside the question of the permanency and authority of a moral law such as this of the Fourth Commandment. The Jewish Sabbaths are dead in the tomb of the dead Jesus, and any recurrence to them among Christians is a serious approach to apostacy. The Sabbath of Jehovah—the Rest Day of the Decalogue can never cease till the dawn of the Eternal Sabbatism of which it is the type and pledge.

On this Sabbatic basis then would I stand in seeking to win others to observe the Lord's Day, and by the terms of this commandment would I ever be guided in defining the character of our Rest Day, in declaring its duties and in dealing with its limitations.

Let me say, brethren, that my examination ends in complete accordance with the teaching of the authoritative documents of our English Church. The seventh Article declares that "no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called moral." In the Communion Service the whole Ten Commandments are placed as the Law of God, the breaches of which the communicant mourns over, and for conformity to which he supplicates grace and strength. The Ten Commandments are inserted in the Catechism, and the Fourth Commandment is explained to be the rule by which we must walk so as to serve God truly all the days of our life,—six days of honest work ever followed by one day of godly rest.

May we not, brethren, go forth to promote a due observance of the Lord's Day on this Sabbatic and only true Ecclesiastical basis, with a full assurance that we are seeking the right end in the right way?

Truly there is need that we should go forth to this work.

The Drink traffic holds possession of many hours of the Lord's Day, imposing toil, directly on at least 150,000 persons, standing everywhere in competition with the House of God, bringing shame, poverty, disease and crime into innumerable homes, and effecting

more evil within our borders than any other cause whatever. Sunday Traffic in Tobacco, for which no possible plea of necessity can be urged, employs at least 100,000 persons, and very often covers much trading of other kinds. A vast number of the poor purchase the ordinary necessaries of life on the Sunday, and very many of the well-to-do and the rich employ their tradespeople on the Sunday to supply luxuries for their table. Public markets in certain places make our streets noisy and most un-Sabbath-like. Multitudes, to be reckoned by many tens of thousands, are in this way employed in their ordinary avocations on the Day of Rest.

If we look at our railways we behold 8,000 trains of various kinds circulating on Sunday, with not less than 90,000 railway servants employed, very many of them for the whole day.

A vast array of men are engaged on omnibuses, tram-cars, cabs, and other vehicles.

Immense numbers of men are needlessly employed in gas, glass, chemical and iron works; in the Sunday management of which the greatest inequality prevails. The proportion of Sunday work in different factories of the same character being inexplicably varied.

Another mass of men are toiling on our river and coasting steamers, or are engaged in coaling, or in transhipping cargo in our many harbours. On our canals not less than 100,000 persons are employed in navigation on the Sunday.

Twenty thousand postal servants are employed on Sunday.

The sum total of men thus employed cannot be fully stated. It very far exceeds a million.

Nor is this all. There is much needless toil in multitudes of families of all classes on the Day of Rest, by which vast numbers of servants are kept in cruel bondage, and are deprived of the public means of grace.

Altogether millions of persons are toiling on the Day of Rest, and millions more have their own rest spoiled by the toil of others.

This is our present state, and we are threatened with a great increase of Sunday toil in many departments of industry, especially in locomotion and in the supply of refreshments, through the opening of our public and other museums and art galleries on the Lord's Day; a plan, which, should it be unhappily carried out, will not only stimulate toil and make fresh provisions for the anti-religious and materialistic tendencies of the age, but will largely increase the traffic in intoxicating liquors, and lead the nation farther astray from the righteousness which exalts, into that life of self-indulgence and disobedience to God which degrades and demoralises a people.

What shall be done in the presence of these facts?

The pulpit should be brought into closer agreement with the Communion Service and the Church Catechism, by a general and faithful inculcation of Sabbath Law. All personal use of public vehicles of any kind by ministers and professing Christians should cease. It should be the concern of every good man and woman to be clear from all complicity in the guilt of Sunday toil. Recognising that we are our brother's keeper we should take heed that no postal servant, no railway employé, no man on tram, or omnibus, or cab is

toiling for us. We should in nothing relax the hold of Sabbath Law on ourselves, and our household, and we should seek to cope with the public evils of Sunday drinking and lounging, by some other means than by the public breach of the Law of God which forbids us to impose work on our servants on this day.

We should strenuously endeavour by example, by private effort, and by legislative action to remove from the nation the curse and shame of the Sunday drink traffic.

We should urge on manufacturers, on carrying firms, and on chambers of commerce the adoption of measures for purging the Lord's Day from the inexcusable toil which now dishonours God.

We should use all our influence as shareholders in various companies in favour of rest.

We should join in efforts to improve the homes of the poor—to secure payment of wages not later than Friday night or noon on Saturday, diminishing thereby the temptation to drinking and to Sunday shopping.

We should multiply the public means of Grace and endeavour to supply Churches and ministers sufficient for the population and fairly within their reach.

Let us join existing Lord's Day Societies in our various neighbourhoods and seek to effect by organisation many reforms which can only be carried out by the co-operation of many.

Let us cultivate holy reverence for the will of our God, and habits of holy obedience to His Law. Let us quicken our faith and stimulate our zeal by meditating on the value and the beauty of God's provision of a weekly rest day.

Instituted in Eden for man, the Sabbath was re-affirmed in the Desert of Horeb, and was placed formally where it is essentially, in the heart of the moral code. Glorious as commemorating creation work completed and redemption work finished, it was made a special sign of relationship between God and His chosen nation, chanted by psalmist, and prominent in prophecy, it remained to Messianic times, a test of obedience, a fountain of good, and, too frequently, a neglected witness for God. At the time of our Lord's Advent, human perversity had, by additions and glosses, made it void. Jesus, Himself Lawgiver and Fulfiller of Law, freed the institution from puerile interpretations and unloving bonds, re-affirming it, according to its original purpose and character, as a rule of happiness instead of an intolerable burden. Thus magnified by Jesus as originally good, it was transferred according to prophecy going before, to the First Day of the week, on which day our Redeemer rose from the dead; and as the "First of Sabbaths" it became a memorial of a creation greater than that of worlds perfected, and of a redemption more glorious than that which the Song of Moses proclaimed on the eastern shore of the Red Sea. Distinguished by Paul from all other Sabbaths, and accepted as the one Holy Day of the Christian Church, it bears on it every characteristic of Sabbath beauty, and culminates in glory as the Lord's Day.

ADDRESSES.

Mr. G. A. Spottiswoode.

It is impossible to speak on this subject without reference, at the outset, to the Fourth Commandment, and to the question whether it is still binding on Christians or not.

It is equally impossible for me to enter into all that may be said on each side of this question. It must be sufficient to state my own opinion—in which I follow great authorities—that it *is*, and that it *is not*. That is, that this Commandment, like the others, is binding upon us, not because Moses gave it, but because it agrees with the law of nature, to which our own spirits bear witness.

The whole law of Moses was fulfilled by Jesus Christ: what in it was ceremonial passed away; what in it belongs to the moral and natural law remains eternal.

With the Jewish law and all that belongs peculiarly to it has passed away the particular day—the seventh—which was to be kept holy. With the natural law remains the obligation of the worship of God and the practice of religion. I say with the *natural* law, because I contend that it *is* natural for a being endowed with the capacity for knowing God, which man is endowed with, to exercise this as well as the other functions of his nature.

It was a transitory "positive" command to give external worship to God on the Sabbath or seventh day of the week; but some worship of the Eternal Father is a necessity of our hearts, and this cannot be done without giving some time or other to it.

Let us close the Old Testament and open the New. In the Gospels we find Him who is the beginning and the end—the end of the old Law and the Fountain-head of the new—keeping the old Sabbath in all particulars which belonged to its original institution, while disregarding the "vain traditions" by which the Pharisees had overlaid it. On it He frequented the synagogues, and there read and explained the Scriptures; but on the day He uttered the words "It is finished," the old Sabbath passed away.

And as we turn over the Acts of the Apostles, with the growth of the infant Church, we see also the growth of its own new and peculiar Holy Day—the Lord's Day: the day of joy for the resurrection of the Lord—of holy assemblies—of the breaking of bread.

As one main *object* of the Church was to be a witness (Acts i. 21) of the resurrection of Christ, so one principal *means* of testifying to it was by the instinctive observance of this weekly Holy Day. And it remains to us to this day an invaluable witness, from the very beginning, of this central fact of our faith, round which so many storms now rage.

It appears to me that the clergy would do well not to neglect this aspect of the Lord's Day. It is useless to attempt to strengthen its foundations by laying again the old broken bricks of the Jewish Covenant. The old garment was good enough in its day. With new stuff we must make a new garment; the new wine of the new covenant must be put into new bottles.

But as Christianity itself has been said to be nothing but the re-publication by our Lord of the law written in men's hearts from the beginning—that law by which "the Gentiles, who had not the (Jewish) law, do by nature the things contained in the law"—so, I think, we may say that the re-appearance of a statedly recurring day for the purposes of God's worship, free from the cares of worldly occupation, points to a necessity deeply seated in man's nature: the bodily necessity of rest from toil, and the spiritual necessity of converse with God.

We have, then, a day suited in all respects to a man with a body worn with toil—a soul desiring to be at peace with God, and justified before Him by the resurrection of Jesus Christ—God and man.

If this view of the Lord's Day be a sound one, the day is a day not of

constraint, repression, and suppression, but of lifting up—of resurrection; a day for the cultivation of the best of our faculties, those by which we know God; a day for the noblest of our employments—the worship of God, and for the highest of that worship—the Divine Eucharist; a day for those who are most advanced in the Christian life to lead forward the babes in Christ, and to persuade by the beauty of holiness those who as yet know Him not; in fine, to do whatever may lift a soul ever so little nearer to Him in whom we all subsist.

There is much need for this we all know. It is the widespread desire to lift the more depressed and unfortunate classes of our fellow-countrymen that has led many to consider whether all the use that is possible and allowable has been made of the Weekly Holy Day of the Church—of the Lord's Day—*i.e.*, the day of Him who is man as well as God. And the class of persons for whose benefit some relaxation of our present mode of keeping Sunday is proposed is the working and labouring classes in London; for, of course, country people are out of reach of museums and such resources, and have other and better resorts in the fields. Again, rich people and all in tolerably easy circumstances may be eliminated as having plenty of leisure to visit such places on other days. We may, again, subtract a large number of the working classes themselves, many of whom are free from their daily work as early as 12.30 on Saturday. Add to this, that these same men frequently absent themselves from work on Mondays, and it must be granted that they also have plenty of opportunities of availing themselves of such intellectual advantages. But there no doubt remains a class for whom it is difficult to go to museums, &c., on any other day; but it is a class the most unlikely of any really to take advantage of such means of self-improvement.

In addition, I really doubt whether the working classes as a body do wish it. No doubt many are easily got to talk loud about it, and a little noise goes a long way, and for the silent remainder the world goes on the maxim, "*de non clamantibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio.*"

Yet one would gladly do anything to raise such a class from their present degradation. Here is a picture of them by one of themselves:—"However intelligent we may be in all the temporal affairs of our lives, we know little or nothing of the Christian religion, except in so far as we see it pilloried or burlesqued from week to week in the columns of our penny papers. As a class we go to bed prayerless and get up thankless, and for us the sun seems to be rolled through the heavens day by day for no higher or nobler purpose than that of enabling us to put a few shillings more or less in our pockets."

The following is a picture of a Working Man's Sunday by a foreign workman, who has been some little time in England:—"What do a great part of the working classes do? On Saturday, though leaving work earlier than on other days, yet being a little tired from the work of the week, very few go anywhere. The greater part stop in the public-houses till the hour of closing, taking home with them beer and spirits for Sunday. Sunday itself they spend lazily, sleeping till near eleven or twelve, breakfasting, drinking again, and sleeping again. I have been living in eight different English families, and saw, with a few exceptions, nearly the same manner of life [in all], and seldom any one going to Church."

The former of these writers is much opposed to the Sunday opening of museums, the latter in favour of it. The former gives it as his opinion that "a man is more likely to get something to give his mind an upward tendency from the most benighted preacher or the most benighted conventicle than by studying any amount of mummies, or statues, or pictures in our museums;" while the latter rather turns the tables upon us in our denunciations of a "French Sunday." He says, "In France, Belgium, Holland, &c., nothing is closed on Sunday, and we see the Churches crowded with people; and because there is no prohibition people meet

their friends in the cafés after Church, and take refreshment; but we seldom see a drunkard in the streets, too many of whom we find here."

By this time you will have seen that I have no objection, based on religious scruples, to the opening of museums, picture galleries, and public libraries on Sundays; but neither, if they ever should come to be open on Sunday afternoons, do I expect any great improvement in London Sunday life from any such alteration in our present habits. It is, I think, idle to suppose that the opening of half-a-dozen museums, the National Gallery, and the British Museum Library should change the character of the British Workmen, whom the lives and exertions of so many devoted clergy, urging the strongest and most powerful motives to a better life, have failed to reach. And with reference to the expectation that the sight of beautiful objects will lead to religious emotions, I think that a remark made to me by one of my own people is a perfectly true one—viz., that "Nature and Art rather confirm than discover the truth which mankind is seeking after." The opening of public libraries is not much asked for, though to some it might be useful.

I do not think it likely that such opening would depopulate the public-houses. It seems to me somewhat analogous to the establishment of drinking fountains, which probably never reclaimed a drunkard, but which are beneficial to the sober, and perhaps keep some people out of the public-houses who would otherwise go to them; but it might perhaps tend to diminish Sunday excursions.

But supposing for a moment such opening to come to pass, where are we to "draw the line"? It is very difficult to say, and we may be certain that it is impossible to be absolutely consistent, but I think one principle may be laid down with tolerable safety—viz., that Sunday opening should not be a cloak for private gain. All places that are opened should be open free, as being for the benefit of the less fortunate classes. If the places are public, it would then be the offering from the nation itself; if a private gallery or a private association, such as the Horticultural Gardens or the Botanic Gardens, it would be the gracious invitation of the proprietors.

But here I must enter a practical protest against what I know is theoretically unassailable—viz., subscribers or shareholders, or whatever they are, of such places as the Zoological or other gardens having these places kept open for their own idle amusement by their own servants, and then sitting in judgment on the relaxations of the poor. Can we wonder at the poor being sarcastic as to the sincerity of the upper classes wishing the Sabbath to be kept so strictly?

For my part, I say let such people throw open their gardens on Sundays free to the poor. There would be a graceful, and I will add a religious act, which would be repaid even in this life by much more than deserved gratitude. Nor would I stop here. Why should not all the squares in London be thrown open every Sunday afternoon? Surely the ordinary frequenters or proprietors of such gardens, if they are too fine to mix with those who would probably visit them on Sundays, could content themselves with the streets, or even stay at home for once in a way.

The reason why I should care more about the opening of gardens than of museums and libraries on Sunday afternoons is that I think if there be a question between the two classes of resorts, the gardens would really be the more useful. Notwithstanding all that may be said against our climate, I believe they would be available for two-thirds of the Sundays in the year, while on wet Sundays people would not be much inclined to turn out even to a museum; and private collections would no doubt be closed on such days. The Duke of Westminster, for instance, has found it necessary to close his gallery on wet afternoons.

But if the Church is afraid of such places being open on Sunday afternoons, why does she not now, when she has the field cleared for her on Sundays, make more use of it than she does? Why is there so seldom

anything but the monotony of Divine Service on Sundays at 11, 3.30, and 7? Why not have more services before 11 o'clock? Where they are heartily tried and *intended* to succeed, they are usually appreciated.

And, in particular, if it be as difficult as some people think for working people to get to church before eleven, why not arrange the Morning Service so that the whole, including Holy Communion, shall be over by one o'clock?

Again, why should not Confirmations be held, as a rule, on Sunday instead of only exceptionally? I am sure this practice would add materially to the number of persons confirmed in the course of the year.

And as Church Congresses are places for plain speaking, I will say that I cannot help thinking that Bishops would be much better employed on Sundays in fulfilling duties peculiar to their own order, and dispensing sacred gifts of which they are the stewards, than in preaching Charity Sermons, which seems now to be considered the principal use of a Bishop on Sundays. But if Sunday be still a little stiff, why not hold Religious Meetings, such as Missionary or Temperance Meetings, on Sundays?

Look at the thousands whom Cardinal Manning collects—all honour to him for it!—on Tower Hill, on Sundays, for the Total Abstinence League of the Holy Cross. I have little doubt that by such means his work in this respect leavens the hitherto drunken classes much more than ours does. But this by the way.

To sum up, my contribution amounts to this: that no Divine Commandment would be broken by some relaxation of our present practice as to public places of instruction and recreation, but that it is not reasonable to expect from such relaxation too much towards the elevation of those we want to raise.

And, finally, to suggest ways by which, whether museums, libraries, and gardens are or are not more opened on Sunday afternoons than they now are, Sunday may possibly be made more interesting even to Church people, and more filled with its own proper work than it now is.

Rev. Brooke Lambert.

I approach this question with the demand for the acceptance of three postulates, which, as they are based on the language of that book whence the arguments on this question are drawn, must, I think, be conceded:—

1st. That the Sabbath and the Sunday being two distinct things, no authoritative declaration as regards the former can be held to influence us in our observance of the latter. This I base on the text, "Let no man judge you in respect of the Sabbath. He that regardeth not the day to the Lord, he doth not regard it."

2nd. That as in the keeping of the Sabbath, so in that of Sundays, regard is to be had to the fact that the honour of God is in its truest sense promoted by the edification of man. This I base on the text "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath."

3rd. That the great principle which governs society, that the one must suffer for the many, as it ruled even the Sabbath, so also governs all regulations as to the Sunday. This I base on the text, "The priests in the Temple profane the Sabbath, and are blameless."

And I make this claim to having the letter of Scripture with me, because I believe the attempt to alter our Sunday customs is in no sense irreligious, but is a carrying out in the letter, as well as in the spirit, the object of the Institution.

Now, as regards the first postulate, the burden of proof that the Sabbath and the Sunday are identical, must fall on those who maintain that the restrictions of the one are transferred to the other, without one word of scripture, one statement of Church authority to support their position. It

may be doubted whether much that we connect with Sabbath, and transfer to Sunday observance, is of the essence of the Institution—rest, rather than worship, being so far as the letter of the law states, the object aimed at. When I find Mr. Moule, in the *Church Missionary Gleaner*, stating the difficulty of bringing home to the Chinese the need of the observance of the Sunday, on account of the statements of the fourth commandment incorporated in our formularies, as contrasted with the practice of Englishmen, it seems to me that the best solution of the difficulty would be the publication of the way in which the Sunday was observed by those who framed those formularies, and by those for whom they were framed. Luther's statement, "If anywhere the day is made holy for the day's sake, if anywhere anyone sets up its observance on a Jewish foundation, then I order you to work on it, to dance on it, to feast on it, to do anything that shall remove this encroachment on Christian liberty," is conclusive. Could anyone who worships the opinion of the reformers, have seen Calvin playing at bowls on the Sunday, or Knox entertaining the Duke of Hamilton, and Randolph, the English ambassador, at supper on Sunday evening, he would feel that the appeal made to the puritan practice, does not rest on the authority of those from whom the puritans derived their theology.

My second postulate, that in framing rules for Sunday observance we are to bear in mind that the honour of God is in its truest sense promoted by the edification of man, is forced on me by the arguments of sabbatarians. The dishonour done to God by the non-observance of what they call the Sabbath, the wrath this will bring down on our nation, has brought down on non-sabbatarian nations, is their stock argument. The text I have quoted shows that the Sabbath, in all its strictness, was not made that it might shape man by any Procrustean process; the Sabbath was made for man, that man, under the relaxation from worldly labour, might learn those lessons which the education of six days work could not teach him. So far as I know, the words to sanctify, to keep holy, do not, except in the later prophets, bear the meaning we attach to them. To sanctify is to set apart, to keep holy is to set apart for God. How we are to do that is left for each age, each nation, each man, to decide. The version of the fourth commandment in Deuteronomy, and the words of our Lord, seem to me conclusive on this head, so far as there is analogy between Sabbath and Sunday. It is my conviction that when, with insular prejudice, we glory in our Sunday observance, our closed shops, and our empty museums over Continental nations, we are glorying in a sham, we think that God is honoured by idleness and ineptity. Take the shop fronts off, follow the workman to his pursuits, listen to the conversation of those whose talk if not of the occupation they may not follow, is of something less worthy, and tell me whether you can honestly say that God is more honoured in the one country than in the other. The closed piano, and the gloomy face, made the sterner because framed in tight-fitting Sunday clothes, the dearth of all that belongs to ordinary human life, in the surroundings of an orthodox sabbatarian family, may have suited the spirit of an age when the notion of a Jewish service still lingered in the minds of men, and made worship an *opus operatum*, fitly represented by the payment for a pew, and the spectacle of a monologue between the clergyman and the clerk. It does not suit the spirit of an age in which services are congregational, in which music is an important element, in which, especially among the educated, the sermon is the only part in which, as his special province, the right of the clergyman to his own idiosyncracies, is recognised. Because of this we ask for a new method of Sunday observance outside church. It is not only that in proportion as we rise to the full value of, and interest in devotion, we find that the force taken out of us creates a reaction, which in all but the most saintly craves for an expression in other directions, it is that recognising religion as not limited to certain

devotional habits, but claiming its share in the direction of our whole frame, we ask for liberty for all pursuits which tend to elevate the man. *Homo sum humani nihil alienum a me puto*, is the motto of nineteenth century Christianity. Education being the pioneer of religion, the plough which turns up the soil, and digs the furrow in which the seed of higher truth will grow, is we say Sunday work, and therefore as well for ourselves as for those who have not yet risen to the value of religion, we claim the opening of all those avenues of cultivation, leading up to the Palace of religion now closed by Sabbatarian prescription. Take Sunday as it now is, could the opening of museums, art galleries, and libraries make it worse? Might it not make it better? If you point to the Continental Sabbath, we say there is no absolute wrong in work, though we wish to see it abolished, there is absolute wrong in the drunkenness, the scandal-mongering, the idle listlessness of the present system. But who would go to them? For with curious inconsistency, it is argued in one breath, that the opening of museums, &c., would fill the public-houses in their neighbourhood, and multiply Sunday trains, and that no one would go to them if opened, for the workmen care for something else. Now there is one town, almost a county in population—Birmingham, which opens museums, art galleries, and free libraries on Sundays. The statistics are before me, and show, I may say, a gradual increase in the use of these Institutions. Last year, these museums and art galleries were visited on week-day evenings by 77,541 persons, an average of 254 per day, including holidays, when day and night attendance are pretty nearly equal, whilst on the Sunday the average was 690 per Sunday. If you take in all the day as well as the evening attendances, but these day attendances would represent the strangers, and the non working-class visitors, the attendance is pretty nearly equal, being 735 on week-days, and 690 on Sundays. The Free library figures belonging to a more educated class are very interesting. The daily average of books issued is 771, the Sunday average 426; the totals being 239,948 on 311 week-days, and 22,558 on 53 Sundays. This latter sum is made up of:—

734	Books on Theology.
3,702	History and Travel.
238	Law.
2,507	Science.
1,216	Poetry.
1,282	Periodicals.
11,279	Current do.
1,600	
22,558	

So much for an experiment in our country, where the Sabbatarian prejudice, which holds that it is better to do nothing, than to engage in any useful work on Sunday, largely prevails, to hinder its success.

My third postulate, founded on the statement that the priests in the Temple profane the Sabbath and are blameless, touches the potent argument that my proposals would sacrifice the rest of certain persons. But if, under the severe Sabbath law, the truth, that the interests of the individual must bow to those of the community, was recognised, surely it cannot stand in the way of useful Sunday work. The argument would be more potent if we did not already use trains and cabs, if public-houses and clubs were closed, if we did not freely employ the labour of servants. In point of fact, the increase in the numbers employed would in all probability be small, a large number being diverted from other occupations. Is it quite honest of us, who use labour for our own convenience, to deny to the class from which our servants are drawn, the use of institutions, because some people would be employed for their benefit? There is a stronger argument, that the principle of Sunday rest being abolished, Sunday work

would become the rule. This might be met by an enactment, much for the benefit of the working class, limiting the contract for work to six days, except in cases where labour on the seventh was specified. This would at once do away with the objection that the working class object to the movement I advocate. For though I allow that the objection exists, there is some confusion in the use of the fact. If it is meant that the working class are jealous of any encroachments on their Sunday rest, I allow it, and I provide against it. If it is meant that they object to it on religious grounds, I deny it, and I say further, that if we have a higher view of the demands of religion than they have, it is our duty to remove, not to bow to their prejudices. We do not take their statements as to the rights of labour, a subject with which they are undoubtedly conversant, as unassailable. Are we to take their view of religion, with which they are confessedly less familiar, as incontrovertible? The fact which stares us in the face is the present condition of Sunday observance. Our churches, our chapels, are not filled, but our public-houses are thronged, and Monday too often bears witness to the misuse of Sunday. It is because no state of things can be worse than the present, because the counter attraction I propose might rescue some, because the principle that religion is meant to rule our whole lives, and not simply to exhaust itself in devotion, because the Sunday restrictions now in force rest on no authority of Scripture and antiquity, that in the name of religion, in the name of God, I plead for the restoration of Sunday to its proper use.

DISCUSSION.

Rev. Prebendary Churton.

In considering the observance of the Lord's Day no allusion has, I think, as yet been made to its being the seventh portion of the week. Nor has the historic fact been mentioned that, as Bishop Wordsworth, in his beautiful "soul-reviving" hymn for Sunday (stanza 2nd), points out—

> "On that day most glorious
> A *triple* light was given:"

(1) the Light of Creation; (2) the Light of Christ's Resurrection; and (3) the Light of the Holy Spirit. In this first matter—namely, as a seventh portion—I think we should not neglect to exercise some sympathy with two large communities. I mean, first, the Jews, who observe the Saturday as a day of rest, and, secondly, the Mohammedans, who observe Friday. In both these there is an acknowledgment of the necessity and advantage of the setting apart of a seventh part of our time for the service of God, and I think we, as Christians, should not cease to feel the like necessity in the observance of the Lord's Day. We do not cease, by our being redeemed men, to be the *creatures* of God, created by His Fatherly hand. On that ground, then, there is something at least of the original Sabbath sanction remaining to us. We do not cease to be His creatures, because we are His redeemed creatures; and the necessity of one day's rest in seven, which is ordained by God, exists for us equally as it did for the Jews. Looking at this question in a practical manner, let us touch upon the matter of railway traffic on Sundays. I have here a recent statement made by the Chairman-Director of the Central New York Railway. He states that there have been no trains run on Sunday on his company's line for some considerable time past. And what does he state as the result. First, the *morale* of the men was greatly improved; second, there was a great saving of clothing that is a practical matter; and, third,—and this is

remarkable because it was generally believed that the "iron chariot of fire" did not require rest—it was stated that the machinery was found to last much longer than the one day a week withdrawn from the traffic would account for. Fourth, as to the matter of finance, it was found that the great mass of those who formerly travelled on Sunday either travelled on Saturday or on the Monday morning. In my dear late brother's archdeaconry (Cleveland, Yorkshire), is situated a modern town of almost unparalleled growth and commercial prosperity (Middlesborough), and the Quakers there, "The Friends," who owned the railway, for some years ran no trains on Sunday. I mention these things to see and to suggest whether it may not be possible to make some yet further diminution in the Sunday traffic, and so increase the amount of rest for the railway companies' servants. Two leading railways—the North-Western is, I believe, one of the two—are often instanced as having less Sunday traffic than others. It is also commonly stated (and the remark is open to contradiction, if unfounded), that the railway accidents occurring on those companies' lines are much fewer, in proportion, than the accidents on other railways in England. In speaking of the Lord's Day—and here, again, I cannot exclude all thought of the Sabbath—we may remark that there were two things "instituted in the time of man's innocency" which have, thank God, come down to us even to this day. I need not say that they are marriage and the Sabbath. I think these things should sometimes be an element of thought in considering this question. It may, too, not have been noticed by all of us that the six days in which God created the earth, had, each of them, an evening, but it has been remarked by St. Ambrose and by other writers since, that the seventh day had no evening, and so the Lord's Day leads us on to endless life and light. I observed that Professor Monier Williams, in his remarks yesterday on Mohammedanism, said, that the frequent use of the word "Trinity" was a stumbling block to Mohammedans. Now, we have more than 50 Sundays in the year, 25 of which are named "*after Trinity*." The older title for these days was "*Sundays after Pentecost*," and I think that title is better, perhaps, in some respects, than our present title, which is usually traced no further back than to St. Thomas à Becket and the latter part of the 12th century. Then the Germans are happy in the term of "tri-unity" (Drei-einigkeit), which they use instead of Trinity. While, then, we do not forget all due and deepest reverence for the ever Blessed Trinity, yet it would, perhaps, be well and favourable for the right observance of our Sundays, if we remembered that the more general and usual name for the last 25 Sundays in the ecclesiastical year is the Sundays after *Pentecost*. This will at once bring us to that beautiful passage in which the "Lord's Day" is spoken of, when the beloved disciple at Patmos says "I was *in the Spirit* on the Lord's Day."

Mr. Frederick Clifton.

My lord, and Christian friends, I, as the representative of the Working Men's Lord's Day Rest Association, am glad to be able to speak a word in favour of the Sabbath—a day given to man by our all-wise and gracious Creator. It was instituted at the creation, confirmed by Moses and sanctioned by our Lord Jesus Christ, who "came not to destroy the law." That great moral law given by God to Moses is still in existence, and I thank God that the laws of our Legislature are based on that law. I deprecate anything which would tend to weaken the laws of England as to the observance of the Lord's Day. In my youth I was apprenticed to a hard master, who would have made me work on Sundays if the law had not prevented him, and I thank God for that law. I always say to working men never

give up the Sabbath as a day of rest and never petition Parliament against the Sunday Observance Act. I trust the Legislature will never repeal it, for it is a blessed Act. As to the opening of museums and art-galleries on Sunday the working classes will never demand that. We want local working men's exhibitions at various places which people could visit on week-day evenings. There was recently a working man's exhibition at Islington, and there were 18,000 persons who paid for admission. The museum was open until 10 o'clock at night, and a large number of working men came to it. If we had district museums we should have no occasion to open such places on Sunday, so I think we ought to bring forward the Act for the establishment of district museums. But we must make such places attractive on the evenings of week days. Let us have music in the museums and we shall have no occasion for the Sunday opening. We should not increase Sunday work but try to diminish it. Let the cabman have his holiday. Let the 150,000 publicans and their assistants have the Sunday. I say close up the public-houses and let the prisoners at the bar go free that day. These people needed their seventh day rest not a fourteenth portion of a week. The seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord, and I bless God for it. I am a working man, I was brought up in the Church of Rome and I sank down to infidelity. Thirty years ago I was rescued. I walked into a place of worship and from that day to this I have never willingly stayed away from the places of worship, and I work for the Sabbath for it is a precious gem to me. I would implore the clergy to think of God's command when they say "Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath Day," and the people say "Lord have mercy upon us, incline our hearts to keep Thy law," and many of them ride to Church and they forget the coachman. If we are to carry out practically the law of the Sabbath we must be consistent, and do to others as we would they should do unto us. Undo the heavy burdens of others; ride not on the Sabbath; employ no one that it is possible to do without, and depend upon it God will bless you. I hope the Sabbath will be preserved for many a year, and that the day may be far distant when the people will have to say the Lord has taken away His Sabbaths. Look at the Continent, there the law of the Sabbath is not honoured, and the vilest of passions prevail and freedom is stifled, while in England we are free and prosperous because we respect the Sabbath and duly observe the Lord's Day.

Rev. Claude Bosanquet.

With respect to this matter I feel it is a question for laymen, for the clergy have not the time to bring pressure on Parliament by means of petitions, &c. It must be borne in mind that if the nation determined to have the museums open on Sunday, they will have it, and it is the laity who make the laws, and not the clergy, therefore I will address myself to the subject of how the clergy are to act in this matter. I was very much struck with the remark of the last speaker as to the coachman, for are we not a little too ready to use our servants, and the facilities for travelling on the Sunday? Twice I have travelled by rail on Sunday, but never will I travel again on that day. The great point for us is to make the Sunday attractive, especially to the young. Our boys and girls are to be seen in Church up to a certain age, but then they go, and we do not see the men and women in the church as they grow up. Why are they not there? We must make the services more joyous, and some judicious re-arrangement would not be out of the way. I myself attempted something of the sort, and I had the Litany occasionally at the evening service, but I was soon interfered with. I was threatened with a noisy vestry meeting, an indignant ragged round robin, an appeal to the Archbishop, but thinking of the words "Let me not fall into the

hands of men," I gave the alterations up. A man of business lately told me that the sermon was too long, and it seems as though it requires the eloquence of a Liddon, or a Miller, to retain the attention of men for more than twenty minutes or half-an-hour, but let our sermons be earnest and real. Let men see that we have the burden of the word of the Lord, and they will not only be listened to, but have power and force. Now I think it well to consider how many of us begin the Sunday. Our day like the heathen day begins in the middle of the night, but the Jews' day begins in the evening. We read after the crucifixion—that dark day for the early Church—"the Sabbath drew on." It came gradually and quietly and there is a sense of peace and quietness in those words. But what do we do, and how do we spend the Sunday? How late the breakfast is kept about, and the servants prevented from going to Church by this. And then I would ask whether many do not consider the day is over with the morning service, but I will suggest that works of mercy may well be done on Sunday, and you will find it of the utmost advantage to go and read the Bible to some poor persons who cannot read for themselves. Scripture reading is said to be dull and unimproving, but read it to others and you will find that in watering them you are watering your own souls. You that are parents take care to make it a joyous glad day for children. I recollect as a boy that Sunday was not a day to be looked forward to because of the manner in which we were required to respect it. Let us beware of the austerity of the Scotch Sabbath, and the licentiousness of the Continental Sunday. Let the clergy remember that the Sabbath was made for man, and let the laity remember that the Sabbath is of Divine appointment.

Mr. George Skey.

Reference has been made more than once to than text "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." Yes, made for man because needful for man, and we may well bear in mind that the God who made the world made the Sabbath, and said "Remember the Sabbath Day, to keep it holy." I care not to refer to the criticisms that have been made by some of the speakers as to the difference between the Jewish Sabbath and the Christian Lord's Day. I care only that the commandment is plain, and it is that one-seventh of our time shall be specially set apart for God. "Six days shalt thou labour, but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." I have a very short time to speak, but my heart is very full. Sometimes much more may be said by a brief illustration than by a long speech, and so I will give you one. Some years ago a young man, one Sunday afternoon, was looking out of the window of his lodgings in the suburb of a provincial town; it was a beautiful day about this time of the year. The young man had been to Morning Service, he had taken his solitary meal, the remains of which had just been removed, and feeling lonely, a desire came over him, and perhaps not unnaturally, for social pleasures and companionship. The thought came into his mind "What a fine day for a ride." He had friends to visit, he had two good horses in the stable, he was fond of riding, and of being out in the bright fresh air. Why should he not go for a ride? He went towards the bell to ring for a message to be sent to his groom, but he hesitated and went back to the window without ringing; again he went to the bell, but still he hesitated. Why? His attention had been drawn in a very forcible way to those two last verses in the 58th chapter of Isaiah, "If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the Sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable; and shalt honour Him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words: then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord; and I will cause thee to ride upon the

high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." Those words came now into his mind with overwhelming force, and that young man went to the room door, locked it, took out the key and placed it on the mantelshelf. "Now," he said, "I will not leave this room for two hours, but I will endeavour to find out the full meaning of that text, for I desire to 'delight myself in the Lord,' and I do not; and I desire to find the Sabbath a delight, and it is not; why is this?" He opened his Bible at that 58th of Isaiah, he read and read again, those two last verses. "Not doing thine own ways," "Just what I am doing." "Nor finding thine own pleasure," "Just what I am now seeking to do;" "Nor speaking thine own words," "What do I know of this? Yes, here it is. Men expect the blessing without obeying the command. Obedience to the commandment first, the blessing follows." He saw it now, and then he went upon his knees, and poured out an earnest heartfelt prayer to God—"O Lord, I desire to honour thee, to delight myself in thee, I desire to find the Sabbath a delight. O Lord help me, teach me, guide me, show me what thou wouldest have me to do." The two hours were spent—he did not ring the bell—he did not take his ride. Nearly 35 years have passed, and that young man is still living to testify that God is true to his word—true to his promise. "Then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord." That young man is before you—he is myself. Shall I be such a traitor to my God—such a coward as to hold back on such a subject? God forbid. I came here on purpose to give you my own testimony as to the value I have ever since that time attached to the reverent observance of the Lord's Day, and I bless God for it. The restlessness of men on this question of Sabbath observance—the desire for more liberty, and greater laxity—what does it all mean? Why this! Men do not find the Sabbath a delight, for they are finding their own pleasure, "doing their own ways," and "speaking their own words," hence the Sabbath is a weariness. I agree entirely with what a previous speaker has said about Saturday. My own practice is to put away every thing relating to my ordinary business, papers, letters, &c., as early as I can on Saturday evening, and although I have a very large correspondence, I receive no letter bag on the Sunday, and write no letter—not that I am an idle man on the Sunday—on the contrary, it is a day of considerable work, but at the same time it is a day of holy rest—it is a day of quietness and peace in which one's heart is raised towards the Lord of the Sabbath in anticipation of that eternal Sabbath—that glorious "rest" which remaineth for the people of God.

Commander W. Dawson, R.N.

I ask your attention to a special side of this question—the question as it relates to seamen, and the unnecessary Sunday work which obstructs Sunday worship on board ship. The subject has been treated very largely by the Bishop of Gibraltar in his recent pastoral letter, in which he speaks of the observance of the Lord's Day by British shipping in Roman Catholic and Mohammedan countries. Convocation also has taken the matter up, Bishop Parry having got a committee appointed by Convocation with reference to this question in the home ports. The missions to seamen too are contending for Sunday worship *versus* Sunday work in 40 roadsteads and harbours where 53 hon. chaplains and 53 mission clergy and readers are doing the Church's work afloat. We are all trying to get rid of this Sunday work in harbour, which for the most part is unnecessary. I speak of the mercantile navy alone. It is not the wind or the waves which stops Sunday worship on board ship, but the greed of employers causing unnecessary Sunday work to be done in harbour, transhipping cargoes and coaling ships.

The captain who works his crew for the owners' pecuniary profit on Sunday when in harbour cannot in conscience conduct public worship when at sea, and as one of them lately said to a Missions to Seamen reader while in a foreign port, "I cannot be half a saint and half a sinner. I cannot read the fourth commandment to the crew at sea, when I have broken it, by the owner's orders, in port." The greatest offenders are the steamers, and some of the large shipping companies especially so. The old custom of the sea in the Queen's service is that there shall be rest and worship on Sundays, and now I am thankful to say even the Lord's Supper is frequently celebrated on the Lord's Day where there happens to be a clergyman on board, which was not the case when I went to sea. In the mercantile marine some few ships have kept holy the Lord's Day by united worship, but there are very many prayerless ships which do not. Our merchants, directors of shipping companies and employers, are living on shore in your parishes, and I want the clergy to help us by exhorting them to give as well as take. They should give consideration as well as take the profits. They might give their crews good captains; there are plenty of good officers to be got if paid properly, and they should give proper instructions on the subject of Sunday worship to their officers as the Admiralty do. Owners should not let their ships go to sea on Sunday, or tranship cargo on that day. Voyages should be so arranged that Sunday would be spent at sea instead of putting in to intermediate ports to coal. Why not so arrange the times of departure as to coal at intermediate ports on a week day? The missions to seamen is fighting this question all over the world, but the fault lies at home; for managers and owners worshipping in your churches order things to be done in Roman Catholic, Mohammedan, and heathen ports, that they would not dare to have done at home. I want public opinion to be brought to bear on the mercantile community, and I appeal to the Church on shore to do something in this matter for its sons at sea. There are 200,000 sailors annually coming into the Port of London, but the Church, as represented by the diocesan and parochial systems, does little for them. Talk about opening museums on Sunday, let us first open the churches in this great seaport to its own seamen, and not repulse them at the church doors as "strangers" and foreigners, but receive them cordially and thankfully as "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." I do not agree with Mr. Brooke Lambert that secular education is everything, or that it will bring men to Christ. If that were so there would have been no need of Calvary, and all educated men would be saints, and all the ignorant sinners. Has not, rather, God chosen the poor in this world rich in faith, heirs of the kingdom. The lay helpers in poor parishes are mostly working men. But we must remember that it is useless to stop Sunday work unless we facilitate admission to Sunday worship. It is not mere Sunday idleness and vacuity that men need, but to keep holy the Lord's Day. Try the experiment, then, of letting them freely enter your churches, so that "the Sabbath may be a delight, holy unto the Lord, and honourable."

Rev. J. N. Hoare, Brompton.

I ENTIRELY differ from most of the previous speakers, because I believe, upon theological grounds, that Sunday and the Jewish Sabbath are distinct from each other. I am a curate of a London parish with many poor in it. The Government has conceded the point of opening picture galleries at Hampton Court Palace and in Dublin; therefore I cannot understand why the Government should open Hampton Court on Sundays for the rich, and not the National Gallery for the poor. Those who can afford to pay for a railway ticket can go to Hampton Court,

and see Sir Peter Lely's pictures of the Beauties of the Court of Charles II., while the divine creations of Raphael and Leonardo in the National Gallery are closed to those who are obliged to remain in London. The museums of London are also closed on Sundays; and where are the poor to go? I know something of the working man's home. They do not come to church; they probably lie in bed all the morning, and get up only in time for their dinners, which they must eat in the room in which they have slept, and that is not a pleasant place to stop in all the afternoon. Now on fine Sundays the Government has provided a choice between the public-house and the parks, and men may walk in the parks. But what about the *wet* Sundays? They cannot go to the parks, they must go to the public-houses; and no doubt the Chancellor of the Exchequer rubs his hands, and congratulates himself on the increase of the Excise on a wet Sunday. Some years ago South Kensington Museum was open on Sunday to Members of Parliament and their families—gentlemen who were at the same time voting against opening it to the general public in the House of Commons. The Zoological Gardens are open to the Fellows, who might, if they chose, generously open them to the poor at some small entrance fee. In Ireland the Zoological Gardens are open on Sunday on the payment of one penny, and I have myself witnessed the crowds of men, women, and children who were glad to go there. The National Gallery in Dublin I have seen crowded on wet Sunday afternoons. We are told that Ireland is a Roman Catholic country, and that if we extend the opening of public institutions we shall introduce the "Continental Sunday." Well, I have lived a good deal on the Continent, and "the proof of the pudding is in the eating"; for what do we see in France? We do not see working men reeling drunk through the streets, but we do see them with their wives and children thoroughly enjoying themselves on the promenades on fine Sundays; and in the museums, which are to be found in nearly all the towns, on wet Sundays; and the French peasant bears a very favourable comparison with the English. Then it is said that it is no use to open museums, because the working men would not understand them. I think we might have lectures delivered at the museums on Sunday afternoons. I myself was for some time a curate in Dublin, and on wet Sunday afternoons I used sometimes to go to the National Gallery, and explain the pictures to all who chose to listen, and if such a plan were generally adopted we should raise the whole tone of our working men to higher and to better things. If the working men come to Church on Sundays it is in the evening. Where are they to spend their afternoons? On fine days the parks are open to them, but on wet days the museums and art galleries are shut. There is but one place open to them by the Government of the country—the public-house!

Mr. Henry Johnson, Croydon.

When I sent in my card as a possible speaker at this meeting nothing was further from my thoughts than to suppose that I could add anything to the able arguments which I felt sure would be brought forward on this question by previous speakers; but as a business man, having many opportunities of judging, and having watched the effect of a strict or a lax observance of the Lord's Day on the lives of professing Christians, it seemed to me possible that the utterance of my convictions might strengthen the faith of some whose minds may have been led away from the simplicity of the commandment, "Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day." But, first, I may perhaps be allowed to say that, from a careful study of the Scriptures as a whole, the attribute of God's *omniscience* seems to demand the perpetuity of the Sabbath; for as He knew what was good for man in a state of

nnocence in Eden, He knew would be good for man as man in all ages of the world, and therefore He set aside one day in seven for man's good to the end of time, and all Scripture and experience prove its great benefits. The same may be said as to God's attribute of unchangeableness, which must stand by the unchangeableness of His laws. It has been affirmed by some that the freedom of the Gospel permits a less strict observance of the Sabbath. It seems to me that it should lead to a fuller sanctification of it; for if, as a subject, I keep the laws of the king because it is my duty, surely, now that I am a son by adoption and grace, it will be my *delight* to keep the "rules of my Father's house"; and I can testify that this is a delight to many, for after ten years' observation, I affirm that the happiest people in Christian circles are the strict Sabbatarians; and I believe there is a peculiar joy in the due observance of the Sabbath which they who do not observe it never possess. Is not this promised in Isaiah lvi., where we read:—"Likewise the sons of the stranger that join themselves to the Lord to serve Him, and to love the name of the Lord, to be His servants, every one that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my covenant; even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them *joyful* in my house of prayer?" I must confess the meeting to-day has to me been a very sad one, as many of the statements that have been made have not been uttered with a view to stir us up to a better observance of God's holy commandment, but have taken the form of a discussion as to the different ways in which we may break it.

Mr. G. F. Chambers, Eastbourne.

I often wonder why it is that in the discussion of this question there should be, as a rule, so much half-heartedness (not to use any stronger word) on the part of Churchmen, and my surprise proceeds from the fact that neither Bible nor Prayer Book is wanting, in clearly enunciated Divine principles bearing on the so-called Sunday question. I will mention some of these in the fewest possible words as necessary preliminaries to any profitable discussion of the subject of Lord's Day observance. I would begin by begging particular attention to the statement that the Christian Sunday is in no sense a Jewish (or Mosaic) Institution, and any similarity it may have to the Jewish Sabbath is a mere accident, so to speak. Neither the early Church nor ourselves have been called upon to borrow anything from the Jewish Church. And the reason is obvious to every dispassionate inquirer after truth. The Jews, that is to say Moses and ourselves, have alike inherited from the epoch of the creation of the world—from Adam, and from God himself—the idea of six days' work followed by one whole day's rest. The principle of the Institution was never Jewish in its origin, but what the Jewish lawgiver did was to incorporate into his code something he had found in use already. The very first word prefixed to the fourth commandment in Exodus, xx., I regard as vitally significant—viz., the word "Remember." Why should the Jews be specially invited to "remember" only one commandment out of ten unless it were that their attention was being directed to an ordinance which had already been promulgated before, and which was known to them. This then is our point:—The fourth commandment dates from Adam, and applies in its integrity to the whole human race without exception. Realising this, we shall yet fail to focus accurately the teaching of the Bible on the subject, unless we adopt the cardinal idea laid down in the very book of Genesis itself. This I simply define to be six days' labour in the world, and one day's rest in God. The more strict our rest, so much the more Scriptural our conduct. This principle once grasped in the minds of those who share my views, all difficulties vanish as to the question of a divided

allegiance on the Lord's day: the first half to worship; the last half to amusement. In the morning good music at the fashionable church; in the afternoon good music at an aquarium or at a casino. Unless the whole day, morning, afternoon and evening, is devoted to Christian work and rest, the Biblical standard is not complied with. Addressing an assembly of Churchmen, I would point out that we, as Churchmen, are not left in the dark as to the mind of the Church of England on this subject. In the thirteenth canon we find what I think is an excellent summary of Sunday duties and occupations. The day is to be employed "in hearing the Word of God read and taught; in private and public prayers; in acknowledging offences to God, and amendment of the same; in reconciling ourselves charitably to our neighbours where displeasure hath been; in oftentimes receiving the Communion of the body and blood of Christ; in visiting the poor and sick; in using all godly and sober conversation." I see here no traces of the Sunday afternoon of Dean Stanley, of Mr. S. Hansard, Mr. Brooke Lambert and the Anti-Sunday Society. Still speaking, more especially at this moment as a Churchman, I would make an earnest appeal to those, who, priding themselves on their Churchmanship, have yet lent names and influence to various anti-christian societies, formed on one or another pretext to destroy the existing safeguards which surround the English Sunday. Under the cloak of Religion and Morals, many infidels and secularists are at work as wire-pullers behind, and this fact cannot be too strongly insisted on. We have seen within this very year fervid appeals made by persons in London, some of them laymen, some of them, I regret to say, clergymen, for the opening of the Public Museums on Sunday afternoons. Taking my stand at this moment, and for this purpose in particular, on a distinctive Church of England footing, I avow that I am perfectly unable to comprehend how these lax-minded people can reconcile their loose Sunday notions with their allegiance to the Anglican Church. Prayer-book, Canons, and Homilies are all inconsistent with any relaxation of the Sunday restrictions—"Puritanic" restrictions if you like—which have been and in the main, still are, part and parcel of the law of England as to this matter. Time forbids that I should longer dwell on the theological and argumentative aspect of the question, and I will therefore conclude with a few thoughts on the practical side of it. This opens a field which is indeed a wide one. It may be looked at from several other points of view, social, political, medical, and even financial. One may in perfect fairness ask respecting a Continental Sunday—Is it beneficial to the mind? Is it good for the health of the body? Does it pay? Without the slightest hesitation I give an emphatic answer of 'No' to each of these questions. The evidence on this score is perfectly overwhelming if people will only candidly examine it. The London Lord's Day Observance Society published some years ago, in the form of a pamphlet, a collection of testimonies which deserve to be widely known, the more so as many of them are neither clerical nor English. Lord Macaulay, for instance (and he was a man specially trained to investigate facts, and assuredly no Puritan) said "of course I not mean that a man will not produce more in a week by working seven days than by working six days. But I very much doubt whether at the end of the year he will have produced more by working seven days a week than by working six days a week; and I firmly believe that at the end of twenty years he will have produced less." With Lord Macaulay agreed the six hundred London doctors who petitioned Parliament in 1853 against the Sunday opening of the Crystal Palace in these words:—"Your petitioners, from their acquaintance with the labouring classes, and with the laws which regulate the human economy, are convinced that a seventh day of rest, instituted by God, and coeval with the existence of man, is essential to the bodily health and mental vigour of men in every station of life." Sir William Blackstone, the great judge, was very terse in his expressions:—"A corruption of morals usually follows a profanation of the Sabbath." He wrote

before the French Revolution, but his words were prophetic. The Count de Montalembert's graphic contrast between the London Sunday and the Paris Sunday will be within the recollection of many present to-day. So much for the social and economic aspects of a so-called "Free" Sunday, which, beginning with half for God and half for the Devil, is very apt to end in the Devil getting the whole of it. Now as to the question—Does Sunday dissipation or labour pay? What say our Railways? There are not two more prosperous or more comfortable railways in England than the London and North Western and the Great Northern. I believe it is well known that neither of these railways run any cheap Sunday excursion trains; nay, more, that the Boards of Directors of both have for a long number of years opposed all development of Sunday traffic. The Great Northern only a few months ago took a decisive step in this direction, which I cannot pause to describe fully. Contrast with these lines the Eastern Counties, whitewashed into the Great Eastern, and the London, Chatham and Dover. Are not these names bywords on the Stock Exchange? And they stand in the very front of offenders in the matter of Sunday desecration. Almost as impecunious as they, and almost as unsabbatical, is the Great Western. These things, I contend, stand in the relation of cause and effect. One word more and I have done. At this very moment, just as some godless politicians are seeking to rob Englishmen of their Sunday birthright, in all parts of Europe earnest men are forming committees to do what? To regain what they have lost, namely, their Sundays—to secure for France and Germany a Sunday modelled on the English Sunday. I have just returned within these few weeks from a conference of these men at Geneva, and believe me it was deeply interesting to me as an Englishman to elbow Frenchmen, and Swiss, and Germans, and Dutchmen, and to hear them loud in their praises of the English Sunday. It would be quite a different thing for me to have to meet these same men in 1879 at their next Congress at Berne, and have to say what you are striving to build up, the British Parliament has commenced to pull down, and now, in pursuance of a vote of the House of Commons, the British Museum, the Crystal Palace, Westminster Hall, the Albert Hall, Drury Lane Theatre, the Holborn Casino, I do not know where we are to stop, and the Argyll Rooms are open every Sunday, but not till after 1 p.m., up till then we are expected to be doing Church. I hope one result of this discussion will be that we shall all separate firmly resolved to do everything in our power to maintain in its integrity our English Christian Sunday, tightening it rather than relaxing it.

Rev. W. S. Bruce, Rector of S. John Baptist, Bristol.

I think, in discussing the desirability of opening museums and galleries on the Lord's Day, the remarks made have been too much confined to the working classes. It seems to me most important, also, to consider how the class immediately above them would be affected by such a step. I fear that among the middle classes a large number of persons who are now found in Church would be drawn away. In many families the young and undecided would be tempted to neglect public worship and private religious duties for recreation which would present considerable attractions, and the hopeful and well-disposed would often find it hard to resist the appeals of their less religiously-minded friends to accompany them. Thus by degrees the standard of observance of the Lord's Day would certainly deteriorate, and the ultimate effect of this upon our Church and nation must be most disastrous. Again, in the reference made to Continental habits, it appears to me to have been assumed that because there is less drunkenness in France and Germany than in England, intemperance would be sure to

diminish among our working men if we copied the practice of the Continent as to the Lord's Day. I entirely deny the right to draw such a conclusion from such premises; nor can I think that the religious condition of Continental nations is sufficiently satisfactory to lead us to copy their customs. I believe we should be sorry to exchange the Christian faith and Christian virtues which are to be found in England for those of other countries in Europe, and one reason of our superiority in this respect is our different conduct on the Lord's Day. I venture also to call attention to the great influence which the religious observance of Sunday has hitherto had in fostering piety in England. In the homes of the English clergy and of the faithful laity, how many have found this day the means of spiritual growth and advancement. Meditation and prayer have increased Christian graces, and works of mercy have added their blessing. I earnestly hope that nothing may happen which shall tend to deprive us of so great a privilege, but that that which has been such an instrument of good in the past may be preserved intact to future generations. Lastly, I would ask you to remember the fact that many working men now deeply value the Lord's Day. They have found in it a rest and happiness which nothing else has afforded them. It has been given to them by a gracious Creator as a most merciful alleviation of the toil of a fallen world, and as their great—I might almost in some sense say, their *only*—opportunity of preparing for eternity. Any one who should seek to improve their condition by lessening the sanctity of such a season would be doing them the most grievous wrong, and however good his motive might be he would certainly fail. The blessing of God's creatures is indissolubly bound up with the faithful observance of every Divine law; and you would do more to ameliorate the working classes by encouraging them to keep Sunday as a day of quiet rest, domestic intercourse, and religious worship than by opening all the museums, and picture galleries, and lecture halls that the whole country contains.

Section Room.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 11th.

The Bishop of Dover took the Chair at Half-past Two o'clock.

CHURCH FINANCE:—CLERICAL INCOMES; CHURCH EXPENSES.

PAPERS.

Rev. Canon Scott Robertson.

Two distinct branches of Church finance claim our consideration to-day; each of them is so wide, and has so many ramifications, that we cannot well do justice to both in the short time at our disposal. I propose, therefore, to confine myself chiefly to the question of *Clerical incomes*, and to touch very lightly indeed upon *Church expenses*.

The subject of clerical incomes is in itself more expansive, I fear, than are the incomes of which it treats; but I presume that we may centre our attention upon the incomes of parochial clergy, disregarding those of the Episcopate and those of Deans and Chapters. Turning then to the parochial clergy, I propose to leave to other speakers any details respecting the grievances of those who are unbeneficed. It seems to me that if the emoluments of every benefice could be raised to more than £200 a year, and a house, even that *minimum* would obviate the majority of complaints which we hear, from the unbeneficed clergy, or from parents, respecting the prospects of young men who take holy orders. To this object of augmenting benefices, we may well direct our main attention and efforts. Meanwhile, it is undeniable that, in many cases, a curacy is now preferable to one of the 4,352 benefices which are worth less than £200 a year. For the unbeneficed clergy of long standing, the Curates' Augmentation Fund is doing a good and commendable work, and for the rest it is quite certain that the youngest of the unbeneficed are now far better off than were their predecessors of the last generation. In 1831 the average stipend of a curate was £81 per annum; in 1863 it had risen to £97; and it is believed that in 1873 the average annual stipend of a curate was nearly £130.* In 1831, again, the number of beneficed clergy probably did not exceed 6,650, because so many of the 10,719 benefices were then held in plurality. Since 1831 the number of beneficed clergy has been doubled, and amounts now to about 13,300; consequently curates have much greater chances of preferment. Leaving, then, to subsequent speakers fuller details respecting the stipends of the unbeneficed, I pass on to consider the incomes of the beneficed clergy, which form indeed the principal and permanent (though by no means the only) source whence curates' stipends are derived.

Let us in the first place inquire what is the total amount of the annual incomes of benefices in England and Wales? I shall not presume to offer any calculation of my own. I prefer to take figures furnished by those who are either quite impartial, or whose bias, if any, would be against the Church and the clergy. Mr. Frederick Martin has very recently compiled for the Liberation Society a mass of statistics, which that society has published in a pamphlet entitled *The Property and Revenues of the English Church Establishment.* He therein adopts the statements of a writer in the *Financial Reform Almanack* for 1876, who calculates that in England and Wales there are 13,447 benefices, and that their annual values amount to £4,277,060. Perfect accuracy in such totals is almost, if not quite, unattainable; but these figures coming from an unfriendly source seem sufficiently worthy of consideration to be adopted as the ground of our arguments. As to the number of livings, the Church Revenue Commissioners of 1831 stated that there were in that year 10,719 benefices (including 62 sinecures), and we know that the number of new churches consecrated since 1831, in places where no church

* *Quarterly Review*, July, 1874, p. 266. *The Church and her Curates* (edited by Rev. J. J. Halcombe), p. 96.

previously existed, is about 3,000. The estimate that there are now 13,447 benefices is therefore quite reasonable, although it may not be perfectly accurate. Many instances of double or united benefices still exist, and different calculators are sure to reckon them differently; thus, a Parliamentary return printed in August, 1872, makes the number of benefices 12,967. But the figures quoted by Mr. Martin sufficiently agree with Canon Ashwell's calculation that in 1874 there were 13,300 beneficed clergy;* and do not differ much from the statement of a writer in the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1874, who estimated the number of parishes and parochial districts then existing, to be 13,200.

Passing from the number of benefices to their aggregate annual value, we again find it possible to use the estimate adopted by Mr. Martin, when he puts the total at four and a quarter millions sterling, or more exactly £4,277,060. Here, however, we must part company with Mr. Martin. He proceeds to *add* to this total in a most remarkable manner. We, on the other hand, will endeavour to show that justice and truth require any one who deals with that total to adopt a very different course. Computing that there are 10,000 glebe houses attached to benefices, he estimates them as being worth on the average £75 per annum, and he therefore thinks himself justified in adding to the aggregate annual income of the beneficed clergy the sum of £750,000 for their houses. In the next place, forgetting that the augmentations made to benefices, by Queen Anne's Bounty, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, are already counted, being included in the income of each benefice, he adds £734,000 per annum under these two heads. Thus he counts that sum twice over. Archdeacon Hannah has ably exposed this absurd error in a Charge delivered to the clergy of Lewes archdeaconry in June, 1877. The income of Queen Anne's Bounty, derived from first-fruits and tenths, paid by the clergy out of their incomes, can never rightly be added to their aggregate income. It is merely a transfer of income from the richer benefices to those more poorly endowed. There is another and a crowning error made by Mr. Martin, when he adds one million sterling to the estimated annual incomes of the beneficed clergy, because the *Times* newspaper once said that this large sum was probably contributed annually by Churchmen for the building and repairing of churches. As not one farthing of this supposititious million could possibly find its way into the pockets of the clergy, Mr. Martin's error is simply incomprehensible, and the mere mention of the fact that, if raised at all, it is raised for building churches, shows that it cannot rightly be added to the incomes of the clergy.

Having noticed Mr. Martin's method of dealing with the four and a quarter millions sterling, at which he estimates the incomes of the beneficed clergy, let us now see how that sum ought rightly to be regarded. If any expert man of business inheriting an estate were told that its annual rent-roll amounted to four and a quarter millions sterling, his first inquiry would be, "Is that estate mortgaged or

* *Report of Select Committee on Public Worship Facilities Bill*, 1875, page 296.

embarrassed in any way?" His second question would be, "Are there any permanent outgoings which are peculiar to it, in addition to those which are chargeable upon every large estate?" When such inquiries are made respecting the four and a quarter millions of the clergy's rent-roll, what are the replies? The answer to the first question is that their income is mortgaged to Queen Anne's Bounty for more than £1,000,000. That was the amount of the various mortgages on the 31st of December, 1876, as I learn from the last account, most kindly and courteously placed in my hands by Mr. Aston, the secretary and treasurer, and explained to me by Mr. Holford, the accountant. Never yet have I seen this most important fact stated by those enemies of the Church Establishment, who are fond of recapitulating the total emoluments of the clergy. Their four and a quarter millions of income being mortgaged for over one million sterling, what is the consequence? Every year instalments of the loans must be repaid, so that the whole million, borrowed for the building of parsonage houses, shall be paid off in thirty-one years. Every year, likewise, interest upon this million sterling must be paid, mainly at 4 per cent., but about one-fourth of the amount is lent at 3½ per cent. The effect during the year 1876 was this:—The beneficed clergy paid to Queen Anne's Bounty £70,761 in repayment of principal, and £44,366 for interest; or a total sum of £115,127 out of the income of their benefices. Nor is this any novelty. Thirty years ago the House of Commons called for a return of all sums borrowed from Queen Anne's Bounty, for the building, altering, or repairing of parsonage houses, and at that time not fully repaid. The return, ordered to be printed on March 21st, 1848, shows that £1,037,466 had been so borrowed, and was not at that time fully repaid. The interest paid by the clergy upon those loans had already amounted to £219,444, and there still remained of principal to be repaid £722,259. These facts prove, to all who know them, that the majority of the parsonage houses of England are built at the cost of the clergy themselves; they prove that, instead of the four and a quarter millions of income being absorbed by the incumbents personally, there is a very large sum sunk and left in parishes from which the income is derived, in the shape of parsonage houses, and the sum thus permanently sunk and left in the parishes amounts to over £100,000 per annum.

Let us now turn to the second question which any man of business would ask. Are there any permanent outgoings which are peculiar to the clergy's income, but would not be chargeable upon the rent roll of estates in general? The reply is that such peculiar and permanent outgoings lessen the income of the clergy, by more than three-quarters of a million annually, in addition to the charges entailed by the mortgages for parsonage houses. The clergy's rent roll of four and a quarter millions, includes about two and a half millions sterling derived from tithe rent-charge. No other nominal rent roll has to be reduced by a charge for parochial rates, but when the four and a quarter millions of clerical rent roll are mentioned, it must be remembered that upon two and a half millions thereof the clergy have to pay parochial rates to the amount of more than a

quarter of a million sterling per annum. They pay rates, like every one else, upon their houses and their lands, but the nominal value of their tithe rent roll has to be reduced, unlike any other rent roll, by the parochial rates which are charged upon the clerical owners, for the income which they derive therefrom; but this is not the only permanent and peculiar charge upon their nominal incomes. For the efficient discharge of their duties, among overwhelming populations, curates must be employed. To these curates about three-quarters of a million sterling, or £750,000 per annum is paid. Some portion of that sum is given by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, some portion of it is given by private benefactors and by congregational Offertories, some portion is granted by societies such as the Additional Curates' Society and Pastoral Aid Society, but the greatest portion—probably two-thirds of the whole—comes out of the four and a quarter millions of income ascribed to the beneficed clergy.

When we turn to such ordinary outgoings as form charges upon any estate, we find the clergy paying about £90,000 per annum for dilapidations, and about £150,000 per annum for the ordinary rates and taxes, in addition to rates on tithe rent charge. If any one will thus take the trouble to recapitulate those portions of the income of the beneficed clergy which they are compelled to devote entirely to the service of their country and their parishes, as distinguished from their own personal emolument and service, the total sum will be found to equal £1,005,000, which is the annual compulsory charge upon their income of four and a quarter millions:—

Rates and taxes	£400,000
Curates	400,000
Queen Anne's Bounty for instalments of, and interest on money lent for building parsonages	115,000
Dilapidations of chancels, parsonages, and glebes ..	90,000
	£1,005,000

Having thus endeavoured to show the actual condition of the income of the beneficed clergy, it may be well to compare the present state of their emoluments with their state forty-six years ago, as disclosed by the report of the Church Inquiry Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Revenues, issued in 1835. In 1831 the aggregate income of 10,719 benefices was £3,251,382, and there were only 5,900 parsonage houses fit for residence. In 1876 the aggregate income of 13,447 benefices was estimated at £4,277,060, and there are more than 10,000 habitable parsonage houses. During forty-five years the number of benefices seems to have increased by 2,728; the aggregate income has increased by £1,025,678 per annum; and we know that more than 5,000 new parsonage houses have been built. How has all this been effected? To private liberality we owe the churches of the 2,728 new benefices, nor do they comprise the whole number of new churches which have been erected, at the cost of generous Churchmen, during the last forty-five years. The 5,000 parsonages have been built mainly at the cost of the clergy themselves; nevertheless many have been given by

patrons of livings, and by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The one million per annum of additional income has been raised principally by means of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty; but a very large portion of that sum has come from munificent donors contributing through the Bounty-office and Commissioners, as well as independently. Some generous patrons, like Mr. Abel Smith, in Hertfordshire, and others, have restored to benefices the impropriate rectorial tithes. When consummated, the good results of the Tithe Redemption Trust, which has assisted in restoring to benefices, alienated tithes worth £3,171 per annum, operate ultimately and permanently through Queen Anne's Bounty Board. The total effect upon small benefices, of the efforts made during these forty-five years, is seen in the fact that while in 1831 there were 4,882 benefices each worth less than £200 per annum, in 1876, although nearly 3,000 new benefices had been added during the interval, yet the number under £200 per annum was less by 530 than it was in 1831. Benefices under £100 per annum formed in 1831 no less than 18 per cent. (1,926) of the whole number; while in 1876 they formed only 8¾ per cent., being in actual number less, by 763, than they were in 1831. Among the various means, helpful to this result, which have been called into existence by the work and offers of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, we must not forget Lord Westbury's Act, by which the advowsons of Lord Chancellor's livings were sold, in order that the proceeds might obtain additional grants for the augmentation of those and other Chancellor's livings. More than £200,000 thus obtained by sales have been met by other sums from the Commissioners, and from private sources, which have been together applied to the augmentation of livings formerly, or still, in the Chancellor's gift. This good work is included in that of the Ecclesiastical Commission, which seems in the aggregate to have been instrumental in obtaining and devoting to the permanent augmentation of benefices about £500,000 per annum.

The great work which Queen Anne's Bounty has been instrumental in effecting would probably astonish good Bishop Burnet, whose persevering intercessions with William III. and with Queen Anne at length obtained from the Crown the grant of tenths and first-fruits for the augmentation of poor benefices. The average annual revenue, from these sources, does not exceed £15,000 per annum; nevertheless this nucleus served to gather around it the private benefactions of successive generations of Churchmen, until the aggregate capital sum received and devoted by the Bounty Board for the assistance of poor benefices, during the past 164 years, has reached a total of six millions sterling. About two and a half millions came from the clergy who held the better livings, and about three and a half millions were contributed by the public, the clergy, and the laity as benefactions. During the past 164 years the grants which were permitted to be expended in land, or tithe, or in houses and repairs, have absorbed two and a quarter millions sterling; but the remaining three and three quarter millions sterling are still existing, as capital in the hands of Queen Anne's Bounty, from

which the Board paid to incumbents during 1876 the sum of £112,516 19s. 10d. as interest and dividends.

The great work thus achieved by giving in augmentation of poor benefices the tenths and first-fruits, which had originally been paid by the clergy to the Pope, and afterwards accrued to the King as the Church's temporal head, centres our attention upon those dues. Upon examination we find that at the present time about two-thirds of the existing benefices contribute nothing to this fund. The valuation upon which the tenths are assessed was made in the reign of Henry VIII. If this payment had been retained as an appanage of the Crown, no doubt a re-arrangement and increase of it would have been repeatedly made; but as the poorer benefices are now the recipients, no improvement has been made since King Henry's time. Consequently, all the well-endowed benefices founded during the past 340 years contribute nothing towards this fund in behalf of poor livings. We may instance one new London parish endowed with £20,000 by that munificent benefactor, the late Mr. Gibbs; and another new London church whose pew-rents were legalised by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at over £2,000 per annum. When the income of benefices is estimated at four and a quarter millions, it surely seems absurd to accept £10,000 per annum in the name of tenths. In the interest of poor benefices I appeal to my brethren of the clergy to say that some re-arrangement should be made. Would it not be fair and just to say that every living worth £200 a year ought to contribute towards the augmentation of those 4,352 benefices which are worth less than £200 per annum? I believe that 4,000 benefices, worth £200 a year and more, pay no tenths whatever towards the endowments of their poorer brethren. To the holders of those benefices I appeal, and I ask whether they would not be willing to contribute £1 per cent of their incomes, in lieu of tenths? If every benefice, worth more than £200 a year, contributed in lieu of tenths £1 per cent. of its annual income, Queen Anne's Bounty would receive £37,000 per annum, or nearly four times the amount at present received from that source. Let us remember that in the past every £10 contributed by the clergy in first-fruits and tenths, has called forth in benefactions a further donation of £14; making the clergy's £10 equivalent to £24 for the augmentation of poor benefices. Let us likewise remember that in the middle ages the beneficed clergy, all of them, contributed to the Pope, not merely £1 per cent., but £10 per cent., of their annual incomes. If, instead of a voluntary payment, there could be any hope of success in appealing to Convocation and Parliament for a re-arrangement of the payment of tenths, I should propose that while livings of £200 and upwards paid annually £1 per cent.; benefices of £500 and upwards ought to pay £2 per cent. towards the augmentation of poor benefices; both payments being very far below the original £10 per cent. which our predecessors sent out of the country annually for the support of the Pope.

One of the pressing questions and difficulties with respect to clerical incomes is that of dilapidations. Time forbids me to say more now than to express my hope that the recommendation of the

Parliamentary committee of inquiry will be adopted. I would suggest that the incumbent of every benefice shall pay to some diocesan board an annual per-centage upon that benefice's annual value; for which premium the board shall ensure the periodical survey, and secure the due repair of the parsonage-house, and satisfy any claim for dilapidations which might accrue upon a change of incumbent. Queen Anne's Bounty might well be made the central authority to whom all diocesan boards should be annexed as branches. In this matter I believe that an uniform per-centage of small amount might suffice, the richer benefices being thus made to contribute to the assistance of the poorer.

Turning now our attention to the poorer benefices, I find that of those which are worth not more than £200 per annum, the majority are in private patronage. In one diocese 155 such livings have private patrons, while but eighty-nine are in public patronage. Being convinced that private patronage is one of the sheet anchors of the Church's temporal welfare, when I find it seeming to stand in the way of the augmentation of poor benefices, I would say develop it, and the evil will cease. The right of advowson was given in return for an endowment sufficient to support a parish priest. If in process of time that endowment fail to provide a real "living" for the incumbent, then justice requires that appeal should be made to other benefactors, who, if they will increase the endowment, shall be entitled to a share of the patronage proportionate to the increase their donation causes in the annual value of the living. Lord Chancellor Westbury gave up the entire patronage of certain livings, for the sake of augmenting poor benefices. No such sacrifice would be required under the scheme which I venture to propose. The original patron would not lose his patronge; but while exercising it less frequently he would as compensation have a better living in his gift. Thus the incumbent and the parish would benefit, while the patron would suffer no loss. To render this scheme efficacious, diocesan boards, Bishops, and incumbents may all conduce by persuading benefactors and patrons; but, if needful, I believe that Convocation and Parliament would afford further powers.

The parochial clergy have great reason to uphold and develop private patronage. In England they were despoiled, during the Middle Ages, by the monastic absorption of advowsons and tithes. Wherever the private patron gave his Church and advowson to a monastic house there the parish priest was robbed of his due. At the Reformation the parochial clergy suffered no loss of endowments. Their tithes had been spoliated and alienated, several centuries before, by the monasteries, except in those parishes where the lay patron had continued to hold the advowson. In England the lord of the manor retained the power of consecrating its tithes according to his own will, much longer than many writers suppose, and the churches retained their manorial character. Not only does the Domesday Survey treat of churches as appendant to manors, but in one case it speaks of a church as the *Church of the Manor* of Mortesfund in Hampshire, which, with its six chapels in neighbouring hamlets, was held by Thomas Archbishop

of York from the King (Domesday Book, i. 42). So late as the third year of the reign of Edward II., I read among the Kent fines, a record of the sale of the advowson of the *Church of the Manor* of Fawkham in Kent. It was a parish church which existed at Domesday, yet in A.D. 1310 its advowson was sold as that of "*the Church of the Manor.*" The mediæval law of England, as stated by Judge Littleton, held that "while nothing except a villein was termed *regardant* to a manor, yet such things as an advowson and common of pasture are termed *appendant* to the Manor." (Littleton, Book II., chap. 11, sec. 184.) The right of consecrating tithes at will seems to have continued, in some English manors, up to the time of King John; as Selden has proved in his work "*On Tithes*" (pages 359 to 361), although, as he adds, the canon law might be against that right. Dr. Lingard states the same fact in his *History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, i. 406. The practical consequences are well known to those incumbents who receive tithes from detached portions of land, which are distant, and separate from their parishes. Such cases are numerous, but I may name as examples the rectory of Throcking in Hertfordshire, and the rectory of Murston in Kent. To the latter belong the tithes of ninety-six acres of land situate about five miles from the parish proper. These original and ancient methods of endowment suggest a further remedy for alleviating the poverty of small benefices. When one patron has two or more livings in his gift he will but follow ancient precedents if he strive more nearly to equalise their value, by assigning to a benefice under £200 per annum some of the emoluments of a benefice which exceeds £500 a year. Parliament has already empowered patrons to do this by the Acts 3 and 4 Victoria, c. 113. sec. 74, and 17 and 18 Victoria, c. 85, sec. 8. The needs of poor benefices loudly call upon patrons to avail themselves of the provisions of these Acts more largely than yet they have done.

The suggestions which I have thus ventured to make for the augmentation of poor benefices are three:—

1. Develop the payment of tenths, until every benefice over £200 per annum pays at least one per cent. of its income to Queen Anne's Bounty.

2. Develop the right of private patronage by encouraging benefactors so largely to increase the income of small benefices that they may obtain a share of the patronage.

3. Urge any patron of several livings to avail himself of the powers given him by Parliament for the augmentation of those in his gift which are of little value.

No single method can be recommended as universally applicable for raising funds to defray Church expenses.

In populous parishes the weekly Offertory is generally successful. At Trinity Church, Sheerness, Halfpenny Offertories produce more than £100 per annum, where £30 were formerly with difficulty raised. In such an Offertory silver and gold are excepted, although there is an understanding that none need give more than one halfpenny.

Yet even in parishes of 2,000 people the Offertory is not always successful in raising sufficient funds. At one town in Kent annual subscriptions are preferred by some persons, and to them the Church Expense Offertory plate is not presented in the congregation.

In other large parishes the feeling against the Offertory for Church expenses is very strong, and there quarterly collections produce ample funds.

In the majority of rural parishes I am convinced that it is better to adhere to Voluntary Church rates. Certainly the Offertory would entirely fail to produce the requisite funds. In such parishes landowners can, and do, pay the rate in some cases where their tenants fail to do so. One Kentish landowner, who in Parliament voted for the abolition of compulsory Church rates, tells all his tenants that if they decline to pay Church rate to the Churchwardens he shall do so and charge it to the tenant in rent.

Mr. Robert Few.

In considering the subject of Clerical Incomes—looking to the short time at my disposal—I propose to restrict my remarks to one single, but very important and pressing topic—the unfair assessment of the *Clerical* Tithe owners.

Up to the year 1836, the tithes of England were governed by the Antient law, and subjected to certain prescribed and known rates and charges, to which all holders of land contributed equally. But in that year two Acts of Parliament, the Tithe Commutation Act and the Parochial Assessment Act were passed, the effect of which, however unintentionally, has been (more especially in connection with the Exemption Act of 1840, and its subsequent renewals), to increase without limit, *in direct breach of the protective words of the Commutation Act*, the charges upon tithes, and at the same time, as a further wrong, to essentially lighten the liability of other contributing incomes, which had previously been rated *in strict equality* with tithes.

The Commutation Act fixed the sum to be payable *for ever thereafter* for the tithe of all England and Wales, (controlled by seven years' averages), "subject to those rates and taxes *only*, to which tithes had *theretofore* been subject."

Thus the Church consented to fix—for all future time—the amount to be thenceforth received by her clergy, conditional upon those tithes contributing to rates, only in the same manner, and to the same extent, as they had theretofore done. It was a formal compact to such effect between the clergy on the one hand, and the legislature on the other, which, so far as the clergy are concerned, has been faithfully fulfilled by them ever since—now forty years.

By the Assessment Act of the same session, alterations were made in the law of assessment for rates, the working of which has practically erased from the Commutation Act the important words, "*in like manner as tithe has heretofore been subject.*"

A suspicion of such a possible result was evidently entertained by the then Archbishop of Canterbury (Archbishop Howley), when the Assessment Act came before the House of Lords; for His Grace, acting doubtless under good advice, proposed an amendment which would have effectually guarded tithes from its operation. But unfortunately, His Grace was induced, at the instance of the Duke of Richmond, to accept, in lieu of such amendment, a proviso, which it was certainly intended by all parties should protect the clergy from any increase of their then liability for rates in respect of tithes, but which proviso, (when tested three years afterwards in the case of "The Queen *v.* Lumsdarne,") was pronounced to be absolutely valueless and inoperative. Thus, the passing of the Assessment Act, without any exemption of tithes therefrom, practically abrogated the distinct stipulation by the tithe owner, and engagement by the legislature, that no heightened liability to rates should attach to the commutation for tithes, if accepted by the tithe owner.

Both clerical and lay impropriators are grievously wronged by such Assessment Act, but on the present occasion I restrict my remarks to the case of the *clerical* impropriator, whose wrongs are more than twice as great as those of the lay impropriator.

His wrongs are four in number:—

I. He is rated upon a higher valuation than all other ratepayers.

II. The farmer tenant has relief under the Exemption Acts, which is denied to the tithe owner.

III. The tithe owner is charged with rates—against which he was distinctly protected by the Commutation Act—through the admitted miscarriage of the legislature in framing the Assessment Act, and

IV. He is not allowed the deductions therefrom, in assessing the amount of his rateability to which as clerical tithe owner he is entitled under the Poor Law Act of the 6 and 7 William IV.

I. As to the *first* grievance:—The inequality of the valuations upon which tithes are rated in contrast with the valuations for rates of all other rateable property.

Sir Cornewall Lewis in 1850 at a Lords' Committee on Parochial Assessments, says:—"The Tithe Commutation Act has operated very considerably to the disadvantage of the tithe owner with respect to rating. It has exhibited the entire amount of his tithe in a public and authentic form, and therefore, the tithe commutation being known and ascertained, the overseer has put down the tithe owners in the rate-book at their full amount, but, being himself generally a farmer, he rates other farmers in his parish at an amount less than the annual value." The extent of this wrong to the tithe owner has been estimated by the Poor Law Commissioners at not less than £20 per cent. even where *professional* valuations have been made, and for the 10,000 or 11,000 other places, where no such valuation has been made, at from 30 to 40 per cent.

II. As to the *second* grievance:—The Court of Queen's Bench in the before-mentioned case further held that the inhabitants' personal profit "was not (as had been contended) exempted from taxation by that Act, whereupon in 1840 the Exemption Act was passed, at the

instance of the landlords and tenants of England, by which, and by subsequent renewals thereof, the farmer's assumed share of profit is deducted from the amount of his rateability, but no one was on the watch to take care that a like provision was inserted on behalf of the clerical tithe owner, so that thenceforward the contributors to every rate, with the sole exception of the tithe owner, have been to a very, very large extent eased from bearing a full proportion of the rates duly chargeable upon their lands, thereby throwing upon the tithe owner a greater, and therefore unequal, proportion of those burdens on land. Here again the Poor Law Commissioners have said, "The tithe owners would appear to be entitled to a deduction proportionate to their profits."

Surely if the farmer be entitled to relief on the score that he would otherwise be taxed for his personal labour and personal efforts, the clerical tithe owner can especially adduce proofs of his right to like consideration. His very right to the tithes is conditional upon his rendering certain most important, onerous, continuous, and personal services in return; for he must *reside* in the parish, and be at the beck and call of his parishioners during at least nine months in every year.

How justly then has it been said, "The clergyman is the only individual in the country who pays rates upon the wages he receives for his personal labour!"

III. The *third* grievance is the vast increase of rates now charged upon tithe beyond the amount chargeable at the passing of the Commutation Act of 1836.

In 1836 the tithe commutation was chargeable only with Poor rate, now it is rateable for County rate—including lunatic asylums, rate for the burial of the dead, the hundred rate, the Borough rate, and the Borough watch rate, when paid out of the Poor-rate—workhouse buildings' rate, survey and valuation rate, gaol fees' rate, constables' rate, highway rate, lighting and watching rate, militia rate, school board rate, a portion of the cost of the registration of births, marriages and deaths, and the cost of registration of voters, and pensions for officers of the Poor Law Union—altogether sixteen new rates.

Again, most justly do the Poor Law Commissioners thus express themselves on this point, "The rent-charge being from the passing of the Commutation Act in 1836, a fixed commutation, *it was quite clearly understood at that time* that there was to be assured to the tithe owners an income, as nearly as possible equivalent in real value to their then revenue. With this assurance of a certain value the tithe owner abandoned his prospect of increased revenue from improving cultivation and rising prices of produce. But little attention was paid to the operation upon the rent-charge of increasing rates, as being capable—*while they improved improvable incomes,—of almost annihilating in the very same process a fixed income.* On these grounds it might have been contended that it was a fair consequence of the commutation of tithes into a fixed income, that the amount of *burden* then borne by tithes should have been also *fixed*." So say the Poor Law Commissioners.

IV. But the *fourth* grievance is the most serious one. The clerial impropriator as well as the lay impropriator is rated upon the gross amount of his tithe, and not merely as he should be upon what may be called the "spending" amount, or that amount at which it would be assessed by any one proposing to *farm* it. Nothing can be more clear than the language of the Poor Law Act, that the rateable value shall be, "the rent at which the same might reasonably be expected *to let* from year to year, *free* of all usual tenants' rates and taxes, *and deducting therefrom* the probable average annual cost of the repairs, insurance, *and other expenses*, if any, *necessary to maintain them in a state to command such rent.*"

Surely then in assessing the rateable value of the tithe, the following items of deduction may be insisted upon:—

1. The cost of collecting.
2. An average estimate of losses and risks.
3. The charges upon it in the nature of services to be provided by the owner as clergyman.

Yet at present no allowance is made under any of the foregoing heads,—though, of course, the rent to be given for the tithe, if rented or farmed, would be absolutely governed by the *net* income remaining after the before-mentioned outlay.

The costs of collection cannot be taken at less than 5 per cent., and another 5 per cent. at least should be added for risks and losses, making one-tenth of the whole.

The charges, of course, include,—in rectories, repairs, and insurance of the chancel,—and, in all cases, not only rates and taxes, and generally land tax, but the cost also of providing, not only the Church services, but pastoral ministrations (involving the hiring of a residence if there be no parsonage—which is still the case in about one-third of the incumbencies of England), and in cases of large populations providing one or *more* curates. The self-evident justice of an allowance for personal service, *as well as* for a curate or curates, when demanded by the population, is at once shewn by contrasting a lay impropriator's position with that of a clerical impropriator. Both are equally wronged as respects the lighter rating of the farmer, but the *lay* impropriator need not even reside in the parish, and has *no services* whatever to render, while the clerical impropriator must reside in the parish to discharge his duties as such impropriator, and therefore, if there be no parsonage, must rent a house; and yet, incredible as it may appear, no deduction is allowed for personal labour, or for house rent when paid, or for payments to a curate or curates, even though the incumbent be too ill to personally perform the duties attached to the tithe, and therefore *compelled* to provide and pay for a curate to discharge the same; surely the rejection of these items, in reduction of the rateable value of the tithe received, is a manifest injustice and wrong.

The best proof of the rightful demand of the clerical impropriator to such an allowance is to test the worth—*to rent*—say, in the same parish with a population of 3,000, necessitating a curate, and having no parsonage—rectorial tithes of £300 per annum held by

a lay impropriator, and vicarial tithes of the same amount held by the incumbent.

Clearly, at least, £150 per annum would be deducted from the latter for the charge of a curate (even without any allowance for the incumbent's own services), and £50 more if there were no parsonage; thus, leaving to the clerical impropriator £100 per annum as against £300 per annum received by the lay impropriator, each amount being further reduced by all those multiplied rates, and that too, upon the *gross* amount of £300.

In effect the clerical impropriator would not net more than at the very outside £50 per annum, for which he would give his personal services for nine months; thus, receiving for the same only one-third of the stipend paid to his curate. If the incumbent be ill, and two curates are employed, the incumbent will not realise one penny.

Who can be surprised that such a grave state of positive oppression has been denounced again and again? Nay more, was there not a distinct duty upon the legislature to have long ago taken up the advocacy of the wrongs of the clergy at large, when so openly and repeatedly proclaimed and denounced by the Poor Law Commissioners? Instead of which these grievous wrongs have been meekly submitted to and endured by the clergy for 40 years—nearly half a century—without any attempt to help on the part of Parliament, and during that period they have paid for rates more than twice the amount they should have done.

The late Sir Robert Peel, on the debate of the Commutation Act, thus expressed himself:—

"Considering our peculiar situation as *landlords*, and also considering that the parties are the clergy, who have *no* direct representatives amongst us, it is required, no less by a due sense of our own interests than by a proper regard to the protection of the rights and privileges of the clergy, that we should not appear to sanction any principle which we are not satisfied is consistent with justice."

My allotted time prevents my quoting *in extenso* Lord Malmesbury, Mr. Gladstone (on three occasions), Mr. Goulburn, and Sir R. Phillimore, in further testimony of the gross wrongs thus done to the clergy. "It is," says Lord Malmesbury, "a great and heinous injustice." "They have a real grievance," says Mr. Gladstone, and, added that right honourable gentleman in 1856, "The legislature ought not to fold their arms and say, 'Although the grievance is plain, palpable, and *even scandalous*, we cannot, on account of difficulties of detail, attempt to provide a remedy.'"

Happily this wrong has at last aroused the attention of the Government, and a Bill has been before Parliament two successive sessions to at least alleviate, if not wholly remove it. Mr. Sclater-Booth's bill last session was better than that of the previous session, but, even in its amended form, is by no means complete.*

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* The gross value of tithe commutation rent-charge shall be calculated as if the tenant thereof were deemed to undertake to pay all tenants' rates and taxes payable in respect of the tithe rent-charge, and also all tenths, first fruits, synodals, and other ecclesiastical dues payable by the ecclesiastical person

True, it allows, as deductions from the rateable value, all ecclesiastical payments and dues, payable in respect of the rent-charge; and, in rectories, the insurance and repairs of the chancels,—and also, "*when required by the Bishop, or otherwise necessary for the due performance of the duties of the benefice*," the salary of any curate or curates *paid for out of such rent-charge.*

But why does it not sanction by way of deduction the same allowance as that granted under the Exemption Act to every farmer tenant as in representation of the incumbent's personal services—and also for every curate employed by the incumbent, if he, in his judgment, deems it necessary for the spiritual welfare of the parsh to employ one or more with, of course, a liability to pay or raise he required stipends? If every incumbent throughout England is to prove the actual fulfilment of all the terms of this Act before he can be allowed the stipends to his curates, not only will its provisions in a majority of cases prove a dead letter, but it may be found to limit the protection given by the Poor Law Act, and therefore insure, not benefit, the *clerical* impropriator. The provision should be made simpler and much wider, thus:—

"That no rates shall affect the tithe rent charge that did not exist as a charge thereon at the date of the passing of the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836—and in assessing the rateable value of tithes, not only should they be placed within the operation of the Exemption Act, but deduction should be allowed for all outlay by the incumbent in respect of stipends of any curate or curates he deems it expedient to appoint—or for payment of rent of a residence, if there be no parsonage,—or for any charges upon the tithe rent charge in respect of any advances by Queen Anne's Bounty Commissioners, or in respect of repairs and insurance of the Church in the case of a rectory."

Nothing short of this will do justice to the clergy, or replace them in the position in which they stood, when they acceded the Commutation Act of 1836; which was, in every sense of the term, a *compact or bargain*, that, *on the one hand*, the clergy should receive a fixed sum for their tithe, conditional, *on the other hand*, upon the charges thereon being restricted to what they theretofore had been.

The necessity for having curates has arisen from the greater vitality and earnestness of the Church since 1836, and the urgent demand by congregations—*i.e.*, by the laity—to have fuller and more frequent services. Surely, then, the laity are specially bound to protect the clergy from personal sacrifice in complying as they almost always rejoicingly do, with these heightened charges upon their limited time and slender incomes!

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entitled to the tithe rent-charge in respect of the benefice to which the rent-charge belongs, and where the owner of the rent-charge is liable as such owner to bear the costs of the repairs of a chancel, the costs of the repairs and insurance of that chancel.

Where the person entitled to the rent-charge is so entitled as the incumbent of an ecclesiastical benefice, and the circumstances of that benefice are such that, in addition to the personal services rendered by the incumbent, the employment of any curate or curates is required by the Bishop of the diocese, or otherwise same parish for the due performance of the duties of the benefice, there shall be having no parsonage calculating the rateable value of such rent-charge, the salary of the curates actually employed and paid out of such rent-charge

What then should be done to make the Valuation Act of next Session more complete? For this purpose there must be, to insure success, a carefully systematized and combined action. Let the Church Defence Society nominate a committee for the purpose; let a carefully prepared clause, or string of clauses—effectuating what is wanted—be framed; and then let every tithe owner use *his* influence with his own local member of Parliament, and also obtain signatures to petitions to Parliament for relief.

Both Houses, especially the House of Lords should be petitioned.

So also let memorials be addressed to each of the Bishops by their diocesan clergy, and one from the clergy of each province to the two Archbishops, to be *followed up by very influential deputations*.

Contemporaneously with the foregoing, have a succinct and clear statement of the case well circulated amongst the members of Parliament before the Bill is presented for a second reading.

But on no account omit the presentation to Her Majesty's Government of a temperate, but clear and *practicable* memorial, setting forth the wrongs of the clergy, and the distinct breach of the compact—on the faith of which the Tithe Endowment and Assessment Acts, were consented to by the clergy in 1836—now 41 years since.

Providence ever helps those who do their part towards helping themselves, and my longing desire in restricting this paper to one topic is, that some practical good to the whole body of the clergy may ensue therefrom, and that it may not fall as a dead letter, void of any good, as has been the case with a large number of very valuable suggestions at former Congresses, to the great loss of the Church at large and of the clergy in particular.

Rev. George Venables, Vicar of Great Yarmouth.

Tenure of property in some peril.

It is difficult, when so much seems to be in peril that relates to the tenure of property in general and of Church property in particular, to know how to speak with confidence upon the subject of Church Finance.

The subject is of far more importance to the laity than to the clergy.

It is a subject of great importance to all sorts of people within the Church, but of far greater importance to the laity than to the clergy. The clerical income must determine, to a considerable extent, the sort of men you will have for the sacred work of the ministry; but the sort of men you have for your ministers will, under God, greatly determine what kind of people you of the laity will be, now and in the life to come.

The subject of Church Finance divided by the Congress Committee into (1) Clerical Incomes and (2) Church Expenses.

In addressing you upon Clerical Incomes and Church Expenses, I shall try to speak as one who recollects that God has ere now permitted His Church to be afflicted and humbled, yea, even humiliated, and may be pleased to allow her to be afflicted, and humbled, and even humiliated again. But I believe, also, that, as He gave the commission to His Church to "Go and make

disciples of the nations, baptising them, and teaching them to observe all the things that He had commanded;" so He will fulfil His gracious assurance, "Lo I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." I feel certain that the Church of the Anglican communion is trying to fulfil Christ's commission with a vigour and a determination almost without a parallel in the past, and, therefore, we dare not doubt that, even though it be amidst trial and tribulation, the presence and blessing of the Master will not be withdrawn, but will be increasingly made manifest.

The first part of the subject :—Clerical Incomes.

Now, with regard to Clerical Incomes.* If the labourer be worthy of his hire, and if you of the laity expect that the labourer be worthy of the solemn trust committed to him, I must ask you to consider, whether, when the cost of nearly all necessaries is thirty per cent. higher than it was about a quarter of a century ago; when luxuries are cheap, and so tempt all classes into extravagant habits, and necessaries are very dear; whether, when the salaries, and incomes, and wages of nearly everyone have been increased in proportion to this advance, and it is evident that not again will £400 a year equal in value what £300 represented thirty years ago, it is fair, or wise, or Christianlike, to leave the clergy to strive with difficulties which were heavy enough in bygone days, but are now greater than many of them can bear; for it is beyond all doubt that, in the present altered relative value of money, the pecuniary difficulties of the clergy are very heavy, and, in some instances, are insurmountable.

Remedies for the smallness of clerical incomes.

This state of things calls for remedies, and it is the interest of the laity to secure those remedies.

Some important remedies may be secured by an alteration of a few words in an Act of Parliament. There are other remedies, which require only the good heart of the parishioners. But all are needed.

Some important propositions before mentioning the means for the improvement of clerical incomes.

Before, however, I suggest what these are, I assume that you will agree with the following propositions :—

(1st.) That you do not wish, under the covert of the smallness of the clerical income, practically to enforce celibacy on the clergy. If you do so, you will regret it.

(2nd.) That you do not desire to have an ignorant or degraded clergy in these days of scientific discovery, and when, also, the tendency of almost everything is favourable to scepticism and infidelity.

(3rd.) That any position in society, however small the income of it, may become an object of worldly ambition to the man whose social condition and whose present income is only a little beneath it; so that a small clerical income may become as much an object of ambition as a large clerical income, only that it will be so to a probably inferior man. This is a matter for the especial thought, again, of the laity.

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* It may be mentioned here that, according to a statistic which I noted some years since, there were, in the year 1863, about 32,000 commercial travellers in England, who cost, in various ways, £7,040,000 *per annum*. Probably the number and the cost per head have both increased since then.

(4th.) That the Church of America (United States) possesses large endowments, which are also greatly increasing.

(5th.) That—contrary though it may, perhaps, be to their theory—Nonconformists, even in England, are not known to refuse the possession of endowments when possession may be had. In America and other countries they have enormous property connected with their religious communities.

The alterations which ought to be made at once by the Legislature.

I submit, then, that the Legislature might easily afford great help by the alteration of a few words in the "Pluralities Act;" for the sound principles of the "Pluralities Act" were not altogether wisely carried out in the details. They were not sweeping enough in one point, and they were too sweeping in another. They were not sweeping enough, because they still allow a clergyman to hold a rich living together with a good canonry.

There ought to be "prizes" in the Church.

Now, I am far from wishing to do away with what I will term "prizes" in the Church. I am confident that it would be a very mischievous enactment which should remove one of them, or which should pare down all clerical incomes to one level. I told some leading men of high position in the Church of Ireland, soon after the passing of the Act which has so fearfully weakened and is so greatly trying that branch of the Church of God, but before it took effect, that, whatever they did, they ought not to make all clerical incomes alike, but, on every account, to secure "prizes" in every Diocese. The advice was not accepted; and yet, I think, that subsequent events show the correctness of the suggestion.

"Prizes" ought to be numerous and not too large.

But, while the Church does well to have "prizes," she ought not to make them too large, and thus, also, too few. Rather she ought to increase their number, and so increase their usefulness.

Clergymen who have struggled for twenty, thirty, and even forty years, or more, on £250 or £300 a year, and sometimes less, will be apt to look askance at a system which enables a man who, though very deserving, is not more deserving than themselves, to hold a canonry and a rich benefice together.

The "Pluralities Act" ought to be so altered as to forbid, in future appointments, any Canon Residentiary to hold any benefice in addition to his canonry. There is plenty of work for the Canons to do in connection with the Cathedral and the Diocese. The endowment, however, of some of the canonries ought to be considerably increased in some Dioceses.

The Pluralities Act ought to allow the holding of two benefices under certain well-defined conditions.

But the "Pluralities Act" is also too sweeping, inasmuch as it forbids the holding of a parish having a very small population with another parish, except they are within about three miles of each other. For, while fully coinciding with Bishop Burnet, when he called pluralities "*sacrilegious robberies*," I do so upon the understanding that we refer to the shameful manner in which the power to hold more than one benefice was abused.

Now I submit that it is not, generally speaking, for the good of

either the parish priest or of the parishioners committed to his charge, that he should be of necessity pent up to labour amongst some one to two hundred people, and not be allowed to hold a larger charge in addition, while, possibly, very earnestly longing for more work.

It appears, by the "Clergy List," that there are 1495 parishes whose population is less than 220, not linked, in the "Clergy List," with any other parish. The aggregate population of these parishes is 197,924, and the aggregate income £276,587. The average population is 132; the average income is £183.

The proposal I am about to offer, if adopted by one-third only of the clergy affected by it, would be nearly equivalent to bringing 500 active clergymen to work within the Church, without any additional pecuniary outlay.

I venture, then, to urge that such an alteration ought to be made at once in the "Pluralities Act" as would allow the same clergyman to hold two benefices within the same diocese, with the consent of the Bishop; always, however, supposing that he does so under wisely prepared and accurately worded provisions.

Probably the following provisions should obtain in every instance:—

1. The population of one of the parishes to be not more than 220.
2. The population of the two parishes to be not less than 2,500.
3. The income of one of the two benefices not to exceed, *per annum*, £250.
4. The incumbent to reside chiefly in the parish of large population.
5. The spiritual needs of the parish of smaller population, however, to be well supplied. If possible, there should always be a clergyman in residence in the parish of smaller population, as well as in the larger parish, who might exchange duties during part of the year with the clergy in charge of the other parish.

The Bishop ought to be empowered to license curates to the incumbent of any such two parishes, to work in both.

I believe that some such scheme as this would produce a very great amount of good in the Church, and I venture to urge attention to the importance of giving effect to it without delay.

It would enable many earnest clergymen, who are longing to be enabled to do it, to effect a grand work amongst large populations.

It would secure opportunities for comparative rest, reading, retirement, and reflection, during two or three months each year (in the parish of small population), to the incumbent and the other clergy working with him.

Each parish would mutually gain by this arrangement. It would work well for all parties in any way affected by it.

I can testify, with sincere gratitude, how some able clergymen having charge of small parishes have freely given a portion of their time and labour, year by year, to the necessities of a large town population; and the extension of this noble and self-denying practice will effect great good; and this might be done to a much greater extent than it has hitherto. But the plan which I propose would do far more

good, for it would secure in succession to all the clergy of the populous parish a season in each year for quiet reading, and reflection, and preparation for preaching which few of them can obtain now. And (I must repeat the declaration) it would be almost equal to adding from 500 to 1,500 active clergymen to the Church, without any pecuniary expenditure to the Church whatever, although it would probably elicit considerable additions often to the incomes of the clergy.

Other ways of augmenting Clerical Incomes.

Then there are other ways of augmenting clerical incomes which require only the willingness of the people. I hope, for the good of the laity, that the time will never come when any parish priest will not have a considerable portion of his income so secured to him as to render him as independent as, beyond question, he ought to be. But I do not feel it a matter of regret if some portion of his additional income be then so provided that it may possibly somewhat vary according as he prove himself "an elder that ruleth well," and is therefore to be "counted worthy of double honour"; or who may sometimes feel that because he is not worthy, so he does not obtain that addititional honour.

Easter Offerings.

The ancient and important plan of Easter Offerings provides a valuable and commendable mode of augmenting clerical incomes. In the course of my ministry it has been introduced into two new parishes of which I was vicar (S. Paul's, Chatham, and S. Matthew's, Leicester).

In the latter case, however, it consisted of the Easter Day Offertory being handed over to me (untold). I know of some other parishes which have imitated these examples willingly and successfully.

The Weekly Offertory.

Then there is the "Weekly" or "Sunday Offertory." I will not enter on any discussion upon the various modes of applying any portion of the Offertory to clerical incomes.

My impression is that it is best to have quarterly—or, if needful, monthly—Offertories distinctly applicable to this purpose. I do not think that the plan of taking a proportion from each Sunday's Offertory is a good one. It has been often suggested, but I hardly think it is wise. At all events, the object ought always to be distinctly pre-announced, and the clearer all the accounts are rendered the better.

But bear with me in advising you not to rush to the Weekly Offertory as if it were a modern "El Dorado," for it is not this. We have lately read of very large sums raised in some London Churches, and, in one instance, I think, of more than £6,000 being given within twelve months in one Church alone. In my own Parish Church the Offertory exceeded £1,000 last year, wholly exclusive of large Easter Offerings, which do not form a part of the Offertory in any way, and exclusive of the Offertories in the five other Churches in the parish; so that all things considered, and recollecting that we are a poor people, I believe that Great Yarmouth came not at all behind any one of the London Churches.

But I say, notwithstanding, Do not trust too much to this power. It is a great and it is a good power because it is right, but do not rely upon it as if it were everything.

What will a mere Offertory do in a straggling country parish some six or eight miles or more in length, and a mile or two wide, with small groups of houses at intervals here and there throughout it from one end to the other, and numbering altogether some six or eight hundred people?

The Offertory, Sunday by Sunday, will not average more than twenty to thirty shillings; not that more ought not to be produced almost everywhere by the Offertory if a true spirit prevailed. If one-twentieth of the weekly income of even a poor parish were devoted to God it would do great things, but in most instances not a one-hundredth part is given.

An Endowment Fund ought to be formed in every Parish.

I therefore repeat a suggestion which I made public some years ago, and which I believe contains within it the true principle of action for the Church *everywhere*: that every parish in England and Wales ought to open an endowment account for the augmentation of its own income, or, where this is unnecessary, for the increase of the Episcopate. The expenses of working this ought to be *nil*. On the third Sunday after Trinity each year there ought to be a collection or offertory for this fund, which would thus be made known once every year throughout England, and, if worked with a little ability, might become a valuable means of usefulness. I know of two or more parishes which have adopted this idea.

These three methods, then—viz., "Easter Offerings," "The Offertory," and "The Parochial Endowment Fund" for each distinct parish—need not cost anything to work them, and would produce great results. I believe that every one of them would work well in any branch of the Church, whether Established or Disestablished; and I heartily wish that the Church of Ireland and the Church of Scotland may adopt them. I rather think that in the united Dioceses of S. Andrew's, Dunblane, and Dunkeld, they are not unknown.

Mr. A. J. Beresford Hope's Act not known and appreciated.

In connection with this subject of a Parochial Fund for England and Wales, I think that the "Capitular Act," introduced into Parliament and carried through it by Mr. A. J. B. Hope, ought to be better known and carried out.

An illustration—*alas! a supposed illustration*—shall tell you what I mean. The income of a populous parish is £300 a year, and there is a decent little home amongst a poor and hitherto neglected people. Here the minister works faithfully amongst penury and much impiety, and is often jaded and sometimes almost heart-broken.

By means of the annual collection described, and sundry sums of money paid to the Augmentation Fund account (always open at the bank), enough has been secured to increase the income by £40 or £50 *per annum*. Well, in this instance the patronage of the living belongs to the Bishop, and so does the appointment of *additional* canons to the cathedral, under Mr. Hope's Act. Accordingly, the Augmentation Fund is used to endow a new canonry, which, being in the Bishop's gift, is applied to the incumbent of the parish in question, who thus secures £40 (or more) a year, in addition to his benefice, and the privilege and the distinction of a stall in the

cathedral of the Diocese and of a seat in the Chapter, and thus of occasional intercourse amongst clerical brethren.

The advantages of this plan to all parties concerned are many and obvious, and I earnestly commend the adoption of it to the Church at large.

I believe that, in one or two cases, an endeavour is being made to give effect to it. It should be understood that canons so constituted would not be canons residentiary, and that the income attaching to their canonry would be small; probably they would seldom reach to £100 *per annum*.

But the canons so constituted have a right in their cathedral stall, and to join in the chapter, and the whole scheme is well worthy the attention of Churchmen. Let us hope that Deans and Canons will heartily favour the endeavour to give effect to the Act.

The second part of the subject—Church Expenses.

And now, with regard to Church expenses, I must inquire, with considerable anxiety, whether these are not becoming in some instances so great as to prove a serious hindrance to the promotion of spiritual work in a parish?

The outlay on musical and other accessories seems to be enormous, and demands such a deduction from the annual income as possibly to frustrate other works.

This is, of course, a question for each individual parish, and I allude to it because it is a matter that demands reflection.

Might not a moderate and proper tariff of charges for the *right* use of the bells at weddings, deaths, burials, and other proper occasions, do something in the way of saving expense in the bell department?

In many instances voluntary choirs gladly offer their services in singing, free of remuneration. In very large Churches a small paid choir in addition seems to be necessary; and evidently it is too much to expect an organist generally to give his time and dearly-bought knowledge of music to the organ and training of the choir. But the musical cost of carrying out the services is now becoming in some Churches a very serious item in Church expenses, so that these as well as sundry other matters are more than the churchwardens know how to pay.

Voluntary Offerings.

Let me remind you that of old it was customary (as the ancient Bidding Prayers attest) for the people to offer many of the things for which churchwardens are now asked to pay.

The elements of the Holy Communion, the means of lighting the Church, and the means of warming it—not alone by the gift of a stove, but of fuel to burn in it—and the occasional renewal of sundry parts of Church furniture, may well suggest some proper channels for Christian charity.*

These principles practically recognised, with an occasional offertory,

* The money spent often at one evening's private entertainment in London exceeds the total amount collected in the whole year in the Church close by! Without being severe, it may well be asked, Ought this so to be?

would generally provide what is needful. Where Churches are in good condition, ought not a small sum to be invested every year as a "Repair Fund," to be used, however, only for large and important repairs?

Summary.

I have thus endeavoured to state my views freely and fully. I again urgently press upon the laity that the clerical income is a matter which far more affects them than it can affect the clergy.

It is true (and we who are in holy orders ought ever to remember this) that our high and holy calling as ministers of Jesus Christ ought to be prized by us far more than silver or gold (and I trust that with most of us this is so); but I am not ashamed to add that we need food and raiment and a dwelling-place as well as other children of men, even although we try to unite hearty hospitality with close economy, good taste with the strictest frugality, and much benevolence—yea, even liberality—with the practice of rigid honesty. For, to boast myself for once of my brethren the clergy (*"ye have compelled me"*), I will declare my conviction that, as a body of Christian men, with their families, the clergy of the Church of England are unsurpassed in these particulars by any class of society, and I doubt whether as a body they are even equalled.

Provision of God's Ministers in the Scriptures.

But when you observe how, under the older dispensation, God made special and liberal provision for the High Priest, the Priests, and the Levites; how, when Christ was on earth, His ministers received directions which showed that provision for them was not wholly forgotten by Christ; and how the Apostles, in the New Testament, emphatically lay down canons showing that a proper sustentation was the due of Christ's ordained ministers (*canons, too, accompanied by an admirable sarcasm, when in one instance, rejecting his right to be supported by the Church, S. Paul adds, "Forgive me this wrong"*), there cannot be in the mind of any hearty Christian Churchman a desire to degrade the ministry, or to act as petty tyrants towards those who are called to it.

How to ruin the Clergy and the Church.

Such a course of action, if ever attempted, will cause a terrible recoil upon those who should make the endeavour. It was the "starveling" Levite who, in days of anarchy, when "every man did what was right in his own eyes" (and which proved to be doing what was wholly wrong), assisted Micah to introduce idolatry into Israel.

Give your parish priest an income a little in excess of your daily labourer, and your daily labourer will regard the position of your parish priest as within the compass of his ambition; and your ministry will be recruited as in the days of Jeroboam. Degrade him, trample on him, treat him as an inferior—there are, perhaps, "creaturely beings" to be found who will be content to occupy even such a position as this would make—but are *these* the men you wish to look up to as your "ministers in Christ Jesus?"

The right course to adopt.

Instead of this mistaken course, put your ministers, deacons, priests, and bishops in such a position, as to things secular, as is somewhat in accordance with the

nobility of their sacred orders as duly commissioned by Christ Jesus; put them in such a position as every thoughtful Churchman must desire the clergy to occupy, if they are to minister freely and faithfully amongst all classes and conditions of men, highest and lowest, lowest and highest alike, and then you will have done your duty well and wisely; and in doing this, I believe before God, that you will have consulted and promoted the great spiritual good of yourselves, your families, and the whole Church of God.

ADDRESSES.

Rev. R. Rhodes Bristow, Vicar of S. Stephen's, Lewisham.

In approaching the consideration of this subject, my Lord, I am reminded of the old verse:—

> "It's a very good world we live in,
> To lend, or to spend, or to give in;
> But to beg, or to borrow, or ask for one's own,
> It's the very worst world that ever was known!"

We must begin, then, in Church Finance, by asking for "our own"; and the first way in which we may do this is by resorting to the Church's own God-appointed income—tithes. Jacob's vow at Bethel, "Of all that Thou shalt give me, I will surely give the Tenth unto Thee," was but the carrying out of the principle of the Patriarch Abraham, when he gave to Melchizedech "Tithes of all." Yet how forgetful, for the most part, are Christian people, of this duty of giving tithes. Surely the Prophet's question might be asked to-day—"Will a man rob God?" Nor could we escape pleading guilty to his charge, in the name of the Lord. "Yet ye have robbed Me—in tithes and offerings." I do not speak now of tithes on land, but of the tithes of the incomes of Christian people, which do not belong to them, but to God. I do not think we shall arrive at any satisfactory basis of Church Finance, unless we lay down as a first principle that every man should put aside, in all his calculations, a tenth part of his income for God and His Church. But, if the Church is to "ask for her own," there are other funds besides personal tithes which she must consider; I mean those which are held in trust for her by great corporate bodies, from whom, I think, we do not always get fair play. I have an instance in my mind at this moment. At a certain church in the suburbs of London, which had been reared by private munificence, without any aid from public funds, the congregation determined to add a parsonage house. They saw the attractive advertisements of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, offering to meet benefactions by grants of like amount. They believed that by self-denying efforts they could raise £1,500, and as the building and site would cost £3,000, they applied very confidently for a grant of £1,500 to meet their benefaction. At the same time, remembering the proverb, "There's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip," they also applied to Queen Anne's Bounty to *lend* £1,500. In due course the customary papers were sent from both bodies of Commissioners, who were thus placed in possession of a full statement of the income and outgoings of this particular church. After some delay the replies were received. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners stated that the amounts collected were so large, and the living evidently such a rich one, that they could not grant 1,500 pence; while Queen Anne's Bounty answered that the endowment was so small, and the living evidently so poor, that they could not lend a halfpenny! The reason of this paradox

was that the Commissioners took into account all the liberal offerings of the congregation for Church work at home and abroad, and concluded (quite unjustly) that the people were wealthy, and able to do without a grant; while Queen Anne's Bounty only took account of the small endowment of £60 a year, and would consider nothing else. Now, it must be remembered, that large moneys collected mean much work done, and a Church and congregation ought not to be thus handicapped because the clergy are doing their duty, and the people are large-hearted and self-denying.

As for clerical incomes, my Lord, I am not for levelling down what are called "the prizes" in the Church, nor for abolishing those positions of learned leisure which are often so worthily filled; but at the same time we must all acknowledge that there is a great necessity for the augmentation of the livings of a vast body of the clergy. I venture to think that my reverend brethren are over sensitive, not to say squeamish, in this matter. It should be recollected that it was to the Twelve themselves that the Master said, "The workman is worthy of his meat," and it is the duty of the clergy to put the people in mind of this fact. Goldsmith's "Village Preacher" was "passing rich on £40 a year," but that sum would not go far in these days. I do not desire to see the clergy as a body wealthy. The Wise Man, in the Proverbs, provides us with a healthy standard in his request, "Give me neither poverty nor riches." Nor can I think, with some of the most deservedly respected of my brethren, that endowments are sinful, and the work of the Evil One. I would rather emphasise the suggestion of Mr. Venables, that there should be such an endowment for the clergyman as should afford him a subsistence, but that for comforts he should be dependent on the free-will offerings of the people. Such a plan would be a useful stimulus to the clergy, and would help to bring them into a closer relationship with their lay-folk. Some portion of the offertories should certainly be applied to the support of the clergy. Those on Easter Day might most appropriately be given to the parish priest, and I would suggest that those of some other Sunday, perhaps Trinity Sunday, should be an offering from the congregation to the assistant curates, over and above their stipends. Then I would urge that we should, as far as possible, do without fees. Fees for Sacraments are atrocious! and fees for any of the ordinances of religion are, I venture to think, very undesirable. I would have them all absolutely free to the people, who, however, ought to be told, that, when they receive benefits from God through His Church, it is their bounden duty to offer to the Giver in proportion to the gift. Take, for instance, marriage. Surely a bridegroom, realising at such a time that "Whoso findeth a wife, findeth a good thing," would feel his heart opened to make a worthy offering.

And now let me draw your attention to an important consideration affecting the question in hand. There is a growing effort on the part of the clergy to sink themselves in their ministerial office. Churches are no longer called "Mr. A.'s" or "Mr. B.'s," but by the names of the Saints to whom they are dedicated; and it is now less frequently "Mr. A." or "Mr. B." who is mentioned, than "the rector," or "the vicar." But there is some danger lest the clergy should succeed so well in putting the minister in place of the man, that the laity should forget that they are flesh and blood, and stand in need of those things of which Mr. Venables has spoken. It therefore behoves the laymen of our congregations, in these days especially, to look to it their clergy have sufficient incomes.

It was said by a previous speaker, that the sort of men you will get for your clergy, will depend on the incomes you offer them, but I am inclined to think that the reverse of that statement is at least as true, and that the incomes of the clergy will depend on the sort of men they are. It was said by an eminent statesman to a friend of mine, on the passing of the Public

Worship Regulation Bill, that "The Church of England, as a profession is gone." For myself, I should not regret it, if it were true, as, in part at least, it is. For we do not want to gather into the priesthood men who come for the sake of "the loaves and fishes." We hear of "a good living," what ought we to mean by the phrase? Surely not so many hundreds a year! "A good living" must be one where there is plenty of work to be done, where the people are ready to work with the priest, and where the Church's own system is carried out in its integrity.

Once more, I would plead for parish clergymen knowing something of business habits. I knew a case in which a clergyman was appointed to a living. "Certain lewd fellows of the baser sort" took upon themselves to oppose the appointment, and placarded the walls with inflammatory posters. Now, what was the chief ground of their objection to the new parson? They could find nothing against his character; they did not find fault with his powers and attainments; but he had, they alleged, this serious drawback as a clergyman, that he "knew the difference between the Dr. and Cr. side of a ledger!" It reminded me of a picture in a humurous publication in which a butcher was represented as declaring that "the Squire's new wife was a real lady, because she didn't know the difference between a leg of mutton and ribs of beef." But seriously, is it not the absence of this knowledge of "the difference between the Dr. and Cr. side of a ledger" which is a real drawback to the Church at this day? How comes it else that the Clergy are always to be found as the chief victims in the collapse of every bubble company, and that a Clergy List is part of the stock in trade of every specious speculator, every mendacious mining-agent, and every swindling solicitor? One important point with regard to Church Finance is, that care should always be taken to let it be most clearly known and understood for what object money is collected, how much is given, and what is done with it. Statements signed by the Churchwardens should be regularly affixed to the Church doors, and an annual account, carefully arranged and duly audited, should be printed and circulated. Some of these accounts are, however, so disgracefully kept that practical men of business laugh them to scorn. I know of a Churchwardens' balance sheet, however, which is most clear and intelligible, and which has received the approval of an eminent firm of London Accountants, and I shall be happy to furnish a copy of it to any of the clergy who would like to have a satisfactory model for their own parishes. In conclusion, let me say, my Lord, that with regard to that old proverb, "If you want a thing done, do it yourself"—whenever the thing to be done relates to £ s. d., the clergy had better disregard the proverb, and get the lay people to do it for them.

Rev. Canon Jeffreys, Hawkhurst, Kent.

When a wise man takes stock of his estate he generally looks at both sides of the account, that he may not be on the one hand too much elated, and on the other too much cast down by what he finds; and I think what we have heard to-day makes it desirable that I should take, as it were, the other side, and speak a little about those points which are encouraging in the matter of Church finance. Now there is some comfort in looking back to the Union Assessment Act of 1862. The effect of that Act has been of great assistance to the tithe owners, by indirectly causing parishes to be more fairly assessed. Tithe was always rated, as now, to the outside of its value, while the rest of the property in the parish was very inadequately assessed, as is the case, as may be found, with many parishes to this day. In my parish in 1841, the tithes were rated at £700 a year, and the rateable value of the whole parish was £7,674. Now the tithe is rated at £795 while the general assessment is raised to £13,848. The

reason of the increase of the tithes is in part, that, the hop duty having been taken off, more land is cultivated for hops, and pays the extraordinary tithe of 17s. per acre. I am not the tithe owner, or I could explain the rise more fully. What it is of importance to remember is that the assessment of the tithe owner shews a small amount of rise, probably for value received, while the general assessment of the parish is more than four-fifths higher. Indeed, I know a parish in Sussex where the assessment has been doubled. We may therefore take comfort from that. The rise, however, is not entirely the result of more fair rating. There are more houses being constantly built throughout the country, and more varieties of real estate are assessed to the rates now than formerly. I will not say anything of the rating of charities, which has been brought about by a decision of the House of Lords, for that is a bad thing for clergymen, inasmuch, as till then, a clergyman could deduct from the rateable value of the tithe the sum paid to the curate, which now, in consequence of that decision, the Court of Queen's Bench has determined can no longer be done. But it is altogether a good thing that all Government property should be rated, a result from the same decision, and, in 1874, woodlands, mines, and game were rated for the first time. That was an advantage to the tithe owner, and some compensation to him for turnpike gates being taken off, the mere removal of which has doubled the highway rate in some parishes, the unfortunate tithe owner paying the principal part. It has been well said to-day that tithes do not improve like other property, and while modern introductions, like the removal of turnpikes, and the use of traction engines, may benefit others, they but little benefit the tithe owner. It is said that traction engines pay their own expenses with respect to the roads because they bring material at a less price, but I should like to see it made necessary for them to be licensed by each Highway Board on whose roads they run; they do most abominably tear our roads to pieces. The country itself begins to feel that there is too great a share of the burden of taxation placed upon real estate. The House of Commons passed a resolution only five years ago by a large majority, that no legislation on the subject of rating would be satisfactory that did not provide, either in whole or in part, for the relief of owners and occupiers in counties and boroughs from charges imposed on the ratepayers for the administration of justice, police, and lunatics, the expenditure for such purposes being almost independent of local control. Mr. Dudley Baxter has worked out the question of the incidence of general taxation, and he finds that the proportion laid on real estate for imperial and local taxation amounts to 12 per cent., on personalty to 5 per cent., and on industrial incomes to 3 per cent. These figures are not contradicted—I cannot say they are correct but they seem well worked out, and there is no doubt there is an unjust burden laid on the real estate of this country. The interests of the tithe owner are identical in this respect with the interests of all owners and occupiers, and it is so far an advantage that we may urge upon the legislature the necessity of relief for the general body of ratepayers, when it would be unpleasant to ask for it only on behalf of the clergy. There is another point as to which we should put our shoulders together, and press it upon the legislature. I refer to the taxation and rating of parsonage houses. Parsonage houses are assessed at what they would let for, unfurnished, but the incumbents are obliged by law to live in them, and cannot let them unfurnished. It often happens again, that houses, built on speculation in desirable parishes, are let for an excessive rent, and thus give an artificial value to the parsonage, and the unfortunate incumbent is obliged to pay on his house just as if it were his own particular choice and selection, which it is not. Incumbents in towns suffer much in the same way. Now, in a very good recent Act, enabling the Lord Chancellor to augment small Crown livings by selling the advowson, and investing the proceeds as a further endowment, it is provided that in making a return of

the net annual value of such livings, £25 should be deducted where there is no residence—£25, therefore, is the sum the legislature has assumed as the rent sufficient for a modest parsonage. If that were deducted always from the rateable value of the parsonage, poor incumbents, whose case is immediately before us, would be relieved, while incumbents living in demi-semi-squirarchical houses would still have to pay something considerable, as they ought to do. In Mr. Martin's pamphlet on the property of the Church of England, it is reckoned that the average value of our parsonages is £80 a year. I obtained returns from all the incumbents of my deanery, and found that £45 is the average amount of their house tax. As regards the house tax, let me point out that the farmer, unless his house is of an exceptional character, is charged 6d. in the £; and the shopkeeper, if his shop forms part of his house, 6d; while the parsonage is charged 9d. in the £. Would it not be simply just that it should be charged 6d.? These may seem small matters, but it is wise to ask for something we are likely to get, and we may ask for these things with a reasonable hope of obtaining them. Then I think we may derive great satisfaction from the working of the Ecclesiastical Commission. [No, no.] If you will read the Commissioners' report for this year you will change your minds. Just see what they have done! In all parishes above 4,000 population they have raised the endowment to £300 a year.

[The bell here closed the remarks of the Rev. Canon.]

DISCUSSION.

Rev. Sir Emilius Bayley, Bart., Vicar of St. John the Evangelist, Paddington.

We have, I think, in the subject of this afternoon, a partial solution of one of the "burning questions" of the Congress, viz., what are the best means of promoting united action amongst the different schools of thought in the Church of England. The mention of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, indeed, created some small difference of opinion amongst those who are present: but I believe that in the few words I have to say, I shall carry with me the opinion of the great majority of all present. I have sometimes thought that the clergy are the hardest worked, the best abused, and the worst paid men in England. I need hardly speak to you of the work you do, or of the abuse you receive, or perhaps sometimes level at each other. What we have to do with this afternoon is the question of payment. This question of clerical incomes is not an agreeable one to deal with. We do not think much of "filthy lucre" in choosing our profession, but the clergy must live. We have, and I hope alway shall have, a married clergy, and there are therefore wives to consider, and children to educate, and the position of a gentleman to maintain, and it would be impossible to maintain the position which the Church has assigned to us unless we have the wherewithal to pay our way. It has been said that expenditure has largely increased within the last few years—weekly bills have increased, the wages of servants are larger now than they were a very few years ago. Our curates stipends—and I am glad to say it is so—have largely increased. When first I held a London parish, I could get a good curate for £110; now I never give less than £150, and I have given more. But the difference comes out of the pocket of the incumbent, who is himself frequently very much underpaid. And it must be remembered that on this subject our mouths are stopped. We may get up and preach on behalf of any object under the sun, but we cannot preach on behalf of our own pockets. We must remain silent, although we have

out of frequently insufficient means, to maintain a good external appearance, and our people wish to have it so. This, however, is a laymen's question. We are only bound by law to provide certain services for our parishes. It is well if our people require more numerous services and more enlarged visitations, but they should pay for such extra work as they require at our hands. I am not speaking as one in need; for before I came into my present parish where there is daily service, my predecessor said to his congregation "If you want it you must pay for it"—and pay for it they have done to this very day. I only mention this that it may reach the ears of other parishes where a similar demand is made and the money is not forthcoming. I do not think the laity are unwilling to pay. It is not unwillingness or inability to pay, but because they have never had the facts of the case placed before them, because the lips from which they should hear it are necessarily sealed. It is only on general occasions such as this that we have an opportunity of putting before the laity this truth, that it is their duty to provide additional curates for additional work. There are direct ways, also, in which they might help to improve the incomes of the clergy. They might give larger fees. I have only once had the management of what might be called a wealthy funeral, and I gave the clergyman 20 guineas, and I would say to others under similar circumstances, "Go and do thou likewise." The clergy of London lost £32,000 a year by the removal of burials without the walls, and what they get in return is a mere fraction. Then Easter offerings might be increased where they exist; or if not, they might be brought into existence. By these means the clerical income in many parishes may be added to. The laity are a willing body and they will be the more willing to give when they see that we do not ask for large sums to make us wealthy, and to hand wealth down to our children. We only ask for sufficient means to live as gentlemen, and on the undeniable principle that the "labourer is worthy of his hire." I would, however say in conclusion, that our work is its own reward, and unless a man gives himself up to it for the love of his Saviour, and the sake of the souls of men, his work will be comparatively valueless. We labour, not for the bread that perisheth, but that we may win souls for Christ, and finish our course with joy.

The Ven. W. Emery, Archdeacon of Ely.

I wish to draw the attention of the meeting to a few practical points. I am pleased to find that the offertory is so well received because only a few years ago I had to plead hard for its adoption with the clergy. People generally do not seem aware of the fact that one-third of the offertory sentences refer to the support of the clergy. I strongly agree with the suggestion that in every poor parish there should be an offertory once a year to increase the endowment. It may be small in itself, but some worthy persons may be induced thereby to send something handsome afterwards, or perhaps leave benefactions in their wills. The clergy themselves have been a great deal to blame for not being so well off as they might be, from natural delicacy in making their wants known. The question in towns concerns both the endowments and the payments of curates. I do not think it right, as a rule, to diminish country livings to endow the towns. The towns, as a whole, are rich enough to endow themselves, and I believe if the matter were put properly before the laity they would respond liberally. Let me say a word for the curates. Some years ago, when taking duty in a certain great London church, I asked the incumbent if when presents came the curates were permitted to receive them? He said: "Yes; but my people never do send presents." And why? Because it was never authoritatively put forward that

such gifts would be acceptable and might go to the curates. I hope matters are mending; at the beginning of this year I had the intense pleasure, with full sanction of the Vicar, to plead for the curates of a large parish near London, when there was the best offertory that had been for many a year—over £100—and in addition a gentleman sent another £100. It does seem to me that the clergy may be too reticent, both to their own injury and the injury of their brethren. Again, I have known increased incomes to have been obtained, by calling principal parishioners together, and, putting before them plainly the facts of the case. I assume the clergyman to be efficient, known to be doing his best—if he is lazy I do not want him to get anything. Let a faithful, earnest clergyman say to his people, "My income is so much; do you think that is sufficient?" and often unexpected help will follow. I have known this to be done with the best results. Then, a little about the country. I think some are wrong in their notions about the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Depend upon it Bishop Blomfield was too wise and prudent a man to devise anything that would injure the church. Look at the Dean and Chapter livings, they are all getting increased; so with the Bishops' livings. I am not pleading for myself—some persons may think I am already too well endowed. My predecessors had been in the habit of taking large fines as lives dropped in. I hated the system, and would only take what was considered a fair compensation for myself and my successors, leaving the rest of the improved property to go to augment the two livings in the patronage of the Archdeacon; one of these was then worth £240, with a most dilapidated house, and the other £120 and no parsonage. By means of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, through my composition, the first has been increased to £320, and the latter to £300 a year, and both now have excellent parsonage houses, and one also has a curate at £120. These, and other good results of which time forbids me to speak, could not have been done except for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. We might help one another also by means of our diocesan conferences. You know I am almost looked upon as a fanatic with regard to diocesan conferences. I want to see them established in every diocese and undertaking practical work. Each diocesan conference should publish statistical accounts of the wants of the diocese, and make an annual appeal for those wants. Again, more use should be made of Queen Anne's bounty. By its help, and that of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, there has been raised in the diocese of Ely more than £40,000 for the improvement of livings, increase of curates, &c., in a short space of time. One remark more. I am afraid my rev. brethren do not look enough into local Church funds, which are often much abused and wasted. In some of the London parishes they do not know what to do with their funds, which are often misused, for lack of some practical scheme. If, in parishes where large funds exist, as in the City of London, for instance, practical working committees were formed by the clergy and others, to investigate such matters, and put in writing reasonable plans by which these ancient funds might be used for the good of the Church, I cannot doubt they would be met in a friendly spirit. We have the remedy in great part in our own hands. Do not then let us think or speak lightly of the valuable agencies that are really helping us, but use them to the fullest extent for the remedy of the evils we see and deplore.

Mr. E. R. Johnson, Haggerstone, E.

Had time permitted, I should have liked to have said a few words in support of the first division of our subject, because I think it only right that laymen who have had experience, as I have, of the difficulties under which many of the clergy

struggle in the endeavour to discharge their duties upon inadequate stipends, should urge reform of the evil. I fear, however, I must give way to selfish motives, and devote myself to the consideration of the difficulties of churchwardens in providing for the expenses of Divine worship and the sustentation of the fabric, especially in poor town districts. Recent legislation, by the practical abolition of church rates, has taken away all power from churchwardens of enforcing any contributions from the parishioners towards Church expenses. Yet there has been no alteration in the law which makes the wardens responsible for all necessary expenses and repairs. The churchwardens have no power over the collections from congregations. It is true the Prayer Book gives the wardens a joint claim upon the offertory at Holy Communion, but all other collections are under the sole control of the incumbent. And here I may incidentally remark that although churchwardens have no power to go to the parishioners for subsidies, yet we are told that we must be careful to see that there be nothing in the decorations of the church or in the performance of Divine worship which may offend the tender consciences of any three parishioners who may never enter the church or give a penny towards its maintenance. Our difficulties arise thus: by the piety and charity of others a handsome church is built, with parsonage and perhaps schools. A stipend is provided for the vicar and possibly an endowment for a curate also. But there are no funds wherewith to work, except the voluntary offerings of the people. Now, in our district, Haggerstone, the people are mostly poor. Probably there is not one private house with a rental of £40 a year, but there are a great many which are let out in rooms and small holdings as low as £10 per annum. Under such circumstances the offertory fails to keep things going. Our expenses are not heavy; we expend no great outlay upon music, our choir is a voluntary one, and our organist is content to work for the merest pittance, and our people make frequent offerings in kind. We cut down our expenses as low as possible, as you will readily believe when I tell you that our gas bill forms a third part of our annual expenses. The only way to make the offertory available for church expenses is for the clergy to be constantly reminding the people from the pulpit of their duty; in some districts it ought to be done every Sunday. But I need not say how unpleasant would be such a task, besides which it would have a most prejudicial effect, especially upon strangers who frequently drop in during the service and usually stop to hear the sermon. They would, of course, go away—probably slip out before the collection—and say, "Those parsons are always begging," and very naturally they might suppose it was to the parson's personal interest to do so. Our poor people give liberally of their pence, but the middle classes do not contribute according to their means, they believe in threepenny bits. They find a church planted in their midst and supplied with priests to minister to them, and they look upon the whole affair as an arrangement by the National Church as by law established to supply them with ministrations gratis, and they are quite satisfied with such an arrangement. I took the liberty of telling our clergy in the vestry the other day that they ought to speak more frequently to the people upon the duty of almsgiving: they do not understand that it is a distinct act of worship to God, and not only a duty but a privilege. I should not hesitate to recommend it even as a commercial speculation; and I need scarcely remind you how many passages of Holy Scripture would support that view. The only practical suggestion that I feel able to make is that a Sustentation Fund should be created either upon a particular or general basis. It might take the form of an Endowment similar to that which provides the stipend of the parish priest, in which case it might be administered jointly by the vicar and churchwardens; or it might be placed under the control of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but they seem to be in bad odour here. nother plan would be to form a distinctly separate organisation, which should ake grants in aid of local efforts, just as the Church Building

Fund does in case of new or restored Churches. However organized or administered, I feel convinced that some such scheme is desirable and worthy of future consideration.

Rev. Canon Ashwell.

I confess that I feel some satisfaction, though only six minutes are allowed me, in being permitted at the close of the meeting to call back the attention of those present to those larger aspects of the subject of Church Finance which were taken by the opening speakers. We are all of us acquainted with our parochial needs, and our attention is incessantly directed to the various ways of meeting them, but it is not all of us who are so well acquainted with those larger and wider needs which were put before us by Mr. Venables, or with the broad outlines and comprehensive statements brought forward by the opening speaker. In that opening speech some most useful corrections were made of the summaries which Mr. Martin appended to his book of statistics, and as one who has given some attention to Church Statistics, and from whom Mr. Martin himself derives many of the particulars contained in the earlier part of that pamphlet, I have great pleasure in endorsing what Canon Scott Robertson has said about it. But what we now want in the region of Church Finance and Church Organisation is such a comprehensive survey of the Church's work—both what is done and what is left undone—and such a comprehensive view of the Church's means for doing that work as shall embrace not this or that diocese only as taken by itself, but England as a whole. One great advance which has marked the present day is, that we are beginning to rise above a mere parochial view of things. We are beginning to think of the *Diocese* as well as the *Parish*, of the Parish as a part of the Diocese. But we must not stop there. We must remember that each Diocese is but a part of the whole Church of England, and we must think of the needs of the whole, "since if one member suffer all the members suffer with it." Looking then at England as a whole, what strikes one is the extreme inequality with which the *forces*, as one may call them, of the Church of England are distributed. The Church exists of course for the spiritual benefit of the nation as a whole; but what are the facts? Would any one believe that of the 13,000 and odd parishes and parochial incumbents of England, full 10,000 are devoted to parishes whose gross population is not much more than *seven* millions, while the remaining 3,000 are all that go to the remaining sixteen millions of our population? Consider for one moment what a gigantic deficiency there must be in this latter case. Consider again what I must call the waste of clergy-power, when, out of these 10,000 parishes and incumbents, no fewer than 1,500 are for populations under 250 each. I name this with the more earnestness because of the general impression which prevails that the Church is really efficient throughout the country. Here in the South you see Churches everywhere restored, schools built, clergy numerous, and you think that what you see is but the same as is going on everywhere, whereas the condition of the great towns and the manufacturing districts presents a picture as different as it is possible to imagine. I am not going to plead for the abuses to which the system of Pluralities in old times led, but I cannot but see that their *total abolition* instead of their *due regulation* under Bishop Blomfield's influence, has led to the employment of large numbers of clergy in parishes which do not give them enough to do, when there are millions of our people who practically never see a clergyman at all, and who are—so far as our Church organisation is concerned—practically left out in the cold. This is good neither for the Church nor for the clergymen themselves, and this is one of those inequalities and anomalies in our system which might well employ the best thoughts of some central administration to devise a remedy for . . . . . .

[At this point the bell rang and the speaker was obliged to stop.]

Mr. Candy, Notting Hill.

The question I want to ask this Congress on the subject of Church Finance is, why we should not restore Church rates? Although we can no longer tax Dissenters, that is no sufficient reason why we should not tax ourselves. Why should not there be in every parish a Church-rate book including the names of all the Church people, that is to say all baptised people, willing to pay a Church rate? Any that refuse to pay Church rates should be struck out of the book, and put out of the Church altogether. The churchwardens could then meet them in vestry and lay before them an estimate of all the expenses likely to be incurred, and ask them to pass the necessary rate to cover these necessary expenses. In those Churches where the people want luxuries, or what is more than necessary, let them subscribe or have offertories for the funds required, but all necessary expenses ought to be paid by a rate. With regard to curates, their stipends ought to be met by special offertories. I know two churches where the curates are paid entirely by a monthly offertory.

Rev. Canon Brooke, Rector of Bath.

One of the previous speakers said that a clergyman's income will depend upon what he is, but I hope that is not always the case. I held for eight years a living which is certainly put down in the clergy list at more than £200 a year, but in those eight years all I received really nett was £500. If then that test were a true one, I certainly should have no right to address you. I, however, know something about finance, for in those eight years I restored one great church, built three others, and found money to keep six curates. And first I would say, do not trust to any good arising out of any re-adjustment of assessments, either those to the Bounty Board or Parochial. For the first, the clergy are already taxed as much as they can bear. For the second, I have not time to enter into the question; but I doubt whether we are suffering under any injustice. I would say, let us use all the means we have now in hand, and be thankful for our position. We, who carry on the ministry of God's Church, ought to be above selfish motives; but we should malign the laity if we thought them willing to take advantage of that idea. They are aware that if a ministry is to be had it must be paid for. With regard to the number of clergy I entirely agree with what has been said about the "Pluralities Act," for under it there are many parsons who have not half enough to do, and who would be better if they had. But still there is a great residue who are hard-worked and ill-paid. I say establish the weekly offertory in every parish in the kingdom. I have tried it in a great parish church and in small temporary churches, and in rich and in poor parishes, and the results have always been satisfactory. But do not trust to it—it is a good servant but a bad master. There was lately started an excellent society called the Incumbents' Sustentation Fund—but I think it was started on a wrong basis, namely, the principle of endowment. People will not put out money at 3 per cent. to do the work of the next generation. If, instead, they had gone on the principle—which I remember was partially adopted by the Manchester Diocesan Society—of making grants in augmentation for so many years according to the money they had in hand, and not forestalling the receipts of the future, I think a great Sustentation Fund might have been raised, which if put into the hands of properly qualified persons, might be able to make grants for three, five, or seven years. Again, I think that if we were to meet the laity and put before them exactly what we would have done, and our reasons, I have full confidence that the money would be raised. We have no reason to distrust the liberality of the

laity, when we remember in how short a period 20,000 churches have been restored, and how many new ones built. I never yet appealed to the laity without getting what I wanted. Let us then endeavour to form a Sustentation Fund, not on the principle of endowment. There is a subject coming on to-morrow, namely, the increase of the diaconate which is intimately connected with that of the finances of the Church, but my time is up, and I must not enter on it.

Rev. W. Littlewood, Bath.

I very appropriately follow Canon Brooke, because his is the next parish to mine at Bath, and he has all the rich people and I have all the poor. If report speak the truth, we both of us get on very well as regards church expenses. This is a subject, however, on which no very rigid rules can be laid down; and however successful the offertory may be in some places, it is often better to adhere to pew rents. That is at least my opinion. On particular occasions it is very well to say there will be an offertory for such or such a purpose, but to go further than that would in many places be too much. I have found that the better plan is to have a church council elected by the people to act with the churchwardens. This plan interests more individuals in the question of finances, and there is no difficulty in finding money. It also throws the responsibility upon others besides the churchwardens, of whom, in conclusion, I may remark we have heard very little in this discussion.

Section Room.

THURSDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 11th.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Dover took the Chair at Half-past Seven o'clock.

PERSONAL RELIGION IN DAILY LIFE—CHRISTIAN DISCIPLINE—CHRISTIAN LIBERTY.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Dover.

We are now entering upon a subject of a very peculiar character. We may thank God from our hearts that the Holy Spirit of Peace has so far rested upon our Congress Meetings, both here and in the large hall. It has been the established custom, now for many Congresses, that, when a subject like the present is being treated, we should endeavour to be, in a very special and peculiar manner, fellow-workers with God for an abundant outpouring of that same Holy Spirit of Peace; and, in order to carry out this, it has been the custom, that, on these occasions, there should be no expression whatever from those in the hall, either of assent or of dissent. I think this will commend itself to all of you, and may be held to be a rule for this evening.

PAPERS.

Rev. T. W. Sharpe.

Self-discipline is the silent witness of every man's conscience to the great truth, that beyond the broad positive laws, recognised by the enlightened conscience and enforced by Divine sanction, the whole of man's action should be guided by fixed principles and obey fixed laws. Self-discipline is the silent confession of the faithful Christian that the graces of the Spirit are needed for the smaller as well as for the greater duties of life. The devout physical philosopher is ready to acknowledge the immediate guidance of God in the smallest natural phenomenon, as well as in the larger works of creation; so also the cultivated moral sense of the Christian acknowledges no limit of moral responsibility, even in things apparently insignificant, to the good Spirit of God.

If we did not acknowledge the co-operation of God's Spirit in the whole life of a moral being, the materialist might fairly retort on us—why may I not exclude a moral purpose and a moral Creator from the material universe, if you exclude a moral governor from any, even the smallest, part of your moral being? As we acknowledge the Spirit's guidance in the world of matter, whether through evolution or through continuous generation, so we acknowledge the constant guidance of the Spirit in the smallest as well as in the greatest phenomena of the spiritual world. But here we are brought into direct antagonism, not merely with atheistical opinion, denying the *whole* of God's guidance of our spirit, but with the opinion of the age, which reserves a *part* of our lives as too insignificant for God's regard. The worldly theory is this—allowing the necessity of certain great positive commandments, there lie outside these many *indifferent* actions, which cannot be in any way connected with our own or our neighbour's good—and, further, there are many allowable cases in which we may safely *disregard* any such connection. It follows that the degree of love of comfort and ease alone regulates the recurrence of moral action, that only at certain intervals and in special duties we rise into the great plane of moral action, ordained by a moral Creator and to be judged by a moral Judge; and that below the plane of moral action lies the great region of the indifferent and the allowable. Need I say, how dangerous such a course may prove; how the region of things indifferent and allowable may be extended, till the whole field of moral action may be narrowed into such scanty space as deliberate selfishness can spare.

But St. Paul has struck for us the noble chord of self-discipline—*πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει πάντα ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα οἰκοδομεῖ.*

All things are allowable, but all things do not edify. He has given us the grand practical rule of life, that self-discipline is an indispensable preparation for taking our proper part in life, as members of a Christian society, not as selfish units; that our less important actions that seem to fall under no moral obligation are

really within the province of the great rule of consideration for each other, inasmuch as they do affect the whole of our moral nature. But an objector might say, there are many of the smaller incidents of life not governed by positive moral laws—where is the moral law that condemns the indulging in an outbreak of impatient temper, if the cause be justifiable? Where is the moral law that forbids the indulgence of eating and drinking, when there is no gluttony and no drunkenness? Where is the harm of reading a succession of light books which contain no vicious principles? It would not be difficult to point out the moral evil of such a succession of small indulgences either as regards the passions or appetites, or intellect. But it is sufficient to point out the serious fallacy, that any single action can be disregarded without consideration for the value of the whole life, as if part of a man's life might be governed by Christian rules, and another part by heathen indifference to God's moral supremacy in the whole of life. The Christian moralist may answer,—No Christian should be satisfied unless he practice such self-discipline as may leave the brain unclouded, the moral sense unembarrassed, when the Spirit is directly engaged with the great positive duties of justice or temperance.

Two thousand years ago the great moralist depicted the uneasy irresolution of the man who cannot control his bodily appetites.

Aristotle says, "The man who has no self-control is impelled by his desires to choose what is specially pleasant in preference to everything else; he is always in uneasiness, not only when he misses what he desires, but in the uneasiness of the desire itself—surely it is a strange thing that men should be pained by reason of pleasure. But the man of perfect self-discipline is one who suffers no uneasiness at the absence of these pleasures, but regulates his desires by the rules of right reason." If the heathen philosophy could point out the smaller evil *as concerns ourselves*, in the constant uneasiness of ill-regulated desires, the Christian moralist can point out the still greater danger arising from want of self-control, that it makes the soul unfit for unselfish Christian work for others. The Christian then is bound to exercise self-discipline, not only for the good of his own soul, but as one holding his life in trust for the good of others: he is bound to mortify, *i.e.*, to destroy the power of the lower part of his nature over the higher—to discipline his whole life, his amusements, his appetites, his natural emotions, not like the Stoic repressing them altogether as altogether evil, nor like the Epicurean materialist considering them as good as any other part of his nature, but recognising the natural necessity of a disciplined indulgence of appetite, amusement and sentiment.

I have said that every thing that is commonly called indifferent or allowable comes really within the plane of Christian edification, but that it is not always possible to point out the exact moral effect of each small act of self-discipline. Our Christian liberty therefore requires that the particular form, which self-discipline shall take, shall be left to the individual conscience, or if a common rule of self-discipline be adopted by persons of different capacities for self-discipline, it must be supplemented by such artificial strength as

can be supplied by guilds, unions, temperance and other societies, in short, any Christian fellowship that lightens the burden for those less able to bear a more rigid system. While we deny, therefore, that there is any debateable ground of moral obligation even in the smallest incidents of life, we acknowledge the extreme difficulty of discovering any system of positive rules, that shall bear with equal pressure on all constitutions and temperaments alike. One of the chief lessons to be learned from these very varied rules of life is mutual toleration. All who practice self-discipline after different fashions should give each other credit for entire honesty; neither laxity nor over-strictness, neither straightlacedness nor indifference should be imputed to a brother in Christ, whose inner springs of action are known only to God. We have no right to force on another our own peculiar views of Sunday observance, or of the temperance question, or of the exact form and amount of ritual in worship. We can only desire that every man's life should be conscientiously guided in that wide field of opinion lying between the two opposite schools, that Utilitarian school which applies the name of ascetic to all who practice *any* self-denial for the sake of a remote spiritual good, and the other popularly called ascetic, which rejects *all* enjoyments as sinful. With the former the Christian is not concerned; he holds that self-discipline *for itself* is the great rule enjoined by Christ to supplement the deficiency of positive commandments, and to govern one whole life in cases where no moral result follows except the self-denial itself. Self-discipline *in and for itself* is the Christian's supplementary law, as preparatory for the exercise of evident Christian duties. On the other hand we believe that it is possible by too strict a refusal of the enjoyments and comforts of life to lose sight (as those popularly called ascetics did) of the real use of self-discipline, and to elevate it to a level with the duties for which though indispensable it is only preparatory. Yet though the ascetics made self-discipline the end of their lives, and not the step to the higher duties, they were in their age the preachers of the great truth, that no success in virtue, no aiming at Christian perfection is possible without self-discipline.

One of the most contemptuous of their critics speaking of the first outbreak of asceticism says—"In addition to the essentially distorted ideal of perfection it produced, the mere withdrawal from active life of that moral enthusiasm, which is the leaven of society, was pernicious. But they showed the first condition of all really great moral excellencies in their spirit of genuine self-sacrifice; the example of many thousands, who, in obedience to what they believed to be right, cast to the winds any compromise with enjoyment, and made extreme self-denial the very principle of their lives, was not wholly lost to the world."

This first outbreak of asceticism is the extreme example both of the danger and the strength of those, who seek by union with others in a rigid rule of life to gain the strength needed for controlling their appetites or passions. No such rule could supersede the baptismal pledge of self-discipline, though it may promote greater cheerfulness by the sympathy of common prayer and common work. Yet if the

rule of life be not deliberately selected by the individual conscience, there must be some loss of Christian liberty—a sense of uneasiness; and if this uneasiness overtask the worker, the strength may be so far employed in the effort to maintain the discipline, as to absorb the whole power for good.

We conclude, therefore, that this discipline is preparatory to the great Christian graces of life, that it does not itself represent any of the positive moral duties that bind us to each other, but only removes hindrances that would obstruct bodily action, and cloud the working of the mind, and therefore has a moral claim upon us.

And what (we may ask ourselves) are the chief tests of the success of self-discipline? Has it produced in us that clearness of thought, that tranquillity of conscience, that evenness of temper, that can cheerfully face the difficulties of life? Especially, can we regard death with a clear thought, with tranquil conscience, with steady faith? It is the glory of our branch of the Holy Catholic Church that she looks for the tranquillity of the disciplined hearts, quite as much in crowded cities, in the ranks of our armies, among our sailors, as much as in the cell of the recluse, or in the quiet of rural life; in all members of her body she requires that discipline of life in which no action is indifferent. For though an action may have the appearance of being indifferent, though we can point to no positive moral law under which we can classify it, the duty of self-discipline teaches us to refer all smaller things to the great duty of self-denial. By degrees, as we form the habit of referring our actions to this higher standard, we feel that nothing is indifferent that the imperfection of our moral judgment alone prevents us from weighing the exact value of our actions, and that the law of self-denial must intervene to give them a moral character. The wise step is therefore to connect all our smaller acts of discipline with some one of the great Christian duties.

It would be wise, for example, to consider how far small indulgences of appetite may impair our general habit of temperance. How far small indulgences of light or frivolous reading may impair our general habit of clear and vigorous thought.

It may not be always easy to detect the *immediate* moral effect of such small indulgences, but it must be easy to detect the *general* effect produced upon our habits. Viewed in this light, things apparently indifferent assume the reality of moral duty; by a steady practice of Christian habit there will slowly be formed within the soul a higher standard of duty, a more vigorous co-operation in the whole life with the spirit of God.

The Christian freeman exercises his Christian freedom in the noblest way, when he deliberately chooses the path of self-discipline, referring the smallest, as well as the greatest of his actions, to the judgment of conscience, the vicegerent of God within the Christian's soul.

Rev. W. Hay Aitken.

True religion, it seems to me, must be personal in two senses of the word; personal, in the first place as affecting the subject who is himself the possessor of it; and personal in the second place as establishing a certain close and conscious relationship between ourselves and a personal God. No personal religion, in the full sense of the term, is possible, so long as God is nothing more to us than a vast, though somewhat vague, abstraction, or ultimate law, or final principle, with Whom we know not what it is to hold direct spiritual and personal intercourse. The first great object of Christian religion then, surely is to establish this personal relationship between us and an invisible God; and not until then can we be said to be religious persons at all. Strip religion of this characteristic, and what have you left but morality under a different title; and yet one cannot help expressing the feeling—and I do it with a good deal of regret—that in every age, in our own as well as in others, the prime object of Christianity in the establishment of a personal relation between God and the human soul has been only too frequently ignored, and as the result of its having been ignored, how often has barren morality taken the place of spiritual power. How often have the frail and fallen, whom the living power of God's grace might have raised to a higher, a new life, been left to the discouragement induced by futile efforts, and ultimately to the despair which must necessarily supervene when those efforts have, again and again, ended in inevitable disappointment. "All things are of God, Who has reconciled us to Himself:" this is, as it seems to me, the law of the new life. There may be a great deal of natural beauty, a great deal of self-restraint, and self-command in the man who has not yet come under the force of this law; but can we truly say that in such a case, there is personal religion? Personal religion begins surely with the consciousness of need; just as our conscious relations with those with whom we have had to do from our earliest years come into existence under the influence of our sense of need, just as the very first object upon which our infant consciousness fixes itself is the mother as the supplier of our natural wants. Even so, religious experience begins when the keen sense of want within our nature has become so overpowering and irresistible, that at last it has brought us to seek for a supply where alone it can adequately be met with. From that moment forward, "All things are of God." We have learned the futility of self-originated effort; we have made the great discovery that in Him all that we require is actually to be found; and making our application to Him, it is no longer with the feeling that we may or may not succeeed in obtaining what we know we require, but with the inward, clear conviction that we have only as occasion arises to make ourselves master of the wealth which is stored in Him for us. Here is the contrast between the new and the old creature. In the new creature, "All things are of God"; in the old our life is self-contained and our power self-originated. In one solemn and tragic sentence, the Apostle describes the condition of

those who are without real personal religion. He speaks of them as "without God in the world," surrounded by material comforts, influenced more or less by moral forces, but without God; therefore, without that sense of supply which is the true secret alike of strength and happiness. Now, this seems to me a most practical view of the subject, because the recognition of the relation existing between ourselves and God influences us in all the practical details of life, and enters into them all. The man who has felt that "All things are of God," and has begun to live in accordance with this grand law of life, ceases there and then to make that distinction (which I cannot help thinking a most mischievous one) between the secular and the religious which would induce him practically to regard one part of his life as belonging to God and another part of his life as belonging to himself. Having established this relation between himself and God, there is now nothing in the strict sense of the word secular; for his whole life has become sanctified. The Apostle goes so far as to mention eating and drinking—"Whether ye eat or drink, whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." Thus the presence of God and all that accompanies that presence is carried by the true Christian into the details of his daily life. It is present with him in his office and at his home; it colours his business transactions; it directs the whole scope of his daily activities. In a word, it is a power such as can be derived from no other source whatsoever, and a power that goes on increasingly developing itself as our consciousness of need increases, and as we look with a sense of that stronger need upon the boundless supply that there is in God for us. If this be so, surely it is of the utmost importance that we should make a clear and satisfactory start in the Christian life by making perfectly sure of the nature of the basis upon which our life, so to speak, rests. The first great thing, that one desiring to lead a Christian life should make sure of, is this, are the relations between myself and God of a thoroughly satisfactory character? Are they relations of a reciprocal fellowship and love? If they are, then I am already in a position to face the battle of life. If not, until these my relations with God are set right, all the strenuous efforts of my own will, and all my determined endeavours to improve my own moral condition, will only end in more or less obvious failure. Hence the importance, as it seems to me, of our being able definitely to know, in our own spiritual experience, nay, of our being in a position to go so far as to affirm, to witness, and confess, that those relations are such as God designs them to be. If to start with I am in a position of uncertainty as to whether the relations between me and my God are satisfactory or otherwise, surely I am there and then stripped of my resources. I shall be like a commander going on a campaign who has not made sure of the basis of his operations.

And yet how often do we meet with the assertion used by sober and intelligent churchmen, that it is impossible for us to be quite sure that our relations with God are set upon a thoroughly satisfactory basis; that it is impossible for us to be sure that, as we look up into the face of Him Whom we regard as the Supreme Being,

there is between Him and us, at this moment, nothing but love. Yet, if we reflect that, in this new life which we are called upon to lead, all things are to be of God—our strength of God, our joy of God, our guidance of God, our hope, blooming with immortality, of God—how can all this be ours unless we make our basis secure, and are firmly persuaded in our own mind that a reciprocal relation of love and fellowship has been thoroughly and satisfactorily established between ourselves and Him. Is it not the fact that here lies the weakness of the lives of a great many professing Christians? They are haunted with misgivings, with innumerable doubts and fears; they cannot persuade themselves that all is right between themselves and God. The result is as might naturally be expected, conscious infirmity, coldness, absence of the real fire of devotion, loss of love, and along with that a withering of our hope, and the absence of that expectation of ultimate blessedness which should cheer us on in all the trials of personal experience. Let us make sure of our footing to start with. If this is not made sure, what can we expect but ultimate discomfiture? I am astonished sometimes when the question is put to me, "Do you think it necessary that a man should know himself to be accepted before God?" I should almost as soon expect the driver of a locomotive engine to ask me the question, "Do you think it necessary that I should know there is any water in the boiler of my engine?" Such an enquirer will sometimes go on to push the question thus far, "Is there no such thing as salvation without the knowledge of it? May I not be accepted without knowing that I am accepted?" Just fancy the engine-driver enquiring—"Is it not possible that my engine may conduct the train to London without my knowing that there is a sufficiency of water in the reservoir?" Where is the driver in the whole of this United Kingdom who would run such a risk? Where would be the comfort of his journey? What assurance would he have of reaching the end, or rather to what an extremity of terror would he not be driven through the entire course of the proceeding? How strange that we should ask such questions about spiritual things! How much more natural to ask the question, "Is there any conceivable means by which I can be satisfied that my relations with God are such as they should be? By what endeavours, by what self-sacrifice, by what loss if necessary, by what pain, by what agony, can I obtain this blessed and assured confidence that all is well between my soul and God?" When such a question is asked, there is the blessed answer that this inward consciousness of the establishment of spiritual relations between ourselves and Him may be obtained, and must be obtained, for nothing—"Without money and without price." Thus it is that the Cross is the starting point of all real spiritual experience, and of all true personal religion, and the starting point, because it is there that my relations with the invisible God become such as can offer a satisfactory basis for a spiritual life. There and then the barriers between me and God are swept aside. There and then the load is removed from a guilty conscience. There and then the healing following on Divine mercy enters my nature; and from the moment

that I cast myself by faith at the feet of the Crucified, "all things are of God." But is there not more in the Cross than even this? As we pursue our course, with a holy inward confidence that all is well between ourselves and God, do we not find that He has given us more than pardon and reconciliation in the Cross of Christ? In the one great gift of His Son, may we not say that God has given us all needed gifts? But, just as the purchaser of an estate, in which are concealed vast stores of mineral wealth, is himself, in all probability, ignorant of the amount of his wealth, and perhaps only discovers how rich he is after years of exploration, so it is with us, who at the Cross on Calvary have found a relation of love established between ourselves and God, and yet have only just begun to be acquainted with the store of spiritual wealth treasured for us there by God's bounty. In the Cross we found salvation, but salvation is not the only thing we found there. Now, referring to the subject of self-discipline, let me notice the relation of the Cross to those various forces of evil by which we are surrounded, the tendency of each of which is to drive us to a distance from God and interfere with our spiritual progress. The Cross of Christ is represented in Holy Scripture as standing between us and each of those unfriendly forces. It is interesting to notice how completely this is stated. Am I attacked by the powers of sin, by that which I know to be diametrically opposed to the Divine will, I hear a voice of caution—"How shall we that are dead to sin live any longer therein?" It is the Cross of Christ that steps in between me and the power of sin. Just as I once exercised my faith in Christ crucified, in order that I might pass there and then into a state of acceptance and reconciliation, so I am now privileged to exercise my faith in Christ crucified, revealed as having in His own body made an end of sin. Our old man has been crucified with Him "that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin," and laying hold of that fact by faith I claim liberation from a power which would otherwise keep me in bondage. Am I assaulted by the world—does it spread its allurements around me, and endeavour to twine its silken snares about my soul, and involve me in its fascinating but fatal folds; where can I find relief? Again, I hear the voice of deliverance—"God forbid that I should glory, save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." How am I to obtain liberty from the power of the world? By faith in the Cross of Christ—"Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?" "This is the victory that overcometh the world, even your faith." Am I attacked by the lusts of the flesh—once again I ask, where am I to look for liberation, for power to overcome myself? "They that are Christ's," I hear the Apostle remind me, "have crucified the flesh with its affections and lusts." Once again it is the Cross of Christ that stands between me and my infirmities. Am I pursued by that more subtle form of my carnal nature, by a disposition to seek my own—a love of self-display—am I disposed to find pleasure in the exhibition of my own vanity, or in the pursuit of my own apparent

interests, once again it is to the Cross of Christ that my eye is directed—"For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead; and that He died for all that they which live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them, and rose again." And why is this? Not because the Cross of Christ is a sort of charm which is at once to produce extraordinary effects in our nature; but because the Cross of Christ presents to us the new relation on which we are entered toward God on the one hand, and the new relation in which the ransomed and redeemed soul stands to sin on the other. The new relation in which he stands to God, in virtue of which he is in a position to claim that the very power which raised the Lord Jesus Christ from the dead should raise us from our natural infirmities, from the strong influences of the world, from the lusts of the flesh, from the habits of sin, into the life of resurrection power, a life in which God is all in all. For while our eye of faith is on the Cross of Christ we are in a position to draw from God all we need. Look away from the Cross, and the door of the Divine treasury of omnipotence, from which we may draw our store of spiritual power, is closed. Look at the Cross, in a moment the door flies open, and you feel you have a right to claim strength according to your day, but get out of sight of the Cross and weakness must necessarily supervene. And, on the other hand, the same Cross represents to us our new relations *to sin*. It was a tyrant but now it shall not have dominion over us; it may still assault, but it can no longer control. We died to it in the death of Christ, and thus we are separated from it. It was crucified to us in that same death and so its organised power is broken, and thus rendered ineffectual. And as we live with our eyes fixed upon the Cross, we find ourselves as truly safe from the power of sin as we once discovered ourselves to be from its condemnation. And these are no mere abstract theories, but laws of the new life affecting every detail of our practical experience. For the man who lives within sight of the Cross is in a position to draw all his resources from God for the practical battle of life. The presence of the Holy Spirit in the heart is the necessary sequel to the establishment of this blessed relation between God and man and His presence, the positive power for a holy life, is already ours. Led by the Spirit of God is the happy experience of the man who has, at the Cross, given himself over to live out of self and in God. He finds himself under the immediate direction of a superior power. He does not now lay down laws for himself, and say, "I make a resolution to do this, and a resolution to leave that undone;" but, having yielded himself to a superior power, he believes in that power as capable of enabling him to pursue the way which is most in accordance with the Divine will, and which will therefore most fully reveal God's glory, and the practical result is that he no longer asks so much. "Is this right, or is this wrong?" as "Shall I, by adopting this or that other course, be in any way interfering with the joyous energy of the new life? Shall I be strengthening or crippling that which has already begun to develop in me? Is there a danger of my

shutting myself out from the enjoyment of any blessings which God designs for me?" Let a man know what it is to be led of the Spirit, and to have the joy of the Lord as his strength, and is it then to be wondered at if he conclude that to listen to his lower instincts would be to turn his back upon spiritual enjoyments dearer to him than life itself? So that it comes to pass that there is developed in us a sense of spiritual liberty, a nobler joy usurps the place of our baser desires; and we feel ourselves not only to be gainers with respect to abstract well-being, or abstract moral loss, but present gainers with respect to our own personal pleasure and enjoyment, by surrendering ourselves to the will of God, however adverse at first sight that may seem to our national proclivities. The practical result is that, in the details of life, we learn to ask, "Would God have me do this?" rather than, "Is this right or wrong?" There are a good many things not wrong in themselves, from which we gladly abstain, because to indulge in them might cause questionings of conscience, even though not perhaps an actual sense of sin, and thus interfere with the pleasures of our inward peace, and stunt the development of our new life, thus retarding us in our attainment of that sublime end which is expressed in a memorable sentence—"For whom He did foreknow, He also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of His Son."

Mr. Alexander Beattie.

It was said by one, an eminent minister of our Church who has now entered into his heavenly rest, that "The religion of the Bible is not a sickly plant which requires the forcing-house to keep it alive. It is a hardy tree which flourishes best in the open field. The servant of God *anywhere* is the servant of God *everywhere*. Few notions have done more mischief than the imagination that godliness belongs only to the closet and the sanctuary, the cloister and the cell; that it is a thing only of sabbaths and sacraments, of forms and creeds; that it is too ethereal to be interfused into the occupations of secular life."

To verify this view of Christian Life, we have only to study those portions of Holy Scripture which, either by example or precept, indicate what are the characteristics of "Religion in daily life," which is the subject on which we are to be engaged this evening.

In dealing with this subject in an assembly such as this, I think our first enquiry should be, "What saith the Scripture?" Now, I feel that, wide as the range is of illustrations of the "Religious Life" in action, in the pages of Holy Scripture, it may perhaps suffice to take as a model the life of Nehemiah. In him we can trace the various features of a man acting in every department of life or duty, under the influence of a pious and holy desire to love and serve God, and to benefit and bless his fellow men.

Let us look at the great master principle which animated him, in these simple and decided words:—"So did not I, because of the fear of God." (Neh. v. 15.)

Let us trace the source of this principle as well as its maintenance in his devotional spirit: his secret strength unquestionably lay in the exercise of Prayer. Take his humble utterances in the words, "So I prayed unto the God of heaven" (Neh. ii. 4), and "Now therefore, O God, strengthen my hands." (Neh. vi. 9.)

O, my brethren and fathers, this must be with all of us the source of strength, a prayerful spirit, a humble trust in Divine Mercy and Power, living from day to day looking to the Holy Spirit alone for the help we need, to maintain a stedfast Christian course in our intercourse with those around us, and to be enabled to do any work for our God and Saviour, in spreading the knowledge of His name, and the blessings of His glorious Gospel throughout the world.

Let us look next at the noble character of the man we have selected as an example of devotion and devotedness to the service of his God, in his conduct towards his fellow men. Can a finer pattern of uprightness and generosity be exhibited than is manifested in the scene described in the 5th chapter of the sacred book, when the wailing cry of the sufferers from debt, mortgage, and bondage comes into his ears? He says, "I likewise, and my brethren and my servants, might exact of them money and corn: I pray you let us leave off this usury."

Again, see his disinterested unworldiness of mind in the words:—"Yea, also I continued in the work of this wall, neither bought we any land; and all my servants were gathered thither unto the work." (Neh. v. 16.) O! surely all this could only be the fruit of that master principle which governed all his actions, "because of the fear of God."

It is to my mind intensely interesting to contemplate this good man devoting himself to the great enterprise to which God had called him, viz., to lift up "The daughter of Zion" from her humiliation, and advancing the high and momentous destiny which he believed she was appointed to accomplish.

We see him carrying forward upon that narrow and secluded spot, one of the noblest works ever accomplished by one man in the annals of the Jews or of the world.

Three days were enough for repose and friendly greetings; and then, unobserved in the late night, he went with a few companions along the course of the city walls stumbling over heaps of rubbish, down to the southern extremity of the Kedron valley, where the ruined outlines of the city—clear and silvery in the moonlight—rose high above him, and there, in earnest consultation, he laid the plans which months of toil, of brave patience, and strenuous efforts were needful to accomplish. (Neh. ii. 13, 15.)

We cannot fail to admire the holy patriotism which fired his breast, nor should we forget the source from which it rose. "The joy of the Lord" was his strength. (Neh. viii. 10.) The sanctuary of the Lord was his delight. "We will not forsake the House of our God," was his determination. (Neh. x. 39.) His holy zeal for the Sabbath—which always brings blessings—was manifest in his faithful dealing with the nobles, and to sum up all these fine characteristics, we have his humble and thankful spirit evinced in his prayer,

when he had done his work, "Remember me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare me according to the greatness of thy mercy." (Neh. xiii. 22).

In looking into the pages of that blessed Book which God has given "to direct us whereby we may glorify and enjoy Him," there are many other instances of "Religion in daily life." If, as a faithful servant, we take Eliezer of Damascus, we find a man whose faithfulness to his trust would not allow him to eat "until he had told his errand," even though the accomplishment of the mission entrusted to him would render his own position in a worldly point of view less advantageous to himself; and in the greater positions in which men may be placed whereby their religion may be manifested, we have the long and glorious list of those "who through Faith subdued kingdoms; wrought righteousness; obtained promises; stopped the mouths of lions; quenched the violence of fire; escaped the edge of the sword; out of weakness were made strong; waxed valiant in fight; turned to flight the armies of the aliens." In that list we may remember the noble-hearted youths, who would not bow down to worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, had set up; and the pious Daniel, whom the fearful consequences of the edict of Darius could not deter from his devout and holy practice of prayer to his God. Let me express a hope that there are men—young men too—in our own day who will thus exhibit their decision in religion, and mix with the calm spirit of devotion the brave and noble principles which those blessed examples teach.

It was said of S. Augustine that he passed from the study of the Platonists to that of the Scriptures, from which he had been deterred eleven years before. Here he learnt to know and judge himself—here he learnt the difference between an idea, merely an apparent pleasure in Divine things, and a life in God; what a chasm between the ideal, in the contemplation of which the soul delights itself, and the realisation of the same in life. It seeme to me, then, that to attain the realisation of the Christian life, we must drink deeply into the love of God in Christ by whom the hand-writing that was against us is blotted out, and feeling that "we have redemption through His blood—the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of His grace" (Ephes. i. 7)—the soul is set free to a life of love and holy obedience. This evangelical life seems to me taught in the words of the Psalmist, as we have them in the Prayer-Book version—"I will run the way of thy commandments when thou hast *set my heart at liberty;*" and we have it in the words of our Blessed Lord, "If ye love me, keep my commandments;" in those of St. Paul, "The love of Christ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead, and that He died for all, that they which live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him which died for them and rose again."

Thus it is that the true believer in Christ has a fountain of life opened in his heart by the power of the Holy Ghost, which will flow out in fertilizing streams of holy and useful living. He becomes "a living epistle known and read of all men," or, to use the beautiful

words of S. Clement of Alexandria, "The purified righteous man has become a coin of the Lord, and has the impress of his King stamped upon him." He becomes "a light of the world and a tree that ever flourishes" (Tertullian). "He shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither, and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper." (Psalm i. 3).

But, O my brethren, while I thus speak I feel in myself how unworthy I am to deal with this great subject. In the rush of this busy life it needs much watching unto prayer to attain to this standard of "Religion in daily life," yet I am persuaded that I have touched in your hearts a chord of sympathy with my idea of the true principle of holy living in its vital source—

> "Talk they of morals,
> O thou bleeding Lamb!
> The grand morality
> Is love of Thee."

To Him let us look for the grace that will enable us to maintain the struggle against sin, the world, and the devil, and remember that (in the words of one of old) "every one should be active, not only for his own salvation, but also for that of the multitude, for Christ has called His people *salt and leaven and light;* and the light shines not for itself, but for those that sit in darkness, and the Christian is not to enjoy the light for himself alone, but to bring back the wanderers. On this account the Lord called His disciples *leaven*, for the leaven does not leaven itself, but the rest of the mass" (S. Chrysostom).

One most important section of the manifestation of practical religion consists in what, I fear, is too little studied, viz., the desire to make our conversational powers subservient to the great interests of godly living. He who gave us the gift of speech would have us obey the command, "Let your speech be always with grace, seasoned with salt;" and surely they, who are called "the salt of the earth," ought to be careful to obey this sacred injunction, and, from the fulness of a sanctified heart,

> "So shed the balmy blessing on the lips,
> That good diffused may more abundant grow,
> And speech may praise the power that bids it flow."

No doubt wit and humour in conversation are pleasant, but it is well to remember that religion does not proscribe these, but simply

> "Curbs their wanton play,
> And brings the trifler under rigorous sway.
> It gives them usefulness unknown before,
> And, purifying, makes them shine the more.
> A Christian's wit is inoffensive, light,
> A beam that aids, but never grieves the sight.
> Vigorous in age as in the flush of youth,
> 'Tis always active on the side of Truth!
> Temp'rance and peace ensure its healthful state,
> And make it brightest at its latest date."

The great scheme of the Gospel—the means of spreading its benign and saving influence, and its future prospects and final triumphs

are all themes which ought to have more place in our conversation when opportunities can be suitably seized for its exercise, and thus the Christian be a source of blessing wherever he goes.

> "But conversation, choose what theme we may,
> And chiefly when religion leads the way,
> Should flow like waters after summer showers,
> Not as if raised by mere mechanic powers."

There is an interesting episode in the life of the Apostle S. Paul briefly referred to in his Epistle to the Galatians, where he says, "After three years I went up to Jerusalem *to see* Peter, and abode with him fifteen days."

The result of that fortnight's visit had been, no doubt, of supreme interest and benefit to both these good men, and its probable topics of converse have been beautifully described by a modern writer in these words: "We can only picture hypothetically what the themes of holy thought and deliberation might be. Doubtless rising above all we may place the Person and work—the words and deeds of the world's Divine Redeemer—His beautiful life—the mystery of His sufferings and meritorious death. S. Paul had only heard His voice—'*Jesus whom thou persecutest*;' but the other had seen Him, talked with Him, listened to His gracious discourses and beheld His mighty works, and, above all, had been, as much as the converted persecutor at his side, the subject of pardoning, forgiving love." How would S. Paul listen to the story of that forgiveness—the rash treading of the waters of Tiberias—the broken vows—the Gethsemane slumber—the coward denial and the base desertion—*yet all forgiven!* How would S. Paul's soul kindle at such wondrous memories, coming from the lips of one who had himself beheld "The glory as of the only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth?"*

> "Now theirs was converse such as it behoves
> Man to maintain, and such as God approves."

And if we, who have known and felt the power of Christ's love, would endeavour to let our converse embrace these precious themes which relate to Him who loved us and gave Himself for us, how much good might we do to those with whom we have intercourse in daily life! To this end we have need with the Psalmist to pray, "O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth thy praise."

On only one other point in the range of practical duties in the Christian life would I offer a remark. It is the right use of money.

In our day, when display is so much cultivated, and extravagant modes of living adopted, even by those who profess and call themselves Christians, how apt are we to forget that all our means flow from His gracious hand, who will call us to account for the use of them; and if selfish indulgences diminish our power of freely giving to the claims of temporal distress or spiritual necessity, oh! what a sad use of those gifts are we making! The distinction which St. Paul draws between those who are "quickened" to the new and

* The Rev. J. R. Macduff, D.D.

Christian life, and those who are walking "according to the course of this world," is described in the words "fulfilling the desires of the flesh and of the mind;" and assuredly, if a due proportion of our substance be not devoted to relieve temporal distress on the one hand, and to the spread of the Kingdom of Christ on the other, and is withheld to fulfil such desires, we are giving but slender evidence of that Religion in Daily Life, which is the source of true happiness and the test of a living faith in Him who loved us and died that we might live. To Him be glory, in and by the Church, through all ages, world without end. Amen!

Rev. G. E. Jelf, Vicar of Saffron Walden.

We are all the slaves of Jesus Christ, and yet we have the perfect freedom of the children of God. In these two statements—the very essence of the New Testament on its practical side—will be found the complex principles of the subject before us.

The subject may be thus briefly defined. As Christians, bound to a personal religion, we are upheld by the discipline of our Lord, humbled by the liberty which our Father grants to all His sons and daughters in Christ Jesus. This seems a paradox at first sight, but to Churchmen, who take exactly the opposite view to that of the world, it is literally true. Let us proceed to prove it.

1. Liberty and discipline co-exist in the daily life of each who calls himself a disciple-child of God. To the advancing Christian, diligent in the use of grace, and exercising himself in the "princely spirit of the Lord," there is gradually given more and more of that joy and peace in believing, that fearlessness and forwardness in action, which denote the trustful heart of a son, rather than the anxious, submissive temper of a servant. But, though advancing, he is kept in on all sides, for his own great good, by the loving hand which beckons him onward; and, though no yoke of bondage presses upon him, he is steadied and sobered in his hopes and rejoicings and aspirations through the wisdom of Him, Who would have us serve Him in little things rather than in great. Even if we were on the very summit of the hill, instead of being toilers up the steep ascent, rising only with the "mounter's bended knee," and quickened too often merely by the sense of the rapidly lengthening shadow—we should still have limits set upon our high desires, our foretastes of victory. We do, indeed, gain on the mountain-top the wonderful and inexpressible feeling of almost boundless freedom; but though the heaven appears open before us, and the earth lies under our feet, we yet are restrained in our heavenly vision by the knowledge that, after all, we do at present belong to earthly things. Or if, finding such a metaphor unsuitable, we come down to the common yet noble course of the Christian life, how very necessary it is for us to remember that though our range is wide, our restraints also are real; that while our will is free, our steps must be guided; that if the fields on which we gaze are varied and far-extending, the path on

which we walk is very narrow; that the same Lord Who hath called us unto liberty, hath yet bound us to Himself with blessed chains, lest we wander from life unto death.

2. For, next, it is all-important for us to mark that each is of Christ: we have Christian liberty and Christian discipline. Those who move as the slaves of men are not only acting in an unmanly way, but in a manner unworthy of Christians, and against the commands of Christ; and those who make themselves at all times their own masters not only incur the ordinary risk of self-willed persons, but also the additional danger of discarding that easy yoke by which Christ would bind them to Himself. Our discipline is to keep us in Christ; our liberty is to be enjoyed in Christ. Each is necessary for us if we would thoroughly belong to Christ—the liberty to make us act as those who love Him; the discipline, to make us feel as those who serve Him. He has given us twofold opportunities, that, as free, we might not use our liberty for a cloak of evil-doing, but as the servants of God, and that as His servants we might ever learn of Him the lessons of our life and the rules for our conversation; yet always in that spirit of love which "casteth out fear." Is not this the combined teaching of His three Apostles—St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John?

3. But, further, if each of these two principles is of Christ, and each necessary for the thorough work of personal religion, we gather that each is a check upon the other—each relieves the other—each completes the other. Christian liberty is not immunity from anything which Christ our Lord has appointed, or sanctioned, or blessed for the training and discipline of our souls and bodies; nor is Christian discipline a burden of such sort as to weigh down our minds in scrupulous attention to minor points, when we might be going forward cheerfully in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free. "The spirit of adoption" prevents our spirit of duty from degenerating into a "spirit of bondage;" and the service of Christ, while it pledges us to thoroughness in service, requires of us nothing but a service of love. The voice of the Master saith, "Son, go work to-day in my vineyard"—the very place and time being pointed out unmistakably though affectionately; and the voice of the disciple expresses obedient submission as well as filial regard, "Abba, Father, Thy will be done."

4. It follows, therefore, that the liberty and the discipline thus existing side by side, thus commended to us by Christ, thus supplementing each other through His grace, both of them form part of the loving education and support of God's children. Each speaks to us of the goodness of God; each reminds us of His Fatherly wisdom, which brings us freedom of choice, and yet constant direction. When we realise this, we learn, as was said at the outset, to find in this discipline a great proof of God's sustaining help, and in that liberty a wholesome reminder of our own unworthiness to walk alone—our own inability to direct our daily steps. The Christian is, in truth, upheld by those everlasting arms which are beneath and around him—aye, even by that warning hand which rises before him or lifts the rod over him, saving him, if he will be saved,

from the evils of self-will; and he is humbled by being allowed, undeserving as he feels himself to be of such a privilege, to choose his way of serving God.

Discipline and freedom are both real blessings therefore, alike in matters of mind and in matters of practice. In mental matters, the one shows us that there are limits to religious thought, and that these are irksome only to those who regard them superficially; the other, that we are free to consider all that is pure and noble, intellectual and spiritual, in the creation of God, although we must ever fall back upon Him for guidance, and restraint, and faith. In practical matters, the one providentially guards us on all sides against the sensual things and the habitual self-pleasing into which we should otherwise break out; the other teaches us that we are not helpless followers of a blind fate, but rather empowered to go forth thoughtfully and willingly, amid countless temptations, to glorify our Father, and to finish the work which He has given us to do.

5. And now let us apply what has been said to certain details of our religious conduct in the Church of God. I will instance three, all of them suggested by our Christianity, and implied in our Churchmanship—fasting, confession, and submission to authority.

(*a.*) *Fasting*, as we all know, is not so much enjoined as taken for granted by our Saviour. He places it side by side with the recognised duties of almsgiving and prayer, and warns us that, like these, it must be done as unto the Lord, and not unto men. But it differs from the other two in this respect—it is part of God's discipline for us; it is the root of self-denial in alms-deeds; it is the accompaniment of those peculiarly fervent prayers which express a hunger and a thirst for righteousness. Yet that which alone makes it acceptable for Christ's sake is its willingness—the loving self-surrender which it implies. It is here that the liberty of the Gospel comes in. God does not command us "in the particulars of our fasts;" and why? Because, as Bishop Armstrong says, he would have us "choose such modes and degrees of abstinence as may best serve to godliness and the subjection of self." But as soon as ever we begin to excuse ourselves altogether, and declare to others or try to persuade our own hearts that we are not bound to fast at all, then the Gospel opens out its discipline as well, assuring us, both by the precept and example of Christ, that our highest welfare is furthered hereby. And then the Church, which Christ told us to hear, comes to us with her sound and sober counsel, suggesting to us certain days and seasons which we shall do well to observe in secret. A thorough Christian must live by some rule. What better rule than that of the Christian Church? For us Englishmen and Englishwomen what wiser rule than that of the English Prayer-book, which shows us that the "taking up of our liberty" is actually the same thing as conforming heartily to the Church's doctrine and discipline, in order to prove ourselves true members of Him Who is "the Head of the Body, the Church"? It is marvellous how our wilful spirit runs away from God, taking advantage of the weak flesh. If the flesh can be subdued, the liberty and willingness of the spirit become very different:—

"Full of rebellion I would die,
Or fight, or travel, or deny
That Thou has aught to do with me.
O tame my heart;
It is Thy highest art
To captivate strongholds to Thee."—*George Herbert*, "*Nature*."

(*b.*) Again, as to *confession;* that is, confession to God in the presence of a minister. The only constraint here is the constraint of conscience—the only necessity, that necessity which so many of us feel because we think of our sins, and which so many more would feel if they did think of them; the constraint and necessity which drive a man, cost what it will of shame and grief, to open to one who has authority to hear and to absolve his thoughts, and words, and deeds. The reason why so many detest confession is, that they regard it as the claim of the priest, not as the privilege of the penitent. The reason why so many misuse confession is that they enter into it as part of a system in which even their natural tears are discouraged, not as part of personal religion, in which they pour out the very agony of their heart. But no one who has used confession in a right spirit—that is, with entire reference to God and his own soul, will fail to acknowledge that, because he is free to use it, or not to use it, therefore, the discipline of confession gives him the higher sense of liberty as attained in Christ. And yet it is a terrible trial, this voluntary unburdening of the heavy-laden soul, and one which no Christian would undergo without inward compulsion. Why are we urged to it? Because God would make us free indeed; because He would humble us so as to exalt us; because He would help us through the strait gate, and send us out rejoicing on our way. And we must remember that the very fact that we have a liberty therein lays a great responsibility upon us, if, to save ourselves some trouble and much sorrow in our repentance, we refuse to use, even once in life, the remedy which the good Physician has provided for us in the ministry of reconciliation. Confession, it must be added, is far too sacred a thing to be much talked about; but we ought at least to say, "Why, on the one hand, is my liberty judged of another man's conscience, and why, on the other hand, is the discipline which was necessary for my own salvation not even to be offered to the free choice of a brother bound in sin?"

(*c.*) Once more, as to *submission to authority*. In the Church, of course, this principle, however much overclouded, is of primary importance. The layman has to know that he has one over him in the Lord, and the clergyman has to know that he must follow the godly monitions of his Bishop. Many of us, too, have to learn this with much pain to ourselves; we have to feel as keenly the rebukes, the severity, the binding inflicted on us by a fellow man, as the chastisements and chastenings of our Divine Lord. But submission to those is often as needful for us as submission to these, because God so often instructs us through human instruments; and the authority which men receive from Him entitles them, not indeed to superstitious reverence or cringing fear, but at least to respectful attention and thankful obedience from those committed to their charge or made their subordinates. Our obedience should in truth

be thankful, for we shall have cause, sooner or later, to rejoice in every reproof which tended to our repentence, every counsel which increased our humility, every penance which brought us nearer to Christ. For assuredly submission is not only a chief duty, it is also one of our best blessings, one of those gracious ways by which God would deliver us from the peril of an undisciplined will, one of those salutary checks God has placed upon our desire for independence, our confidence in our own private judgment, our unwillingness to give account. Quite true that all of us are to labour, each in his proper sphere, each according to his light, each with immediate reference to that Lord and Master to Whom he stands or falls. But the knowledge which we have of ourselves makes most of us who reflect upon it as Christians reluctant to rest entirely on ourselves. It is very humbling to be told that we may walk along a dark and difficult road by ourselves. In matters of eternal salvation the cry rises to our lips—

> I would be treated as a child,
> And guided where I go.

Then Christian discipline is shown us, both in its Divine and human aspects. We are still free in our service, but we go forward in lowly reliance on Him Whose right hand holds us up, and Whose loving correction makes us great.

In all these points, in secret fasting, in private confession, in personal submission to instructive and coercive authority, we are taught the discipline of Christ. It is a discipline quite consistent with that liberty of His which assures us, even in our self-restraint and self-humiliation, that all things are ours in the Lord.

To those who look at religion as something only on the surface, there is nothing but unreality in the limits which the Church has set for us, in requiring faith and obedience, nothing but a name in the restrictions which Christ has laid both on our hearts and on our intellects. But to those who regard it with the opened eyes of penitent sinners, there is real spiritual freedom in the faith which is presented to us, and in the rules which are commended to our use. To serve God in that uplifting faith and according to those restraining rules is to be as kings. We cannot doubt it when we recollect that Jesus Christ reigned from His Cross. Though, from the very first, intent on doing the will of His Father, He had to learn by suffering. He was called to die for us, and yet that life which He gave was His own free gift. His triumph, which made Him, even as a man, glorious for ever, was gained by the sacrifice of self.

ADDRESSES.

Rev. H. Webb-Peploe.

"Personal religion in daily life" should be considered rather as the outcome than the income of spiritual blessing. It is rather the manifestation of a man's true Christanity than that which makes him one. Therefore, in order to the display of "personal religion in daily life," there must be already implanted in the heart that which makes a man capable

of manifesting what God demands at his hands. There must already exist in his soul some vital Christianity. Now, true Christianity is but a synonym for "Liberty;" for no higher, no more accurate definition of "a Christian" can be given than that he is one whom the Son of God has made "free indeed." True "personal religion in daily life" cannot, therefore, be exhibited by any man who has not consciously entered into that condition of "liberty" which comprises all the blessings that God has offered to man through faith in Jesus Christ. Through faith we are bidden to apprehend these blessings as already bestowed upon us in all their fulness (Ephesians i. 3), though we may not be enabled to enjoy them fully on earth; and the measure of apprehension by faith is the measure of liberty we can show experimentally on earth. For there are three separate degrees, or stages, of this liberty which appear before us in different parts of God's Word. There is liberty as created and bestowed by the Lord Jesus Christ, which may be described as "liberty *from* and *out of*." There is liberty as exercised and enjoyed by the man already possessed of Jesus Christ, which may be described as "liberty *in* and *through*." And there is perfected liberty to be obtained hereafter, when we have been "clothed upon with our house which is from Heaven," which may be described as the "liberty *to* and *for*," which we cannot expect to enjoy on earth because it is "Glorious liberty (or the liberty of the glory) of the Son of God," which we can receive only at "the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body," where the Lord Jesus shall appear in His glory, and take His people to Himself that they may reign with Him. Now, it is the second stage of this liberty that we are invited to dwell upon this evening, viz., the manifestation or enjoyment of personal liberty which God *has* bestowed upon every soul; but which a man must accept by faith to become a true Christian. It is "Christian" liberty, *i.e.*, liberty as exercised in daily action, rather than liberty as created by the Lord Jesus Christ. But so impossible is it to exercise liberty, without the conscious possession of it as a gift which comes direct from the Lord Jesus Christ, that there must be a full appreciation of the extent of His creation, and of the fact that it is already bestowed upon us as a present reality, before it can ever be enjoyed or used; and then the pleasure of our enjoyment will be according to the measure of our faith in the gift. Thus, we are compelled to pause at what some may consider "the first principles of the doctrine of Christ," but, what will really supply the only test by which men can prove themselves in this matter of Christian *liberty;* and, as we shall see, of Christian *discipline.* How magnificently does St. Paul set forth in the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of his Epistle to the Romans, this *creation* of liberty (in and through Jesus Christ our Lord, as we see in v. 21, vi. 2, vi. 20, vii. 25), from all the different phases or operations of *sin* (through which a man is first convinced of his need of liberty, St. John xvii. 8); viz., from the penalty, the condition, the dominion, and the law of sin. How boldly he affirms that liberty, in and through Christ, as absolutely completed and secured for us; and how clearly he states that it is the possession of all who are risen to newness of life, as "sons and daughters of the Lord God Almighty." When Zacharias was filled with the Holy Ghost and prophesied concerning the Son of God, as the "House of our salvation," he announced that it was for *this* He became a sacrifice for sin, "that we being delivered from the hand of our enemies might serve Him without fear, in holiness and righteousness before Him all the days of our life." If it be true, then, that out of the penalty, condition, dominion, and law of sin, the Lord Jesus Christ has created a perfect deliverance for man, one of the most important steps to this end is attained, because "deliverance from the hand of sin" is one of the first essentials to practical liberty. Consider, again, how magnificent is the description which is put before us in the Epistle to the Hebrews, of the deliverance created in Christ Jesus, from our great arch-enemy, Satan. The Apostle declares that Jesus "took flesh and blood," "that through death He might destroy

him that had the power of death, that is the devil; and deliver them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage." If this great purpose, for which He "gave Himself," were not accomplished when He died, Jesus would never have cried with a loud voice, "It is finished." Thus, then, there is liberty *created* "from the hand" of Satan. Again, when we look at the hostility of an opposing world, or the alluring snares of a seductive world, we are met with a splendid declaration of Christ to His disciples, "Fear not, I have overcome the world;" and while, in speaking of the former, St. Paul says to the Romans (viii. 37) "nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us"—in order to obtain the full enjoyment of the latter, the Apostle St. John says nothing further is required than by faith to apprehend that the victory is ours (1 John, v., 4.), and that on this account we have power to obey the command, "Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world (1 John, ii., 15).

Passing on to the last great enemy Death, we are told by St. Paul, in a glorious outburst of joy, "Our Saviour Jesus Christ hath abolished death, and hath brought life and immortality to light through the gospel." (2 Tim. i., 10). Manifestly then, the Lord Jesus has created a liberty or deliverance "from the hands of all our enemies," and either that which He created must be perfected in Himself, or the Lord Jesus Christ did not accomplish the work that He came to perform. But if it be thus perfect, we may go to any man that is groaning under the agony of "conviction of sin," and, crying "O! wretched man that I am, who will deliver me" from this terrible bondage, and bid him take up the Apostle's shout of triumph, "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord;" and the measure of the man's enjoyment henceforth should be the measure in which he apprehended the rest to be true. But there is great peril in announcing the fact of this creation of Liberty, unless we immediately add the conditions under which alone it is bestowed: for the very eagerness with which a man accepts the truth of the fact, will become the very measure or extent of his danger, unless he sees the realities of his spiritual situation. These conditions are, that so long as we remain in our mortal bodies, Liberty can only exist with Discipline; and that to enjoy true freedom we must submit ourselves to Law. For though delivered from the "hands" we are still in the presence of "our enemies." Though the new man be created and set up by the Spirit of God in the heart, there stands, side by side with that new man, the old carnal mind, which through those lusts that work in the body of sin, is perpetually seeking to draw him into evil; and the old carnal mind cannot be made to "please God." "for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." Nor is this all: for besides the nature of the old Adam that lusts towards evil, there are ever present the two forms of the world—our subtle adversary Satan and that awful shadow of death, which constantly seek to bring us back into bondage: and something must clearly be done for the soul to keep it from falling again into the hands of these foes; who, though compelled to deliver it over to Christ, are by no means pledged to leave us alone. No sooner does a man become conscious of possessing the new life, which is in Christ Jesus, than he would enter into the full enjoyment of liberty; but too soon he discovers the terrible truth, that if the constant presence of temptation cannot be met, he will not, after all, be practically free, though he has received the gift of perfect liberty in Christ. Now our spiritual vision is always feeble and limited, because we never attain on earth to the perfect man. Some men, therefore, having looked only on this one side of truth, that there is full created deliverance in the Lord Jesus Christ, have said:—"We are set free for ever, we need have no fear." And alas! how speedily have they sunk into the depths of antinominianism; while, on the other hand, those who have only looked upon the reverse of the shield of truth, and have seen nothing but the constant presence, and

apparent power of our foes, have been dragged down into the beggarly elements of legality by speaking perpetually of the temptations which surround us, and of the efforts which, they say, should be made by man to *keep himself* free from the hands of his foes. We may not, however, "give place by subjection; No! not for an hour," either to one class or to the other. "We are not ignorant of Satan's devices"; and, thanks be to God, they are all met for us in Christ. The Holy Ghost has traced out in the clearest manner the means by which this liberty may be enjoyed, notwithstanding the constant presence and efforts of our enemies. He tells us that our old evil nature, which inclines to sin, will never be wholly eradicated while we dwell in this tabernacle of the flesh, and yet it may be ever brought into full subjection to the Son of God. For what does St. Paul say in writing to the Colossians? *No* sooner has he declared "Ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God," than he goes on—"Mortify *therefore* your members which are upon the earth." No sooner does the same Apostle announce to the Romans the full deliverance created in Christ Jesus from the penalty and the condition of sin, than he immediately warns them of an ever present danger, but assures them that it should be met.—"Let not sin *therefore* reign, etc. (Rom. vi., 12.) Though delivered fully from the dominion and law of sin, and "there is therefore now no condemnation, etc.," he tells them that they are ever surrounded by foes (the hostile world) who bring against them persecution, famine, nakedness, peril, and the sword; and that through all these the man of God can only pass "through Him that loved us." No sooner has he taught the Corinthians that we are indeed delivered from the hands of a seducing world by Jesus Christ (2 Cor., vi., 14), than he enforces upon them the solemn practical truth that only by coming out of, and separating themselves from this seductive world, could they ever enjoy that fellowship and communion with God, into which they were called through His Son Jesus Christ. Accordingly he appeals to them, "Having *therefore* these promises dearly beloved, etc. (2 Cor., vii. 1.) If all these things be necessary corollaries of the truths we have considered, that liberty created and appropriated by faith, must precede liberty enjoyed and used in practice; and that liberty as created in Christ is perfect; then may we clearly apprehend the meaning of Christian discipline being united to Christian liberty; for only then can we *enjoy* the liberty of a Christian, when we do not yield to the old evil tendencies and desires within, or to the temptations of the world and the devil from without! But this can only be when the Lord Jesus Christ is the Ruler as well as the Giver of our life; "the Author and the Finisher of our faith." The first thing, then, that man has to recognise is the fulness of the deliverance created in Christ Jesus; but then he must be immediately taught to apprehend the utter incapacity of man for aught that is good, even after he is born again; and that it is only by the present power of Christ on his behalf, that the ever present enemies, from whom once he has been delivered, can be kept from claiming and seizing him again; but that Jesus Christ has literally *all* power in heaven and on earth, and that as once by His death He accomplished deliverance for us "from the hand of all our enemies," so now by His life He assures this liberty to us. For the realisation of this we are told by the Apostles, that we must have Him dwelling in our hearts by faith. And this, believe me, is true Christian discipline, which alone enables us to enjoy Christian liberty. Once He died for us as Jesus the Saviour, so now must He live in us as Christ the Lord. Then have we the Omnipotence of God upon which to repose; and thus, not only objectively but experimentally, by reason of the past deliverance which secures the present power of Christ on our behalf, we are delivered, moment by moment, from the snares of our enemies, and enjoy the liberty which He gives as an ever present blessing. But this power can only come by having the soul's eye fixed unceasingly upon a living, omnipotent indwelling Christ, Who has

deigned to offer Himself thus to the believer, saying, "Abide in Me, and I will abide in you." And no man can do this without the exercise of discipline; for Christian discipline in its fulness is the absolute subjection of the soul to Christ.

There cannot be a more important thought connected with "Personal Religion in daily life" than that of abiding in Christ, and finding in Him all the power by which we are to keep down evil, and bring forth good." "Every thought," we are told, "is to be brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ." How can this be without constant leaning upon Him for orders and power? That, I believe, is the true meaning of the word "discipline." If we look at our best English dictionaries we find this word, at one time, described as "a state of subjection;" at another, as "a method or order of government;" at another, as "education, or instruction." Whichever definition we accept, we find in this word the one great central truth, that the proper state of a believer's daily life is that the soul's eye should be fixed, the soul's trust be reposed, in perfect confidence, upon the Lord Jesus Christ; and that to take all order, guidance and government from Him. With the soul fixed upon Him, and Him alone, we shall ever find that His power is ours, and that this will meet every need we have, and bring us fulness of blessing according to our faith. As the soul's eye is fixed upon the Lord Jesus Christ, the life of a Christian is like that of the soldier, ever faithful to his commander—like that of the child that leans implicitly upon the father—like that of the wife, who trusts tenderly to her husband; yea more, it is that of one who becomes experimentally conscious that "the life which he now lives in the flesh" is a life which flows from the Omnipotent Son of God, who dwells in him, and walks in him, by His Spirit (Gal. ii. 20; Phil. i. 21.) Thus he draws his liberty and his life from God Himself, and exhibits them before the world in his daily action; and this we believe to be the only true force of discipline. The soul's eye being thus fixed on Christ there is ever a life-developing action going on in reference to God, and a death-developing action in reference to the "sin that dwelleth in him." The life-developing action in reference to God, so operates upon the man that he cannot serve two masters, and therefore Satan has no power over him. The life-developing action springs from and leads to Christ, therefore death has lost its sting, and the believer has no fear of dying. But if these things be true in the Christian's experience, small is the need for man to inflict upon himself those pains and penalties which are too often called "discipline," but which are *acts* and not a *state;* which, all can now see, is the real force of the word—small need for him to give the direction and guidance of his spiritual life to another feeble mortal like himself; for it practically becomes *mutiny* against the Lord Jesus Christ, when a man leans on a human being instead of his Saviour, who is the only "Captain of our Salvation," and from whom alone we have any right to take orders. Living under the power and by the life of Christ, daily, hourly, momentarily, a man cannot fail to know something experimentally of that love which is ever flowing from Christ; and "love is the fulfilling of the law." Thus his soul is ever being exercised in good, and rejoicing in Christ; and thus he has practical enjoyment of the peace and power of liberty. He has received liberty from the wrath of God, from the power of sin, the world and the devil; and he now knows what it is to enjoy a liberty from all that makes life terrible and painful, in the prospect of troubles, sorrows, persecutions, or temptations; while, death no longer having any sting for the Christian, he looks forward with perfect confidence to the glory that has yet to be revealed when Christ Jesus shall "take to Himself His great power," and shall come to reign over the whole earth. Thus, then, if a man truly apprehend the blessings of the liberty created and given to him by the Lord Jesus, and keeps his soul's eye fixed on Christ in the true spirit of discipline, he may enter into somewhat of the meaning and power of that

which the Apostle St. Paul says to the Colossians—"Ye are complete in Him." Then, too, will he understand the Apostle's meaning when he says, that because "we are dead, and our life is hid in Christ with God," therefore we are "to mortify our members which are upon the earth," &c. (Col. iii.), and that because "we have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge" ("in righteousness and true holiness" Eph. iv. 24), "after the image of Him that created him," "therefore we are to put on as the elect of God," &c. This the Apostle bids us do not once for all, but ever and anon; and this is the true combination of Christian discipline and Christian liberty, whereby personal religion may be exhibited in daily life. For though he says to the Colossians that the thing is done, yet to the Ephesians he says that it ever has to be done; and never can this apparent contradiction be explained until we see that in Christ discipline and liberty are practically the same, viz., the proper exercise of faith in Him, "where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all."

Rev. Prebendary Churton.

We may speak of personal religion as the forming of Christ in the soul; "Christ in us the hope of glory." An American writer (Dr. T. C. Upham), speaks in this way. He asks, "What is the holiness of man?" and he answers the question thus:—"I know of no other holiness in man but the perfecting and the perfection of faith, the perfecting and the perfection of love." But this view of the American quietist does not essentially differ from what we have said, that it is the forming of Christ in the soul, the hope, the foretaste of glory. Now, as to this forming of Christ, this perfecting of faith or of hope, how does what we read, day by day, affect our personal religion, our personal holiness? and I would ask, How are we to read, not only our Bibles, Prayer Books, Books of Meditation, and the like, but also our secular reading, and in particular our newspapers. First, we should make the early reading of the pure Word of God, if we may so say, our hearty breakfast, the concentrated essence of our solace and support through the day. If we always did this, how different would be our personal religion! Mr. Gleig, now the Army Chaplain-General, made this remark in his younger days in one of his publications, that he, as a young English soldier, having made a good hearty breakfast was prepared for anything that might happen through the day. How much more does it apply to the Christian soldier, furnishing himself with the pure wholesome food of God's Holy Word early in the day. A public religious life now seems very adverse to private heavenly meditation, adverse, therefore, to a truly holy life of personal Christianity. To meet this, I think early hours, and early reading, as well as early prayer, should be considered as eminently conducive to holiness. How beautifully instructive is the pattern of Ezra. "Early in the morning would I fain cry unto Thee." (Ps. cxix. 147). In the original there is a remarkable expression used for the morning, which we may paraphrase thus,—"I anticipated the first breath of the dawning light." The first breathing of the morning wind of those countries. May I here be allowed to advert to my own past experience. When it was my privilege to live a number of years (about 13), in Oxford, John Henry Newman, I remember, having been the first to commence a daily service in St. Mary's, at 8 o'clock in the morning, I endeavoured to follow his example, but not exactly in the same way, for I had daily morning service during the summer months in St. Ebbe's, at half-past 5 o'clock in the morning. I look back upon that little gathering in the vestry of our little Church, as a season of refreshing from God. With regard to the reading of newspapers, this becomes a matter of gigantic

proportions, when, for instance, we consider the extensive circulation of the *Daily Telegraph* or the *Standard*. The former appears to have had a publication of 100 million copies during the last year, and the latter has just advertised for 65,000 miles of paper; to say nothing of the large circulation of the *Times*, or of the *Illustrated London News*. These are specimens sufficient to show the amazing power in the newspapers of the present day. I would say then, in opening any newspaper, religious or secular, let us pray that it may be to us as a *quasi* continuation of, or *quasi* comment on, the Word of God. As some have called the Book of Nature another volume of the Book of Grace, different in character, but from one and the same Author, and tending, if rightly read, much to the same end, so let us endeavour to read our daily newspaper. Now, if in any age, newspapers may be read to personal edification, they may be read in our day, more especially to the promotion of personal holiness. We may read God's Providence in the progress of varying prophecies converging towards their one great fulfilment, the personal advent and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. The most circumscribed local newspapers are now not merely local. The commonest of them is, and must be, partly at least, world-wide in its contents, as well as local. And so, I think we may, especially now, say with dear John Keble :—

> " By the light of God's Word disclose,
> (Yes, and that light thrown on our daily newspaper.)
> Watch Time's dark river as it flows,
> Scanning God's gracious Providence."

Knowledge in our day has astonishingly increased. If love were increased according to our knowledge, we ought assuredly to be the most holy generation that ever lived on this earth. But there is one point of knowledge which I think might be improved and redeemed daily. With how many is the reading of the newspaper a daily practice. If we find time every morning for a glance at the newspaper, I think we could secure ample time to read also that which would make the daily reading of the paper profitable to us—namely, the *previous* reading of the Word of God, the everlasting news from the best of countries, the good news of the Gospel.

Let me speak of one portion of that Word of God, which, I think is in some measure neglected, and neglected by those to whom it would be most especially profitable. It is almost incredible how much of what we may call even worldly profitable wisdom may be gained from the Word of God. As the Gospels are an inestimable treasury of Christ's example, so the Book of Proverbs contains an untold treasury of the best and truest worldly wisdom—wisdom to enable us to pass wisely, justly, and so holily, through this present life, in whatever position we may be placed. By a neglectful, careless, superficial study of the Word of God, in these days especially, when we have such boundless advantages as regards that Word, may we not dishonour the Holy Ghost who gave it. As it would seem, from that remarkable passage in Ephesians, ch. iv. 29, 30, 31, that the Holy Ghost is specially grieved by evil words, is not what we read words written, and may not what we read and the way we read it, be displeasing to Him who wrote that one Book of Books for us? Let us avoid an idle glance in any book, reading and glancing as it were even casually at anything that it really does not concern us to read. Newspapers and even Scripture itself may be read thus wantonly, wastefully and idly, with no real edification or personal benefit. It was a valuable saying, I think of Adolphe Monod on his death-bed, " God is not so unjust as to give us any work to do, for which He does not also give us time to do it." The time which God has allotted to us may be matter of reminder to us, from the ordinary clock and watch-face. It is not without its significance—what a dear friend of mine, a Jewish missionary, once remarked to me—" Did you ever consider," he said, " the likeness and analogy between the ordinary face of a clock or

watch and the lapse of time, reckoning each minute for a hundred years, and ten minutes for a thousand?" We have passed on and on from ten and ten minutes, on and on until we are now within one minute and a half of the striking of the hour. It is Jewish tradition, but it is also the Christian belief of the early fathers in the probable duration of this present world for 6,000 years, and from the clock or watch face representing that time, we are now within one minute and a half of the striking of that most solemn hour. "Behold, I come quickly, and My reward is with Me, to give to each one according as his work shall be." (Rev. xxii. 12.)

Mr. Wm. Bentinck Harington.

At this late hour, and after all that has been said, my remarks shall be very brief, but I am sure the vast importance of the subject before us to-night must have deeply impressed itself upon all our minds. Of all the matters before this Congress, I believe none is of greater moment to us as members of the Church of England, than this; and amid the many questions that press upon us in this restless age, every right thinking man will, I believe, regard this as deserving the very foremost place.

That it concerns us not as Christians alone, but as members of our beloved Church, was emphatically and truly pointed out by his Grace the Archbishop, in his opening remarks, when he told us that the "living voice" was making itself most truly heard when it spoke through the spiritual life and personal devotion of the Church's members. And certainly it is to this matter of personal religion that we must look, above everything else, not only for the development of the great work Christ has given to this branch (as well as to other branches) of His Church to do, but for the very life, the very existence of our Church itself, in the midst of the world.

Many of the matters discussed have personally concerned us, more or less, into some we have entered, as is natural, with more zest and zeal than into others, but of the subject immediately before us, I would say that it is, in a deeper sense than all else can be, a *personal* matter, that *every one* of us has to do with it emphatically, first, as regards ourselves, and then as regards our work for Christ in the world and the advancement of His cause in the Church.

Now, much of the so-called religion of the day is *not* personal, it is propped, held up by others, dependent in far too great a degree upon outward things. As we have looked at these glorious mountains, either the far-off Himalayas, amid which I have so often wandered, or the beautiful Alpine Hills, from which I have just come, has not the eye often scaled some mighty wall of rock to rest with wonder, not merely on some bright patch of verdure, but on lofty pines, growing where we should scarce expect to see any growth at all. There on a little ledge of rock we see, flourishing in the mountain air, sometimes two or three, occasionally a single lofty pine, rooted, fixed, erect, individually firm! Then, as I came through Bavaria the other day the contrast impressed me much. The train rushed past a forest of pines in a nearly level country—they were standing equally straight, and apparently equally firm, very close together, so close that the branches could not spread except, as with our Indian palm trees, towards the top. They looked very beautiful—those thick pine forests have a beauty of their own—but as the train sped on, the scene changed, the hand of man had been at work, and what had he done? He had cut away, not a great mass of forest, but a certain number of trees, then he had left a single pine standing, cutting away again he had left another, and so, over a large tract, there remained at almost regular intervals an isolated pine. The work had been but lately done and yet what was the condition of those scattered trees? They were bending hither and thither, not one held itself erect, already

they had yielded to the force of the blast, and, were a great storm to pass over them, it was easy to see they would be levelled to the ground.

How then is it with our personal religion? Emphatically at *all* times, and most emphatically in our own day, it must, if it is to stem the storm, be able to stand when outward props and surroundings are withdrawn—it must be an individual, personal possession, not a mere something shared in common with others, and while grateful for every legitimate aid given by the Church to her members, each should see to it that he is firmly rooted independently of any outward thing, and that his one support is the Lord Jesus Christ. A speaker has mentioned our having to go alone, but can this be said of any who have once really known Christ?—does not His love, and grace, and strength sustain? and can they ever know what isolation is when they stand "complete in Him"?

God has given us many privileges and blessings in the home and in the Church, but He does not mean us to lean and depend upon these. He means them only to be helps—great and mighty helps, if we use them aright, but only helps—towards a more full apprehension of Jesus, and of His all-sufficiency.

I was looking at a picture the other day, a mighty canvas, in one of the galleries of Munich. It represented the Triumph of Germanicus. There were numberless figures and much architectural background. Nero was scowling from his throne on the great triumphal procession as it marched past. But, amid all the splendour of painting and all the objects crowding the canvas, the eye at once fell on a single figure in that heathen triumph. Taken captive, yet calm and grand in all the consciousness of inward liberty, walked the British princess, in no way daunted by the tyrant's frown, and, as the artist doubtless intended, rivetting the beholder's gaze.

In like manner should Christ be the central object in the picture of our lives, standing out from all accessories! He should be everything to us—not merely the Saviour who has died, but the Living One who is pleading—the King who is coming!

Without entering into the minutiæ of the Christian life, or further touching on the subjects before us, for time will not allow, let me just say that Christ must be the sum and substance, the beginning and the ending, of all personal religion that is worthy of the name. Everything of discipline and liberty comes *after* and not *before* the yielding of the soul on the part of the sinner to the Saviour found; and that Saviour is within reach, accessible to each one willing to come to Him.

The first paper read and some of the remarks of a speaker this evening grieved me much; both, though in different ways, seemed to put a great chasm between the Saviour and the sinners: things to be done and things to be undone, sins to be laid bare and penalties to be endured, before Jesus could be found or peace obtained.

The experience of many years of happy lay work among our dear soldiers in India has led me to deal very simply with the unsaved—to direct them at once to the Lord Jesus, endeavouring to show them that there is nothing between the Saviour and the sinner but sin; that He is able and ready to forgive, and then to send them on their way rejoicing as *His* soldiers and *His* servants.

FRIDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 12th.

His GRACE the PRESIDENT took the Chair at Ten o'clock.

THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH AND NONCONFORMITY AT VARIOUS PERIODS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

PAPERS.

Rev. CANON CURTEIS.

OUR Lord is described in the Scriptures as allotting to every servant his work, and the Holy Spirit is declared to distribute to every man his own proper gift. Work and gift, therefore, in the Church form a sort of counterpoise to each other. They revolve like twin stars, in a common orbit. Ascertain, then, your call to some special work, and you may securely infer the corresponding gifts, ascertain your possession of certain special gifts, and you may safely infer the corresponding duty.

But this principle of the Gospel does not surely end with individuals. It must apply also to nations. And, therefore, without attempting to define what are the special gifts and duties of our sister nations in Christendom, it should be of some interest to us to inquire what are the special endowments, and what the corresponding task, assigned by Divine Providence to England. Now there is one gift belonging to our country which is (I think) beyond rivalry or dispute. I mean the gift of political prudence. There is no nation under the sun which has been favoured with so long and steady a political training; none which has enjoyed so unbroken a history; none which has had to deal with men in modern times, on so broad and Catholic a scale; none which has been divinely summoned to rule so vast a variety of races, creeds, and civilisations. What, then, is her corresponding work for Christendom? I speak with trembling when I contemplate the greatness and intricacy of the problem. But I honestly think her problem is to find out the true relations that should subsist between religion and politics—the problem, in a word, of "Church and State."

Now, in the gradual working out of this problem, I think we are bound, in all candour, to confess that our country has received very large assistance indeed, and owes a great debt of gratitude to the Dissenters. Not, perhaps, that quite so much credit belongs to them as their preachers are apt to claim. For, as every educated man knows, "Church and State" is no problem of yesterday in

England. It was just the most hotly contested redoubt, amid all the conflicts of the middle ages—long before Dissent was born. But still, in modern times, and especially during the present century, there is no question that Dissent has played a leading part in English politics, and that it has been the main agent, under God, in dissipating a great many fallacious ideas, and in establishing a great many precious truths. Let us trace, if we can, how this has come about.

The *terminus à quo* which has been allotted me is "the beginning of the present century." And there, accordingly, I take my first stand.

1. About the year 1800, "Dissent" (properly so called) was both numerically and socially weak, and was tending every day to become weaker. The Methodists had not yet, in force, thrown themselves into its ranks; and the strange bedfellow that misfortune had assigned it in the shape of Popery was still a feeble power. Complete toleration, too, had already been secured a century before, in the Act of 1689. The sense of grievance, therefore, slept. The spirit of restless agitation had not yet been aroused. Deism was the fashion; and both Church and Dissent, I fear, slumbered heavily at their posts. They slumbered and slept—till both were awoke at last by a rattling peal of thunder which came from across the water, in the French Revolution. Indeed, that explosion awoke all Europe. Every lover of old things it curdled with dismay; every lover of new things it fired with a sudden hope. And when a great French war with England became inevitable, then those strange results of the storm began to display themselves, which we are feeling in distant vibrations now.

First in the field—as usual, when a breach of the peace is imminent—came Ireland. The claims of her Catholic population had been too long neglected; and now her opportunity had come. Without, therefore, at once acceding to all her demands (for they have a knack of appearing at first sight a little unreasonable), the Government at length hazarded the grave step of incorporating her, with all her Romanism and ignorance, as an integral part of the empire. And when she was incorporated, and had found out her own importance, then no one could suppose that she would rest content with a mere Protestant representation in Parliament. No; the grand and irrevocable decision had now been taken. The union with Scotland had been clenched by this further union with Ireland. The nation was no longer a mere realm, but an empire, in which the three kingdoms, like three variously coloured jewels in a royal diadem, formed the nucleus of a rapidly expanding dominion of the seas. And these characteristic colours were, in each case, religious colours. So that it were as incongruous to have Ireland in Parliament without its Romanism, as to have Scotland without Presbyterianism, or England without Anglicanism.

Here, then, in the legislative union with Ireland, in 1801, is my starting point, my *milliarum aureum*. From this the great high-road of religious emancipation stretches far away. This was the *premier pas qui coûte*. But who shall say that this bold act, which

secured our country's transformation, and forever settled the question that the British Empire should give shelter to many religions beneath its ample branches, was an act to be repented of or ever to be repealed? No; as well expect ancient Rome, when world-wide rule was dawning on her, to draw back her foot from Sicily; as well expect the Church, emerging from the Catacombs and summoned to the glorious hazard of her bridal with the State, to rebuff the conversion of Constantine, and slink into the timid privacy of some primæval conventicle. No; *c'est le premier pas qui coûte;*—but if Providence summon us to take the step, we must not dare to hold back. *C'est le premier pas qui coûte*; but there are many purchases that are well worth all they cost; and the equal sisterhood of the Emerald Isle I take to be a case in point.

The union with Ireland then is the first scene in the great ecclesiastical drama of our country during the present century. Full Catholic emancipation was indeed long in coming; but it came at last in 1829, and it was but a natural and inevitable consequence of what had been done in 1801.

2. The second scene opens. And now the interest passes to that which is more commonly and properly called "Dissent"—viz., to the various Puritan denominations within our own country. If Irish Romanism were on the high-road to be admitted into Parliament, why (it was argued) should English Dissenters be left out in the cold? What had they done to be disfranchised? Or if it be retorted that they had upset the whole country in the Great Rebellion, surely the Romanists had done much worse. If the Smithfield fires and the Great Armada could be condoned; if Guy Fawkes were no longer to be remembered, James II. to be pitied, and the Irish rebellion to be forgiven—why should not these honest Protestants be forgiven too? Why not? I am sure we shall all say. If we are to have Jesuits in Parliament, let us have a few Liberationists too—to keep the balance even. The statesmanship of England is strong enough and old enough, we trust, to reject the evil and choose the good among all the varied ingredients of our common political life. A healthy constitution soon works out and gets rid of a hundred mischiefs, which would be death to an invalid. And I repeat again: Whatever be our natural and straightforward and providential tasks to fulfil, those we must courageously fulfil. The evil that comes of them is not usually half so unmanageable as our Cassandras and Jeremiahs and Obadiahs of both ages and sexes are wont to predict.

The second point, however, at which I am venturing to detain you, is not the point at which Dissenters actually acquired full political rights; but the point, nearly twenty years short of that, where they first became conscious of their power to attain such rights. The precise date was 1811. Not one soul, it appeared, had ever yet realised to himself what the extraordinary and silent change was which had issued forth from the great Irish Act of 1801. The little realm of England—with its two appended realms, so often coerced in vain (like naughty children) for inharmonious behaviour at prayers—this simple realm, I say, had become triple, had grown

up, had expanded into an empire; but no one seemed to be aware of it. Englishmen, like most Philistines of a large build, take a long time for ideas to reach the extremities. And, though there is this good in it, that they never know when they are beaten, there is sometimes this mischief that they don't know when they have won. Now the Dissenters had virtually won their battle when Romanist Ireland was admitted to the Union. But they did not know it. They found it out entirely by a blunder. And the blunder was, that a Churchman, still more stupid than themselves, told them so without intending it. That good, simple man was Lord Sidmouth; who, when the whole surrounding conditions had becomed thoroughly changed, and the atmosphere was now charged with all the elements of political equality and religious self-regulation, must needs bring a meddling bill into the House of Lords which threw every Dissenting chapel in the kingdom into agitation, and as effectually overthrew his lordship, as you may see a bumpkin overthrown, by meddling with certain conductors he does not understand, in the Polytechnic. The bill was a sort of Falk-law, levelled at the Dissenters, and especially at the Methodists. Or, if I may venture to say so, it was a very mild kind of "Public Worship Regulation Act." For its object was to keep within reasonable bounds the Ranters of that age, and to bring them before Justices to see that they were educated up to the right mark, before they were allowed to preach in public. But this bland and innocent bill at once brought down upon Lord Sidmouth's astonished head a perfect tempest of Nonconformist fury. Indignation meetings were held all over the country: the Methodists were, once again, thrown headlong into the arms of the Dissenters; and Nonconformity discovered at one blow both its strength and how to use its strength. In 48 hours no less than 336 petitions were got up against the bill; and at Hull the following speech announced the junction of the two Dissenting forces:—"Sir, when the *old* Dissenting interest was in many places declining, when many of our titled and opulent families, through the influence of a worldly spirit, had forsaken us—a new sect (shall I say?) arose. I would not use a term offensive to any: a new religious community was established, distinguished by warm devotion, unquenchable zeal and unwearied exertions. You will easily understand that I thus characterise the people called Methodists. They are more than half-way towards us; and (if I augur right) through the influence of rising circumstances, they will in no long time become, not only almost, but altogether such as we are." The compliment took. It was warmly responded to by a methodist minister. The junction of the two armies was effected. Lord Sidmouth's Bill was thrown out in the House of Lords, not one soul supporting it but himself; and three days afterwards the foundations of a Liberation Society were laid.

This, I think, is a curious and instructive story. It reflects no dishonour on the Church, for her own Bishops spoke and voted against the bill. But it forms a good illustration how the Church's cause may be imperilled, and her good name be dragged in the mire by one headstrong man determining to stake everything on some

untenable position, and defending with the "artillery" of David and Jonathan some crumbling ruin that one modern cannon-shot brings hopelessly to the ground. How often has a Churchman to say—"O, defend me from my friends!"

3. I pass on to my third epoch—about 1830—when all these events bore their natural and timely fruit. And on this I need not detain you long, for it is a story well known to us all. Twenty years had elapsed, and then in 1828 the Test Act was repealed, and Dissenters took their rightful and well-earned place in Parliament. In 1832 they aided to reform and popularise that Parliament. In 1834 they gave their voice for that wise and hopeful measure, the education of the poor by the aid of State funds. In 1835 they helped to place marriage on its true basis in relation to the State by passing the "Dissenters' Marriage Act." And in 1836 they began to remove the higher education, too, from purely ecclesiastical handling by chartering the London University. And here for a time this jet of reforming energy exhausted itself, and rested. But it was set off again in 1858 by an apparently small, in reality large and imperial, question emerging for solution—"Should this already poly-religious empire of ours remain distinctively *Christian* when it had deliberately ceased to be Anglican or even Protestant?" The answer was given in the negative: the imperial programme of 1801 was carried to its legitimate conclusion, and non-Christians were admitted to help govern the country in Parliament.

Who will say now that it could possibly have been otherwise? Once begin to convert a simple realm into a complex empire, and your work cannot stop half way. I will be bold to add it ought not to stop half way. You cannot *e.g.*, if you once bring in your Burials Bill, or any other bill, as an imperial measure, to affect the whole country, draw any arbitrary lines. You cannot draw the line at "orthodox Dissenters." You cannot exclude Jews or heathens. It is childish to think you can. Mr. Holyoake, the Atheist, whose manly character none can impugn, sees that quite plainly, and utters it. "If this bill (he says) is to recognise equality among persons of all opinions, *I* may one day speak at a churchyard grave, when I should speak what I thought." Of course he would: and all honour to him, if only he once gets there. But these things ought to make both Churchmen and Dissenters pause, and (Oh, that it were possible!) take counsel together, as to what must be the inevitable end of a reforming course, pushed on blindly and passionately to some unknown and perhaps ruinous conclusion.

4. The true conclusion and consummation of Dissenting policy was, I believe, reached at the fourth and last milestone in the history I am called to deal with to-day. It was reached in the group of educational acts, passed about 1870, when Mr. Forster's bill, the Endowed Schools Bill, and the University Tests Bill were all successfully carried through Parliament, and nobly crowned, by making education a matter of imperial concern, the great and beneficial reforms which the State of England owes (and we Churchmen among the rest) mainly to the Dissenters. And I would to God that I could stop there, and that nothing had occurred between that

time and this to overcast with a thick cloud of suspicion and resentment the friendship that might easily have sprung up between Churchmen and Dissenters at that time. But the truth compels me to say that the tactics of the Liberationists (at least) have lately been such as to reveal a fixed intention—not of "liberating" the Church, but of destroying her.

We Churchmen (I venture to say) can condone many a mistake, can pardon many a bitter word, can forget many a hot-tempered blow. We dare not cast a stone; for we have committed equal faults ourselves. But what we cannot forget, and what we shall have to pray very earnestly for grace to forgive is this—the invasion, and violation, and forcible perversion to secular uses of things sacred to us, and round which our heart's love has clung with all the force of religious sentiment and all the tenacity of childhood's recollections. We can easily forgive the curtailment of our revenues, the loss of church-rates, the secularisation of the Universities, and similar acts of a somewhat severe justice: for many of us think that these measures were right and the motives were honourable, and are quite assured (at any rate) that such adjustments are fairly within the competency of the State to effect. But we do find it hard to forgive the confusion which, regarding fellowships as mere "prizes," has involved our beautiful college-homes of prayer and study in the general secularisation of the Universities: we do find it hard to forget the reiterated falsehoods with which, week after week, things and persons dear to us are aspersed by the Liberation press: we do find it hard to put any Christian construction on the attempt now being made, not to reform, not even to confiscate, our time-honoured churches and their tranquil, lovely burial-grounds, but simply to spoil them for our religious use, to desecrate them to our religious sentiments, and to make them hateful in our eyes as Babels of confusion and discord, where once all was order and peace.

Dissenting friends (we say), how *can* you do such things to us as these? How *can* you find it in your hearts to ride so roughshod over all our sentiments—our prejudices, if you like—our superstitions, if you must call them so?

But if these *are* to be the tactics of Dissent during the next stadium of their (hitherto honourable) relations to the Church, there is but one answer to make: "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword." The Church of England is already on her guard, and is fully determined (as this Congress has pretty clearly shown) to repair and complete her organisation. Of the temper of the rising generation of the clergy I can speak with some authority; for between 300 and 400 of them have passed through my own hands: and if any one, either Churchman or Dissenter, imagines that these younger men are in a mood to let their Church become either a football for Liberationists to kick about at pleasure, or a police-agency to take commission and pay as a mere department of the State, I can only say they are very egregiously mistaken. And they will wake up from their pleasing dream some day to find the Church refusing to lend her high and unsullied name any longer to the State, the grand old breakwater of 1,200 years' standing gone, and

the empire then brought face to face with all the extreme religious animosities that are, at this hour, distracting every old country on the Continent, and even threatening the United States with Ultramontane convulsion.

But these calamities will never happen, if only the Imperial Parliament will be as just to the realm of England and *her* religious ideas, as it has always shown itself to the other two kingdoms and *their* religious ideas. Scotland has preferred Presbyterianism, and may prefer (some day) disestablishment; and, if so, the Parliament of the Empire will not prevent her from doing what she will. Ireland has already taken her course, refused a Catholic establishment and preferred to see all alike disconnected with the State; and she, too, has been given her wish. Why should England alone of all the three—England who does *not* wish for disestablishment, who does *not* desire to see her holy houses desecrated, who does *not* mean to have her churchyards seized for public and indiscrimate cemeteries,—why should she be overborne by the Scotch and Irish votes in Parliament? Why should she not raise her cry of "England for the English," and demand that same just thing which her sister kingdoms have, and her colonies in every quarter of the globe possess—"Home rule in religion"?

Yes; home has a sound of peace about it, which casts a spell upon us all. May God give "peace at home,"—peace *within* the Church first, and then peace with those *outside* her pale. And so, perhaps, we who wrangled together down so many weary centuries, may at last find unity once more, and say (as those poor Africans did the other day, when Stanley reached the sea)—"We thought this tedious river would never end; but the Master is great—and these white men have joined hands with their friends at last."

Mr. George Harwood, Bolton.

It seems to me that the wording of the subject I have been asked to speak upon is rather vague. This is pleasant in so far as we always like a long tether, but it is also unpleasant because we are afraid of wandering away upon forbidden ground. I hope, however, that the fault of rambling a little from one's text will be forgiven, as I fancy it is not entirely unknown to some of those I see before me.

I also trust that you will pardon me if I seem to speak too plainly; but unless meetings like these Congresses can be made useful for practical good, they will soon become useless—and also ridiculous—as mere ecclesiastical carnivals.

The consideration of the mutual relations between the Church and Nonconformity naturally divides itself into three periods—that of what they have been, that of what they are, and that of what we hope they will be. I do not see that much good can come now from dwelling upon the first two of these, except to learn lessons for the last. I know, we all here know too well, that the past has been one of opposition, and that the present is one of alienation; but I believe,

and I hope most of you believe, that the future may be one of reconciliation. It is of this future that I wish to speak.

I am well aware that when we talk of the future relationship of the Church to Nonconformity being one of reconciliation—still more when we go further and prophesy, as I would, that it may ultimately become one of identification—we shall be well laughed at; many Churchmen will check our dreamy enthusiasm by pointing on all sides to contrary signs, whilst many Nonconformists will resist our hopes as the vain anticipations of conquest. To those Nonconformists I would say that we have no such ideas as those of victory or defeat; it is not of surrender we are thinking, but of union; it is not for any paltry renown of our own or any other Church that we care, but for the glory of Christianity and the good of the world.

When we think of the spirit of broad brotherhood which breathes through our religion, and still more when we call to mind that prayer which expresses the deepest and best wishes of our Lord and Master for His followers, surely we are not unreasonable if we refuse to sit down and be content, as the final condition of Christianity, with this division into sects, this estrangement of different bodies of Christian men, this alienation of Nonconformity from the Church. Unless greater unity is to be our ultimate destiny, that it seems to me we must confess that our Christianity—or any rate our Protestantism—is, in one of the important requirements of a religion, a failure, and we must let go all those hopes, to which we feel we ought to cling, of spreading it over the world. It may be said that sectarianism helps to emphasise certain truths which would otherwise be neglected, but surely the mosaic picture of Christianity is not improved when its stones are broken up and scattered about in twos and threes.

But, no doubt, many who acknowledge that this idea of reconciliation is theoretically sound will ask what reason for expecting it soon there is now, when we hear so much of opposition amongst Nonconformists to the Church; when the air is filled with captious grumblings, and more threatenings than ever before are uttered, that the Church is soon to be disestablished and so all hopes of amalgamation finally buried. I frankly confess that at first sight appearances are not favourable, and that they look more like the coming on of a still worse storm than of the sunshine of reconciliation, but I believe that it is really so, and that these heavy drops are rather like those which generally fall at the end of a shower. A man never grips so hard as when he is drowning.

Do not misunderstand me. I should be ashamed of myself if anywhere, but especially here, I could be unfair enough not to acknowledge the many excellent virtues of Nonconformity, and ungrateful enough not to confess how much I feel not only that I owe to it myself, but also how much it has done for the religious and social good of the nation. But it is just because I appreciate the many good qualities of Nonconformity—its independence—its self-sacrifice—its vigour—that I desire this reconciliation. I do not wish Nonconformity to go down body and soul, but I look forward to the time when its body

may disappear and its soul pass into the body of the Church, to the Church's great good.

I have not time here to give many of the reasons why I think that in thus hoping we are not dreaming an old man's dream, but rather seeing a young man's vision. I may, however, state one or two.

In the first place I believe the conviction is steadily gaining ground that the system of the Church of England gives the freest and broadest platform for wise religious activity—that its ceremonial is the most dignified and yet the most manly—and that its religion is the most simple, and yet the most complete, the most rational and yet the most Biblical, expression of Christianity. We are said to live under a dispensation of which one of the primal laws is "the survival of the fittest." If this be true of the material it should be also of the mental, for matter is only one of the alphabets of mind, and therefore if we believe that our system and religion are the best, we should also believe that they will ultimately prevail.

I also venture to think that this agitation for disestablishment will ultimately benefit the Church. For now that the matter is being plainly put, many of the best Nonconformists are being led to consider seriously what would be the practical results of disestablishment, and so they are coming to see, as they have never had occasion to see before, that their own systems are in their nature incapable of adequately meeting the religious necessities of a great nation, and that the Church of England alone can fully and equally carry free religion to the poor as well as to the rich, to those who are scattered over the country as well as to those who are crowded in the towns. The English nation never runs long in chase of mere paper theories, and I am sure that there is amongst the Nonconformists far more admiration and good feeling for the Church than is generally supposed. In judging of what are called "agitations" we are too apt to mistake noise for numbers, and to forget that it is the quiet people who ultimately settle most important matters.

I also think that the present storm of religious scepticism which is sweeping over the country will, instead of desolating us, fill us still more, for many will leave the open roadsteads of Nonconformity and seek shelter in the harbour of the Church. I think that this process is now going on, especially amongst the young men, for a new generation, which has to face discussions about the fundamentals of religion, is not likely to care much for those differences, often so trivial, upon which so much Nonconformity depends. The question young men have to ask themselves in these days is not whether they will be Episcopalians, or Wesleyans, or Baptists, or Congregationalists—not whether they will go for Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas—but whether or not they will follow Christ, and those who become the friends of Christianity are most likely to lean to that Church which is its best exponent, and can offer the strongest resistance to its enemies. The Church of England has now a growing fascination for religiously disposed young men—they are tiring of the husks and longing to return to the house of their fathers.

But this must not be a house divided against itself; and here we come to the question of how the Church ought to play her part in bringing about this reconciliation. This leads us to see the connection between the pronounced Nonconformity without the Church and that threatened Nonconformity within, of which we have lately heard so much—too much. It would not become me here—perhaps not anywhere—to enter largely into this matter, but I think I may not unfitly say a few words as to how this difficulty appears to one layman at least, and, I believe, to many others also, to affect the subject now before us.

In spite of the dramatic episodes with which we have been favoured—or shall I say pained?—we do not believe that the spirit of restlessness is so strong, or so likely to develop into intractableness, as many imagine. In casting prophecies of the probable future conduct of bodies of our countrymen, we must never leave out of our calculations that practical spirit of sensible moderation, which has always been a leading characteristic of Englishmen, and which has done so much towards the stable development of our institutions. We see this spirit constantly prevailing in political and all the other affairs of life, and I am sure I may, on behalf of the clergy, reject any assumption that they are in this respect inferior to the rest of their countrymen. But to those who seem inclined to go to extremes, I would urge one or two reasons why any such breach would impede this reconciliation with Nonconformity, and consequently injure the Church.

Two of the great charms of the Church which may be trusted to act upon Nonconformists are its continued unity and its broad sensibleness. While their own systems are but recent, and have a constant tendency to keep splitting again, they see that the Church has never broken with the past, but has handed down from generation to generation, in one harmonious body, the ancient doctrines and practices of our religion. Schism has two effects—one that it begets schism, for as Wordsworth says:—

> Men who have ceased to reverence, soon defy
> Their forefathers; lo! sects are formed and split
> With morbid restlessness;—the ecstatic fit
> Spreads wide; though special mysteries multiply,
> "The saints must govern," is their common cry;
> And so they labour, deeming Holy Writ
> Disgraced by aught that seems content to sit
> Beneath the roof of settled modesty.

The other effect is that schism by reaction begets unity; for these splitting themselves become a *reductio ad absurdum*, and disgust the more sensible with the spirit of schism. Now when this second process (outside the Church) is going on, surely the Church itself will not be guilty of schism, and so kill these hopes of union; now, when the ships are beating up to the harbour of refuge, surely it would be worse than foolish for the watchers in the lighthouse, through quarrelsomeness, to put out the great lamp and replace it by little candles in their own windows.

By the second charm, its broad sensibleness, I mean that the Church of England has a larger basis of religious spirit and a smaller

liability to the domination of partial fanaticisms. Religious feeling has its epochs; at one time it fastens upon differences, magnifying these quite disproportionately, and then it hankers after agreements. The scientific scepticism of these days, which has needlessly frightened so many good but timid people, is doing the Church this great service, that it is driving religious feeling from one of these epochs to the other; from the disintegrating fanaticism about little things to the uniting contemplation of great ones. In such a time when the hour cometh—nay, now is—that dissentions about "on this mountain alone," or "at Jerusalem alone," are becoming effete—this charm, this broad sensibleness of the Church of England, grows increasingly powerful. It is a significant sign of this that the best of the Nonconformists, no matter to what body they belong, will generally acknowledge that next to themselves they prefer the Church; like the Greek generals at Marathon, they all put Themistocles second, and so show that he ought to be first.

But it would be dishonest not to confess that this very breadth of the Church, which I am now putting forward as one of its chief charms, is the ground of many of the strongest attacks now being made upon it by Nonconformists. We all know how often we are taunted about the divisions in the Church; how often we are told that a body so split up has no right to be held together as a single Christian organisation; how often we hear the besiegers crying out with a cry which, alas! is too often echoed within the walls!—that a city so divided against itself cannot long stand. As if unity means uniformity! As if soldiers fighting for one cause must all wear exactly one dress!

To those who thus taunt us, we reply that these differences are the product of that liberty, and the proof of that vitality, of which we are proud. It is easy to have uniformity where there is either indifference or illiberality; it is easy to keep men in a line when they do not care, or are not allowed, to move.

As to the magnitude of these differences, we refuse to accept the estimate of those who are unfriendly; degrees of importance are proportional, and we cannot judge of differences if we do not consider agreements, and also remember that agreements are silent, whilst differences only make a noise in the public ear.

I think I may also say that we should not let others egg us on to quarrel with each other on account of these differences. The other day I came across a crowd of boys trying to incite two of their number to fight. I went in and asked these two if they wanted to fight, and they said, "No," so I said "Don't." This is, I believe, what the voice of the laity would say respecting these threatened quarrels in the Church of England.

Don't squabble over mint, and anise, and cummin, as if these are the weightier matters of the law; as if these can ever be as important as righteousness and peace. Don't be persuaded that a Church which, like the Christian, is to gather in from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south—barbarian, Scythian, bond, and free—can ever do right in expecting all to see with the same eyes, or think with one mind. Don't let the common sneer

prove true that it is better to have the clergy indifferent than zealous, for their zeal soon degenerates into arrogance. Don't be led away under temporary restlessness to tamper with your ancient constitution, and by synods and conventions, or anything of the sort, to narrow the national basis of the Church, and so make the beginnings of a sectarian organisation. The Church just now seems to me like a strong man in a bilious attack—his skin is sensitive, his temper irritable, and his eyes a bit jaundiced—but he will soon come all right. The best cure for the Church, as for the man, is plenty of exercise. Go heartily into your work, of which there is plenty needs doing, and don't meddle with physic. You will win the Nonconformists better by sticking to your own lines than by following theirs.

The laity wish those ministering in their Church to show to the world that they can be thoroughly good clergy, and also thoroughly sensible men; that they can have clear-headedness without intolerance, earnestness without bitterness, and enthusiasm without superstition.

In these days we want to hear less about conscience, which is often only another name for spiritual pride, and more about that charity which, in one sense, is only another name for Christian politeness. In these days we ought to strive to hold the faith in the unity of the spirit and in the bond of peace, never in anything acting, to quote Wordsworth again—

> As if a Church, though sprung from Heaven, must owe
> To opposites and fierce extremes her life,—
> Not to the golden mean, and quiet flow
> Of truths that soften hatred, temper strife.

When we consider how great masses of our people are living in practical atheism, and how scepticism and indifference are creeping fast over society, we feel that this is no time for Christian men to quarrel amongst each other, for they have all a far nobler warfare to wage together. We have lately seen how in a distant country the armies of a great empire have been worsted largely, because its troops have not acted together and supported each other. We do not wish this to be in any degree the fate of the armies of Christianity, and, therefore, we ask the Nonconformists, in the face of the future which is fast coming upon us, not to stand apart any longer, but to fall into our ranks, so that we may all march together against our common foes, and that finally the standard of our Great Leader may float triumphantly over the broad fields of the world.

Rev. T. P. Garnier.

The Church and Nonconformity have each their own history during the nineteenth century, while they touch all along its course. As the century opened, we find the great evangelical revival within, no less than without the Church, and yet the religious equilibrium of the nation was shifting surely in the direction of Nonconformity. This, no doubt, may be explained, to some extent, by the rapid

increase of the population. It swelled the ranks of the denominations which belonged almost exclusively to the more populous orders of the community. But it must also be admitted that at this period there was much to be said for the existence of religious bodies other than the Church of England. The Church had failed to overtake the spiritual needs of the masses, and the Nonconformists were on the whole favourably regarded as an auxiliary religious agency. This unquestionably promoted the removal of many disabilities to which their earlier history had subjected them.

Then followed a period of popular legislation marked by the first Reform Bill (1832). The political power which had hitherto been in the hands of the great middle-class was now to be shared by the industrial classes. All this told upon the *status* of Nonconformity rather than of the Church which ought to know nothing of class or political party. The quickened legislation of this date tended to call forth class interests and to arouse class struggles, and these not unnaturally fell into the existing channels of what now became class "Churches." The solidarity and isolation that were thus imparted to the class were imparted also to the corresponding denomination. The political fell in with the religious interest and they made common cause together. The Nonconformists were sedulously courted by politicians as a power in the State, while towards the Church the auxiliary attitude was gradually dropped and Nonconformity hardened into Dissent. A distinct issue was thus forced upon the Church. Men began to ask, as they are asking in their thousands to this day, whether all this religious dissension can be according to the mind of Christ. In this way the Oxford movement arose, and a strong re-action towards religious unity passed over the nation.

What had raken place was preparing the way for the latest development of Nonconformity in our own times. Its political character is becoming more strongly marked every day. The proceedings of almost every denominational governing body, the utterances of their leading men and the petitions presented to Parliament alike indicate it. The pulpit discusses the questions of the platform, the congregation adopts resolutions like the public meeting.

Nor is this action confined to religious and quasi-religious questions. The Eastern difficulty was apparently more discussed in Nonconformist chapels and by Nonconformist deputations than by any other section of the community.

Then, the course of legislation reflects its stages. Up to the abolition of Church rates in 1868 the efforts of Nonconformity were, true to its name, of a *retrogressive* character. It was seeking to disentangle itself from all complicity in the Church's system. From that point it seems to have faced about, and we now witness an advance along the whole line against the position of the Church. The Burials question of our own time points to its new claims and more *aggressive* policy.*

* Among the evidence given before the House of Common's select Committee to enquire into the operation of the Endowed Schools Act, Mr. Frank Schnadhorst,

And, once more, the names and watchwords adopted by the Dissenters themselves enable us to gauge the extent of this change of front. The cry for *religious liberty*,—a genuinely religious aspiration,—has been supplanted by the cry for *religious equality*, which is really a political claim. While the plea for "the liberation of religion from State patronage and control" only serves to show how far removed from its original aim is the present phase of the movement for the disestablishment and disendowment of the English Church.*

Here again the political issue seems to have taken the place of the religious. Nor is such a title a mere euphemism; it represents a real transition, much as over some cramped and crowded thoroughfare we still read the name of fields, or grove, or village green.

The explanation of the change is, I believe, to be found in that necessity for sustained motion on which all merely voluntary bodies are dependent, and by "voluntary bodies" I mean those whose principle of cohesion is *individual preference*, rather than *religious obligation*, as in the Church. The *momentum* of such bodies may be purely religious, as doubtless it was at the first. But when the original impulse has spent its force, it has been seen that the slackening motion may be stimulated by pushing out into the mid stream of politics. Thus the denominations that have shown the least elasticity in point of numbers, such as the Baptists and Congregationalists,† are the most committed to the Disestablishment

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secretary of the Central Nonconformist Committee, is reported to have said:—"I think that they (the Church) have retained property which does not belong to them."

Q. Then you would take all the Churches built all over the country from the Church of England, and throw them open to all denominations?

A. I think that all Church property is National property.

The Rev. John Jenkyn Brown, Baptist minister, in answer to the question, "Will you tell us for what purposes the National Establishment is established except for religion?" said—". . . . I am not in the Establishment for religion . . . but I am in it for every other purpose. My position is this—I have my little voice in making a Bishop, and in everything that belongs to the Establishment. I have my civil rights. Religiously I am not in it; but civilly I am." (*Guardian*, Nov. 19, 1873).

* The following passage which was included among the "Objects" of the Liberation Society up to 1872, has since that date been omitted. (Compare the Congregational Year Books for 1872 and 1873).

"The Society does not advocate any interference with Ecclesiastical property in the hands of laymen, with Churches built by Churchmen with their own money, or with endowments, or other property, which are known to have been devoted by Episcopalians for Episcopalian purposes. It distinctly repudiates any wish that Dissenters should receive any portion of the public property now held by the Established Churches. It is content to leave the ultimate decision of that property to be determined by Parliament; desiring only that all life interests should be scrupulously respected, and that compensation, to the fullest extent demanded by equity, should be received by those whose pecuniary position may be affected by the proposed change."

† Dr. Rigg, a Wesleyan, arrives at the conclusion that the Congregational Denominations "have declined in influence—have declined almost everywhere in comparative numbers and influence—in many places have declined absolutely." The words quoted are from an article in *The International Review*, (see "National Church," Sept., 1877, p. 206).

Crusade; while the Wesleyans, who display, perhaps, the greatest vitality, are at the same time the least political. We are therefore to regard the accelerated movement which we now witness among the Nonconformists, not so much as the result of increased vitality, as an impetus acquired from without. But with all its present advantages the experiment is a dangerous one. For directly the cry fails and there is nothing to supply its place, there succeeds a period of depression, as when the tornado drops, and in place of the column of sand that a moment since was in full career, there remain but a few dry mounds of the desert.

In the Church there is also an advance along the whole line, and this advance, attended though it be by many lamentable irregularities, is largely religious. It is a Church that within the present century has more than doubled its clergy, has built or entirely re-built more than 4,000 churches,* and has planted some sixty Missionary Bishopricks.† It is a Church, too, which during the same period has been visited by three genuine revivals,—the revivals, as they have been called, of *Evangelical Truth*, of *Apostolic Order*, and of *Worship*.‡ Each of these still survives, for each in turn supplemented, without supplanting the work of the foregoing. On this ground it would be unfair to attribute to any one school of thought within the Church the renewed vitality which we now witness. It is, under God, the work of all, "the increase of the body" "by that which every joint supplieth."

To such a Church Nonconformity must always be primarily a religious rather than a political problem. Her appeal is not to Cæsar but to God. Even if Disestablishment were the solution of the one difficulty, nothing but re-union can solve the other. Perceiving this, the Church's desire for re-union has awakened to a very remarkable extent of late years, and this at a time when some soreness might have been looked for.

Re-union, it is conceived, may proceed in two ways. There is, on the one hand, the suggestion that is made from time to time of *corporate re-union*. It is thought that the Wesleyan Methodists, always distinguished for their kindly feeling towards the Church, might be induced to consider this step, provided some recognition of their community were conceded, — if, in a word, their Founder's conception could be realised. But it is no secret that in any informal conference on this subject between members of our own Church and representative Wesleyans, the mutual impression has been that such a prospect is, humanly speaking, quite hopeless. It may be summed up in the sad admission, *too late*. Nor can we wonder at this, when we reflect that, during the present century, not only has the Wesleyan creed been drifting from the Church's by an

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* In 1801 the number of clergy is stated at 10,307, in 1871 it was 20,694. "Up to the end of 1872 the total number of new churches built in the century was 3,204, of churches entirely re-built 925; in all 4,129, without counting restorations and enlargements; *i.e.*, very nearly one-third of all the churches in the kingdom have been built this century." *Quarterly Review*, July, 1874, pp. 260, 264.

† S.P.G. Report, 1875, p. 124.

‡ Sermon by Rev. W. D. Maclagan, reported in the *Guardian*, July 25, 1877.

ever-widening interval, but the acquisition of endowments involving trust deeds, and the building of chapels and schools stereotyping local disagreement, have tended to prejudice the chances of re-union. While for the ministers either to accept ordination, or to take lower ground as "lay preachers," even though it be the very word insisted on by John Wesley, are terms which involve too humbling a reflection on a distinguished past to be accepted.* Yet the Church can offer none other. I submit, therefore, that any hope of *corporate* re-union under present circumstances cannot be entertained.† Whether under great external pressure, some crisis of Christianity, the denominations might not draw closer to us, God alone knows. But into our present enquiry it does not enter.

It is, therefore, to the re-absorption of individuals and to stopping the leakage from our own body that our attention should be turned. Such re-union as this must have its beginnings in the smaller sphere of the parish. From this point of view I would place one or two practical suggestions before this Church Congress. These are not new, but they acquire a special significance when viewed in relation to the history of Nonconformity in this century.

(a) And first, to approach this subject on its religious side, it is a question whether the Church of England sufficiently provides for that desire of an awakened soul, to devote itself to a stricter life in company with others who are like-minded. It is this yearning, in a word, for *Church discipline* and *Christian fellowship* which lies at the root of all religious secession. That the former is in abeyance our own Church admits and deplores in her Commination service, while in reference to the latter an eminent Wesleyan has said, "Methodism means close and lively Christian fellowship, class meetings and prayer meetings. These are not to be had in the Church of England."‡ It may be pleaded in reply that the fellowship

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* Dr. Rigg, in a pamphlet published in 1868, which, he says in the preface, "may be regarded by Churchmen as expressing the views of Methodists generally," writes as follows:—"It is certain that neither the Methodist people nor their ministers would endure a word of re-ordination, or consent to the relinquishment of the right of sacramental administrations."

"The relations of John Wesley and of Wesleyan Methodism to the Church of England investigated and determined," by James H. Rigg, D.D. Another consideration that operates powerfully with the Wesleyans is, that re-union with the Church of England would sever them from the Methodist bodies in other lands. The pride that they feel in their own community is very imperfectly appreciated by Churchmen. Its marvellous growth in America where it claims nearly ten millions of "adherents," (however excessive the calculation may be) justifies the inscription on their Conference seal, "What hath God wrought!"

† Whether "corporate re-union" is not a contradiction of terms is worth consideration. It means, I suppose, that the alienated body should consent to be reconciled on condition that its corporate existence should be to some extent recognised and preserved. This would involve autonomy and independence of some kind. If so, I submit that it would be no more than *confederation*, certainly not *re-union*. It could scarcely fail to have in common with all corporate movements its extreme wing, with, it may be, the cry of "Home rule" in reserve, thus introducing another element of disintegration into a Church already sorely in need of unity. Every scheme of re-union should aim at the Divine standard of unity—John xvii, 21.

‡ "Essays for the Times" by Dr. Rigg, p. 10.

here contemplated is only attainable in the denomination limited to one class of society, still it must be allowed that the indictment is not without truth. In repudiating the religious orders of the Middle Ages we shut off the safety-valve for this spiritual craving, so that, as might have been foreseen, it forced for itself a new outlet in Nonconformity.* It is the very spirit of Puritanism to seek to withdraw from the larger Church-body into a smaller and presumably purer association of Christians,—though alas! often at the cost of schism.

This instinct may be legitimately met, and is already being met in many quarters, by our own Church-guilds, associations, communicants' unions, brotherhoods, and the like. These supply what was lacking,—the opportunity of entering on a higher level of religious life attended by real spiritual fellowship.† But I venture to think that these distinctive bodies should follow closely the recognised units of Church organisation, such as the *parish* and the *diocese*, for a new unit is sooner or later a new grit in the machinery of the Church. Not only the Wesleyan secession but many of our present troubles in the Church have arisen from the irresponsible action of religious associations owing a divided allegiance.

(b) Secondly,—I would lay stress on *Lay-preaching*. While the Church's hold on the upper classes has never been shaken, many amongst the middle and lower classes have inclined to their several forms of Dissent. The alienation of these classes has been rendered more easy by the circumstance that they do not contribute their contingent to the authorised teachers and preachers of the Church.

One remedy for this I venture to think lies in liberally and trustfully opening the door to Lay-preaching. I need not point to the patent fact that laymen *are* preaching on every side and in increasing numbers at the present day. And yet while the waters are rising the Church has as yet provided no channels to receive the flood. Some in their recoil from sect-life call themselves "unsectarian," but the vast majority find their way into the ranks of the Nonconformists, not, in the first instance, from any love of Nonconformity, but simply from the fact that the Church of England provides no opening for Lay-preaching. In this way, year by year, all the natural eloquence to be found in the lower orders is attracted to Dissent. Not a little of the warmth that sustains the life of Nonconformity is thus drawn from the Church's own bosom. Here, then, is a leak that sorely needs stopping. It is surely a fatal

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* In saying this I am not forgetful of the "Religious Societies for the Reformation of Manners," at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. The history of these only serves to strengthen the position taken up, for while they lasted Dissent appears to have made no progress.—*Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1877, p. 329, and "Curteis' Bampton Lectures," p. 348.

† The natural opportunity of establishing a *guild* would be after a mission. Indeed it is a question whether it should not always be the out-come of the Mission-week as a safe-guard against relapse. The revivalism of the Wesleyan system would have comparatively little result without the "class meeting" to gather in and retain a hold on those who have been impressed.

mistake to act as though God's ministerial gifts were limited to one class of society. It was not so at the first. It was not so long afterwards. The Franciscans were a company of Lay-preachers, and as Dean Milman says, "Franciscanism was the democracy of religion."* Up to the Reformation in our own land the monastery supplied the ladder by which the peasant's son might scale to the highest offices in the Church, but since that time, if he has sought to raise his voice for God, it must be elsewhere than in the Church of England. An immense reserve of strength awaits the Church in this quarter whenever she can see her way to call it in. She can never hope thoroughly to recover her national character till she finds means to employ the homely speech of those who, like the Apostles, are "unlearned and ignorant men."

I am here rather to point out the need, than to suggest the remedy. But, pending the settlement of the question of the restoration of a permanent diaconate, it would surely be possible, not in a few only, but in every diocese, for the Bishop to commission the duly-qualified to act as Lay-readers. I can conceive no more grateful occupation for a parish priest than to assist the studies of a labouring man to qualify him for holding a schoolroom service. It is false doctrine, not Lay-preaching, that we clergy are afraid of. With the proper safe-guards we should all thankfully welcome our Lay brother's help.

But here, again, I may venture to point out that the exercise of such an office must fall strictly within the lines of the Church's system.† The neglect of this principle, the claim to regard the whole world as his parish, was the fatal mistake of John Wesley and the Methodists.

(c) Thirdly,—I am not afraid to utter the words "*Religious equality*."

I have already suggested that not a little Dissent is only class-assertion in its religious aspect. It is, I believe, to a far greater extent than is generally supposed a *social* question, and the dislocation of society which has been going on during the present century has added an important factor to the case. Class movements, however secular their immediate object, will claim their accompaniment of class "Churches." For example, the members of the Labourers' Union are for the most part Primitive Methodists; the isolated lower middle class lean towards the Wesleyans, while a social stratum a little above them feeds the ranks of the Independents. Hence it is not uncommon to find these three denominations side by side in one village. Their *raison d'être* arises not from religious differences, but from social divisions. There is a pressing need

* Milman's Latin Christianity, iv. 182.

† In the London Diocese the office of Lay-reader, while personal, is restricted in its *exercise* to a particular parish or parishes "at the written request of their respective incumbents." The Bishop's commission is issued on the nomination of the incumbent and is revocable on his written application. Detailed information may be found in a useful little book entitled, "Hints to Church Workers," (Wells Gardner) published under the direction of the Committee of the London Diocesan Lay-helpers' Association.

for the Church to bridge these gaps of society. But let us not blink the peril she is in of becoming a class Church herself,—the Church of the upper classes. Must not her first step be to sweep away all class distinctions and class monopoly in the House of God? May not the cry of "religious equality" in her mouth be made to mean, not equality of *creeds*, but equality of *worshippers?* Not that the civil ruler is to "care for none of these things," but that with the Divine Ruler there is no respect of persons. George Herbert struck the right note when he said to the higher in the social scale—

> Quit thy state,
> All are equal at the Church's gate.

Is it not time that we should *restore* such an equality to the poor, based on our common brotherhood as children of one Father in Heaven? A common Church fabric is the counterpart of a Common Prayer Book, of which it has been well remarked that it has no word but "this woman Thy servant" for the highest and lowest in the land.* It is not too late to take away the reproach that is levelled at us that we are a Church that fosters monopoly and sides with privilege.†

But I submit that "religious equality" does not end here. To have knelt side by side in God's House ought to bear fruit outside it. There would be an unreality about such a profession unless it led to a closer intercourse between class and class. The Parish Reading Room, the Cricket Club, the Harvest Home and the School Feast, and, where it exists, the Parish Council are common ground on which Churchmen can meet and social exclusiveness be laid aside. And let me say a word for the Parish Tea. Tea is the cement of Nonconformity, the tea-meeting its greatest field of proselytism. In other words, the *social* is the strongest side of Dissent, while it is the Church's weakest. Why should we forego these opportunities? Is it Utopian to hope that the squire might sometimes be present at the Parish Tea? Many such things are gracefully done during the canvass of a constituency. Why not, then, for the sake of the Church? Society, I know, is stiff and stark enough and has communicated this character to the Church, but I am sure we have many who recognise the duty to "condescend to men of low estate." I am persuaded that in our own country parishes, "strikes" and threatened difficulties, which always stimulate and sometimes even originate Dissent, might be warded off by a timely tea-meeting, to which all should be invited without distinction.‡

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* Canon Farrar.

† It is worth while to bear in mind that this question may come from without, if we are not beforehand in raising it from within. This year has witnessed the beginning of what may prove an annual struggle at our Easter Vestries. Can anyone conceive a more righteous and therefore a more powerful cry, if the already disaffected labouring class adopt it, than this of equality in God's House? Nor can I believe that the clergy will hesitate for one moment which side to take.

‡ "A Norfolk parson," writing to the *Guardian* on August 17, 1877, describes the condition of his parish in the following terms:—

"Nearly 1,000 people; no gentry; the Union strong; Independency of some standing, and a Primitive Methodist Chapel added since the agricultural strike; no

(d) Fourthly,—I would place *distinctive Church teaching*. For lack of this, at the beginning of the century, we lost tens of thousands who need never have been lost to us.* The proportion of Dissenters to Churchmen, which a century before was 1 to 25, in 1,800 was 1 to 4. In that ratio it continued to advance till the Oxford movement of 40 years ago traced again the faint lines of Church principles and so stanched the drain of secession. But have there been no shortcomings in the present generation ?† Are we not still the only Church body that claims allegiance while we give no reasons for it ? Have the rural poor any idea whatever that there is such a sin as *schism* ? And is not the duty of religious unity one of those things which a Christian ought to know, and believe, to his soul's health ? Silence, when the times call for the fearless assertion of a truth, is not mere omission, it is unfaithfulness. A country clergyman looks out upon a very limited horizon, but, at the risk of being misled by "the rustic cackle of one's bourg," I venture to assert that the religious traditions, the current saws and sayings which formulate the belief of the uneducated at this day, were never issued from the Church's treasury. How few amongst our own congregations have an intelligent grasp of the Prayer Book, how many are the misconceptions as to its teaching! Why ? Because we have been content to preach rather than to teach, to stimulate a feeling, instead of building up a religion.

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labourers at Church. (They have been taught that the Church belongs to the rich man; Arch told them so recently, on the village green)."

The general features of the above description may be accepted as typical of many a parish in the eastern counties.

* Writing of the beginning of the present century the Nonconformist Historian says, "Dissent owed much of its increase to the labours of the earlier Evangelical party. This was the case in town as well as in country districts, where, when an Evangelical minister was removed, and was replaced by a man of another character, the people, in almost all instances, turned Dissenters. (History of the Free Churches of England, 2nd ed., H. Skeats, p. 547). An article in the *Church Quarterly Review* for July, 1877, p. 353, fully bears out this by its statistics. If in this respect the teaching of the Evangelicals have been defective, it is but due to the school which contained such men as Newton, Cecil, Milner, and Simeon, to say that they did signal service to the Church by restoring confidence in her spiritual life at a time of much deadness.

† In a striking article on the Evangelical clergy written in 1868 by the present Bishop of Rochester (Dr. Thorold), the following passage occurs :—

"How is it, for instance, that we so seldom attempt carefully to instruct our people on the meaning of Church authority, and on the nature of right Church principles ? Is it a matter of such utter indifference, to what Christian communion we belong, that not once in twelve months is it deemed worth while, by perhaps a great majority of us, to invite the attention of our flocks to the true grounds, for which reasonable people are justified in conforming to an Established Church, instead of separating from it ; or to an Episcopal form of Church government as best adapted to us, and in harmony with the Apostolic idea ? It is really no exaggeration to say, that hardly from one year's end to another is one Evangelical congregation in twenty ever instructed on the essential differences, that distinguish the Church of England from the Nonconformist bodies ; the result being that multitudes in our congregations are Churchmen, not by conviction, but by accident ; attracted to Church, not through any intelligent preference for the Church system, but by the uncertain and personal liking for an individual clergyman, with no answer to give to those who are on the watch to entice them to other communions—and so the easy prey of the Papist, on the one hand, or the Plymouth sectaries on the other." (*Contemporary Review*, August, 1868, p. 582).

But a great future lies before us. The operation of the Education Acts must bring the rising generation, within reach of the Church's teaching to an extent which has never been the case before.

For this the Church should be prepared with "the proportion of the the Faith" (Romans xii, 6) and "all the counsel of God" (Acts xx, 27), in a word, with *the deposit* "whole and undefiled." It is no time for our trumpet to give an uncertain sound. It is no time to present the creed with blurred edges, and to seek to purchase a temporary accommodation of differences by the surrender of principle or the compromise of truth.

I therefore plead for definite teaching, not put forward in any controversial spirit (God forbid!) but humbly and tenderly. The character of that teaching is clearly indicated in the Apostolic injunction, "to instruct in meekness those that oppose themselves." We need to diffuse *instruction* as to the doctrines, the position, and the history of the Church. And God grant we may not fail in the *meekness!* At the same time such is the difficulty of dealing with the subject in the right spirit where so much that is personal is at stake, that I would suggest the lavish distribution of Church literature so as to saturate the minds of our parishes with her teaching. I confess to have out-lived a disbelief in tracts. Every propagandist body uses them. If they be bright, clear, and incisive, they leave their mark. Then, of course, there will be the carefully selected Parish Library. Much too may be done by introducing into the Parish Reading Room such papers as *Church Bells* and *The Daily Express*. They combine the desired qualifications of loyalty to the Church and charity towards opponents. So may we hope to create a healthier atmosphere of thought for our people.

(e) Lastly,—The correlative truth of Nonconformity is not, as some would have us believe, a cold conformity. It is rather "*the unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace.*"

Let us not forget how much of the sin of schism which we so lament lies at our own door. If some have erred and strayed away, others have been repelled, I will not say by the Church, but by Churchmen. Let us, then, approach them humbly and lovingly. Let each go from this Church Congress resolved that his own relations with Nonconformists shall be marked by "the things that make for peace" (Romans xiv, 19). So only shall we recover her lost heritage to the Church, for "the meek shall inherit the earth."

And amongst ourselves let us remember that the first stage of home re-union is to present the spectacle of a Church at unity in itself. Let us never forget that there can be schisms *in* a Church, there can be διχοστασία amongst Churchmen. If only we could present the sight, I do not say of uniformity, but of unity in our own ranks, who doubts but that the loudly expressed weariness of sect life that reaches us from the ranks of the Nonconformists would lead sooner or later to a return to the old Mother Church?*

"O, pray for the peace of Jerusalem,—they shall prosper that love thee!"

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* "I am as tired as any man of sect life; of this and the other portion of the body becoming a separated limb; men combining together on this and the other

ADDRESSES.

The Dean of Bangor.

Canon Curteis has told us that the English people have had greater political experience than any other nation. There is one field of political effort in which they have been signally unsuccessful. They have failed to obtain for the Church of England the allegiance of large masses of people of Celtic race within the United Kingdom. In Ireland, in Scotland, in Cornwall, and in Wales large numbers of the population have ceased to adhere to the Church. I wish to address myself this morning most especially to the relations existing between the Church and Nonconformity in the Principality of Wales—the part of the United Kingdom which is best known to myself. I am not revealing any secret when I state that the majority of the people of Wales are Nonconformists. There is no single Nonconformist body in Wales that is equal to the Church in numbers or in influence; but the Nonconformists of all sects in the aggregate very considerably outnumber the adherents of the Church. What is the reason? Are the Welsh people naturally averse to the Church, or incapable of appreciating the truths which she teaches, and the forms of her ceremonial and worship? No. I am convinced that when the truths of the Church are presented to them in forms of thought and language which they can understand, the Welsh people are ready to receive them gladly.

We are limited in the wording of the subject under discussion to the beginning of the present century as our *terminus à quo*. But in order to throw any clear light upon the present position of Nonconformity in Wales, it will be necessary that I should briefly review the history of the Welsh Church during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

I must remark, in the first place, that one of the strongest characteristics of my countrymen is their tendency to hero-worship. In every age they have yielded themselves to the influence of the most powerful wills and the leading minds in their own race. The bards and the religious teachers, from the Druidical times down to our own, have ever been the popular heroes of the Welsh people. To-day, if you enter a farmhouse or a cottage in Wales, you will almost invariably find hanging on the wall the portrait of the favourite bard and preacher.

In the seventeenth century the heroes of the Welsh people were Churchmen. The bards and the teachers, whom they regarded with affectionate and enthusiastic reverence, were the most gifted clergy of the Church. The Bishops Morgan and Parry, and Dr. John Davies—who translated the Bible into Welsh, a version which we Welshmen are in the habit of thinking equal, if not superior, to your authorised English version—the Lloyds, the Griffiths, the Heylins, the Middletons, the Salesburys; and, above all, Vicar Pritchard, of Llandovery, who gave to

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doint or points, one or five as the case may be . . . . I am tired of all this and have long been so." (Dr. Binney, "Church Life in Australia," p. 112).

"The Rev. Charles Beard, B.A., of Liverpool, who is regarded as the most eloquent preacher amongst the Unitarians, has just been delivering a very remarkable address at the Provincial Assembly of his sect. He said, ' . . . If there is one thing of which free men are more tired than another, against which men have set their minds more than any other—it is sects. They want a Church, but not sects. They have been troubled enough with sects, and when a man is in the position of going out of a sect where his liberty has been tampered with, and where he has had to fight hard for his freedom, the last thing he wants to do is to put on the fetters again and join another. This works in favour of the Established Church.'" (*The Daily Express*, July 6, 1877).

Wales a volume of sacred poetry, once treasured in all its homes—these were in the seventeenth century the heroes of my countrymen—the men whom the Welsh revered as their religious guides and teachers.

In the year 1700 there were only thirty-six Nonconformist chapels in the whole of Wales. It happened that by that date benefices in the Welsh Church had greatly increased in value. That increase was attributable—as has been pointed out by the late Judge Johnes in his able "Essay on the Causes of Dissent in Wales"—to the development of the agricultural resources of the country. The ministers of the day were consequently tempted to regard the dignities and benefices in the Welsh Church as prizes which might be conferred in return for political services. The result was that the highest positions and the most lucrative benefices in Wales were held by men who were utterly ignorant of the language of the masses, and incapable of sympathising with the people committed to their charge.

What followed? The people found religious teachers for themselves. Early in the eighteenth century Griffith Jones, the rector of Llanddowror, became the instructor of his countrymen. By his own personal exertions he raised for many years an income of £8,000 per annum, in order to maintain a system of circulating schools, in which he taught no less than 150,000 of his countrymen to read the Scriptures in their own language.

With the increase of knowledge came the craving for an increase of religious ministrations. The leading clergy were utterly unable to minister to the people in the language which they could understand. The result was that a number of remarkable men arose to be the teachers of their countrymen. Daniel Rowlands, Howell Harris, and Williams, of Pantycelyn—the poet of the movement—men of great natural eloquence, moved by a fervent religious enthusiasm, and in their own simple way mighty in the Scriptures, became the religious heroes of their day, and preached to the people the truths of the Gospel. On many occasions 20,000 people assembled to hear their preaching.

The thirty-six Nonconformist chapels of A.D. 1700 had become a thousand in A.D. 1800. During the first quarter of the present century the Calvinistic Methodists increased rapidly in numbers, perfected their organisation, and became the most powerful Nonconformist body in Wales. For sixty years they continued to adhere to the Church, and were religiously Conservative. They went to hear the teaching of their native preachers, but continued to receive the Holy Communion from the clergy of the Church.

Canon Curteis has alluded to an important event that occurred A.D. 1811. That was also the momentous year in which the Calvinistic Methodists formally seceded from the Church by assuming for their ministers authority to administer the Holy Communion. During the first half of the present century the heroes of the popular imagination were the great preachers of Nonconformity. John Elias of Anglesey, the Richardses of Cardiganshire, the Joneses of Llanllyfni—these were the great preachers who exercised supreme influence over the masses, and whose names are still household words through the length and breadth of Wales. They were deeply religious men, and free from that narrow, malevolent bigotry which dishonours some of their modern successors, who, in pursuit of sectarian advantage, have banished the Bible from a large number of the Board Schools in Wales.

During that period what was the state of the Church? What were the higher clergy doing? While these men were teaching thousands and ten thousands of my countrymen, the leading clergy were utterly unable to address the people in the only language which they could understand. Instead of feeding the flocks, they fed themselves. In the Diocese of Bangor a very small number of the leading clery, in 1830, mainly absentees, divided among themselves no less than £22,205, while the entire sum enjoyed by the general body of the clergy amounted only to £20,295! In St. Asaph half-a-dozen clergymen—members of one family—incapable of

teaching the people, because ignorant of their language, helped themselves to £20,000 per annum, while the entire body of clergy received only a remnant, amounting to £18,391 per annum. Can you be surprised at the fact that my simple-minded countrymen were unable to recognise in these gentlemen the descendants of the Apostles?

One of the greatest difficulties, which the Church has to face, arises from the bi-lingual character of the population. It is essential to the progress of the Welsh people that they should not remain in ignorance of the English language. The policy employed to destroy the Welsh language has tended to exclude English, and to perpetuate the mischievous isolation of Wales. I am persuaded that if an educated and patriotic native clergy had ministered in Wales, and retained the leading influence over the Welsh people, they would have guided them onwards to a broader culture and a higher enlightenment, and the people—without necessarily forgetting their own ancient tongue—would have been able to speak English from one end of Wales to the other.

The policy intended to extinguish Welsh has really served to exclude the knowledge of English. How has this happened? The people having no sympathetic native clergy to guide them, fell under the influence of the Nonconformist preachers. The great majority of the preachers have no command of any language except Welsh; and they naturally have been inclined practically to confine the people to the exclusive use of that language through which alone they were able to exert their popular influence. The Welsh cling to their language with wonderful tenacity, even when they have sought homes beyond their native land. There are probably many in this audience who will be surprised to hear that in the neighbouring Metropolis there are no less than eight Calvinistic Methodist Chapels, in which the congregations worshipping in the Welsh language number 2,000 hearers, and no less than 1,300 communicants. In the town of Liverpool there are no less than twenty-six Welsh congregations of Calvinistic Methodists, numbering 13,000 hearers and 5,000 communicants, who contributed last year more than £12,000 for religious purposes.

What has the Church done? Notwithstanding all her troubles, arising from mal-administration, the Church has done and is doing a great work. She maintains, in the face of an aggressive secularism, too often aided by Dissent, no less than a thousand schools in which the fundamental truths of Christianity are taught to the children of Wales.

I must allude to one other point. The Nonconformists have often been wise in their generation, inasmuch as they have from time to time been quick to utilise the best means of influencing the masses of the people. There are, I believe, eleven weekly newspapers published in Welsh, all semi-religious in purpose, to advocate the interests of Dissent, while the Church has but two. There are sixteen monthly magazines in Welsh, published in the interest of Dissent, while the Church, again, has but two. If the Church is ever to regain her influence over the people of Wales, her rulers must not leave to the Nonconformists a virtual monopoly of that agency by which their habits of thought and feeling are shaped from week to week.

I must also observe that the Nonconformists have shown much sagacity in endeavouring to secure for their ministry the services of men gifted with aptitudes to teach, and often endowed with considerable oratorical power. The Church has too often failed to obtain the services of men possessing these gifts. The best hope of the Welsh Church lies in the development of a system of clerical education that shall secure for her a body of clergy at once highly educated, and also capable of speaking the native language and sympathising with the people of Wales. In the Diocese of Bangor the foundation of such a system has been laid, and already more than £600 a year has been promised in its support; and I have every confidence that the movement will prosper and bring forth fruitful results.

It is my firm conviction that there exists no deep hostility to the Church in the minds of the Welsh people, and that, if the truths of the Church are placed before them in a language which they can understand, the day is not far distant when many of the best and most intelligent of the Welsh Nonconformists, sick of the husks of division, will return to the spiritual home in which their fathers found rest.

It is true that there are to-day nearly 3,000 Nonconformist Chapels in Wales; but this feverish rapidity of Chapel-building is not always a sign of health. Many of these Chapels are built with borrowed money, and not a few of them are the results not of an increase in the number of Dissenting congregations, but of the feuds of irreconcileable factions among their members. It is true that the Dissenting bodies in Wales have among their ministers a small number of fairly able men, and a larger number of fluent popular preachers; but there are no Dissenting ministers in Wales to-day who excite universal popular enthusiasm, or will be remembered in days to come as the religious heroes of their generation. The Church has some preachers who are, I believe, more than equal in popular power to the best of the Dissenting ministers, but they are too few in number. There must be a rise in the general level of clerical efficiency and earnestness in Wales, so that the work done by one clergyman may not be undone by his neighbour or successor.

I do not despair of the future of the Church in Wales. I believe that she is destined to rise out of her depressed estate; but, in order to secure that result, her ministry must act and live in the spirit of those words quoted by the most reverend President in his opening address. The Church must, in the true sense of the words, become all things to all men, that she may save some: she must bear with our weaknesses as Welshmen, and to the Welsh she must become as Welsh.

Rev. Canon Ashwell, Principal of Chichester Theological College.

In speaking of the relations between the Church and Dissent in days that are past, my predecessors have been enabled to present their description with philosophic calmness and historic dignity; but, unfortunately, it has fallen to my lot to set forth the relation of Church and Dissent as it exists at the present moment, and, therefore, I must of necessity step, not upon subdued, but upon flashing fires. To speak the complete truth about the Dissent of the present day is a most difficult thing. To give a one-sided picture of it—a picture true as far as it goes—would be perfectly easy. Nothing would be more pleasant to one's natural instincts of kindliness and good feeling than to point to the principles of truth, to which each several section of dissent adheres; then to exhibit the Church of Christ as holding all these several truths in their combination, and, lastly, to call on each separate section to find in the Catholic faith the full realisation of their respective aspirations. Nothing would be more pleasant than to give each body full credit for a simple zeal for truth, and thereon to build the hope that time and patience, reason and persuasion, kindliness and charity on our side would win back our separated countrymen, as it is indeed winning back numbers of them. On the other hand, nothing would be easier—though I must add no imaginable task would be more painful, more repulsive—than to paint the Dissenter of to-day as he paints himself, as the irreconcilable of the irreconcilables, and to quote, as unhappily it is only too easy to quote, from his recognised organs, those outpourings of almost

unimaginable bitterness against the Church with which their pages teem. But neither picture would be true if it professed to be the whole truth. And yet in a very real sense both sides are true, and both must be given in any true account of the Dissent of the day. Both must be considered if we are to estimate rightly the relations of the Church and Dissent. The Church must somehow manage to act upon both lines at once if she is to act with real wisdom and real discretion. For any account to be completely true, I should require to have two mouths instead of one. I should want two voices running on simultaneously, something like those in a duet, where one sings in tones of cheerfulness and hope, while the other voice, *pari passu*, sings in tones of sadness and despair, and in which the two strains mingle and give both sets of feelings together. Considerable inquiry—personal inquiry—among individuals whose life has been spent in Dissenting systems, considerable reading of Dissenting publications and reports, their recognised newspapers, magazines, annual addresses of the heads of denominations, and the like, lead to the conclusions which I am about to state. They are conclusions which I can only give as such without citing my authorities, but pledging myself as to my personal truthfulness, since the few minutes allotted is too small for giving the quotations in full. We have to deal, then, with Dissenting *bodies*, whose motto as bodies is simply this, *Delenda est Ecclesia*. Then, on the other hand, we have to deal with Dissenting *individuals*, who, in tens of thousands of cases, can think, and do think seriously, of the relative claims of Church and Dissent, who know the weak points of their systems far better than we know them, who dislike the bitterness of their prominent speakers and and writers, and who both can and do appreciate fairness, justice, and charity. If you look at them as bodies, Dissenting bodies are declining. In some cases they are actually fewer; in none do they increase in proportion to the increasing population.

As to the Wesleyans, I need add nothing to what is well known. With regard to Independents it is less easy to be exact. As to the Baptists, their latest report is a most instructive document, and the annual address of their president is one prolonged wail. He speaks of 1,740 so-called churches in England, including the metropolis, of which 420 are without pastors. Of the total number of pastors, he speaks of forty-nine less than the preceding year. He also speaks of the hopelessness of reaching £120 a year as the standard of pastoral stipends; and after spending pages upon pages in discussing the prospects of getting beyond £80 in the majority of cases, he falls back on what do you think as a reserve? He prints his answer in italics. "The remedy is *work*." Yes; but whose? He means that of the pastors; and he points out with honest candour that the smallness of the pastoral charges leaves the minister ample time to work for his bread in some secular capacity after his ministerial labour is done. For why? Out of the 1,740 "churches," with which the report has to do, 900, or more than one-half, report themselves as having under fifty members; and he adds that, if the reports are inaccurate, "greater accuracy would only make matters appear worse." With regard to rural life, the report declares the conviction that Dissent is decaying, even (he despairingly adds) in Lancashire. Now, how comes this falling off in their ministry? They have plenty of colleges, vigorously worked, and fairly filled with students. Yes, but their students do not all enter the ministry, and the leakage into holy orders is becoming serious. Take a case which I have followed up. Of twenty-eight students who entered together, and went through the course together in one of the largest colleges—*i.e.*, men of the same year, as we should say at Cambridge—ten never entered the ministry at all; one died; two went abroad, and are now lost sight of; four are now in holy orders, one of whom gave up a pastorate of the exceptional value of £300 a year; so that but eleven of the twenty-eight are in in the Baptist ministry! What makes the Dissenting ministry so distasteful to men of ability and inde-

pendence? Is it not such things as the tyranny of deacons; the dissensions, and what Dissenting ministers dread, the monthly church meetings with the endless "splittings off." So that, in the *Christian World*, of August, 1877, I read—"If the young men now coming forward don't display more intelligence, courage, and integrity, we shall soon have to be superseded. Thousands of our people are sighing for a faithful and fearless ministry." As to the Baptist laity, it is now seriously proposed to admit to membership without baptism—an "Association Letter," from some of their societies saying, "If we don't admit to membership without baptism, we fear we shall not make progress in numbers," *i.e.*, to save the organisation it is proposed to surrender the *raison d'être* of the Baptist Society. Now it is, I believe, this shrinking of the Dissenting *Bodies*, with its consequent wounded *esprit du corps*, which leads to the bitterness of their official utterances, their periodical literature, and their political action—a bitterness which pains and startles the ordinary Churchman who cannot understand what the Church has done to cause it. One feels a positive shudder, when a person, in the responsible position of the head of the Baptist Society, speaking in that position in his public annual address, and then printing the same in the official document—can bid the Church of England look to Ireland, talk of the *death* (as he assumes) of the Irish Church, and then, with an allusion to Ananias and Sapphira, say to the Church of England, "The feet of them that carried her out, are at the door to carry you out." Then turning from the Church of England he appeals to Mr. Gladstone, as the destroyer of the Irish Church, and says, "What we have heard you did in Capernaum, do here in your own country." Unhappily these words stand in print, besides having been spoken officially by the head of the Baptist body. This, as it seems to me, serves to guide us as to our relations with Dissent. On the political side, conciliation is hopeless; anything like negociation between the Church as a body, and the Dissenting communities as *bodies* must be a chimera, if the head of one of those communities can speak thus in his official capacity. The day for that, if ever it existed, is gone by. Not so as to our relations with individuals. Believe me when I say that Dissenters by the thousand *feel* the weak points of their systems infinitely more than you or I can know them, because they know them better than we do; and the recruiting ground for future members is narrowing day by day. *Our* weak point is that in the great centres of population the clergy are fewest. If, in the north of England, the clergy were anything like as numerous as they are in the south—if the Church of England were represented anything like as fully—in proportion to population as it is in the south, *i.e.*, if the teeming masses of our population had churches to go to, and clergy to minister to them, I believe that ten years would see a mighty alteration in the face of things.

The Church is doing her work well, so far as the number of her clergy will allow; the Dissenters know and feel it, and they are turning towards us with instinctive reverence. How do things compare? Let us take as a standard a diocese which is well and efficiently worked,—the diocese of Salisbury. In that diocese for a population of 380,000, we find 680 clergy, and 480 parish churches. Durham with a population of 1,100,000, three times as many as Salisbury, has 510 clergy, and 350 parish churches. Chester, with a population of 1,500,000—four times as many—has 634 clergy, and 416 churches; Manchester, with hard upon 2,000,000, or five times as many as Salisbury, has 700 clergy, and 450 parish churches. I cannot enumerate farther; but look at all these millions in the few dioceses I have named; with this handful of clergy, all told, curates and all aged and infirm incumbents included! Why, if every one were a hero in his work and a giant in his strength, still the picture would be one of hungry sheep unfed, not because the pastors are unfaithful, but because there are not pastors to feed them or churches to receive them. We want more clergy and more parishes and to this end we want more dioceses and there-

fore more Bishops, if we are to draw Dissenters into our system. Believe me, Church expansion is the way to solve the problem, and Church expansion depends, to a greater degree than we have any conception of, upon Episcopal expansion. It is a well-worn phrase, "More Bishops!" and perhaps the word has somewhat lost its charm and therefore I would stamp that movement with the words, "Diocesan Extension" or "Diocesan Expansion." I need not dwell on the marvellous way in which the Church was almost created in the diocese of Ripon by the self-sacrificing and unostentatious labours of Bishop Longley. When I came to read the noble charge in which Bishop Wilberforce summed up his many years labour in Oxford, I could not but ask, "Would that there might be, in corresponding detail an account of the work done in the Episcopate of Bishop Longley whereby a Church was created in the West Riding of Yorkshire," because there was an experiment made to grapple with a population almost given over to Dissent. Church expansion I believe to be the first great step to be taken, and the next individual courtesies—individual readiness to explain matters with Dissenting individuals, on the part alike of laity and clergy. A system cannot go on long without individuals to work it. If as is most true, the Dissenting ministry is declining, and if, as is equally true, the Dissenting laity are demanding higher culture, then the Dissenting systems may ere long be like shells cast on the sea shore, by some receding tide, the living creatures within them having departed; and there the shells remain only to bear witness to what once was there, but is there no longer.

Mr. Thomas Hughes, Q.C.

In order to make clear what I have to say about the relations between the Church and Dissent, I must endeavour in the first place to state distinctly the standpoint from which I and those who agree with me look upon ours, as a national Church. It has been, of course, and is, in one sense, a Catholic Church. If we mean by that a portion of the great body of Christian worshippers throughout the world it is to utter a truism; but the moment we get beyond that none of us can agree. (No, no.) Well, at any rate, we can all agree that it is a national Church; and your Grace knows, as well as anybody, perhaps, that those amongst whom I have been educated and brought up believe that that is a very noble name—that the nation is holy as well as the Church; that God cares about the nation just as much as He cares about the Church; and that Christ is the King of the nation as well as the Head of the Church. Believing this, as I do, you may imagine the astonishment—I may almost say the dismay—with which persons who concur in the views I have just stated, must read some of the remarks which apparently have been received with applause in this hall. I have got in my hands a statement which was made in a paper read by a dignitary who was supposed, I presume, to represent probably the strongest body in the Church of England. He said that the standard of prosperity of Church and State is essentially different; that the State prospers when its members increase and are wealthy; the Church when its disciples are conformed to the example of its great Head. (Cheers.) Well, my friends, I do not perhaps interpret rightly what that applause means, but if it means that the standard of prosperity of the Church and State ought not to be the same, I confess that applause startles and astonishes me. Why, my friends, I have always believed that this warning the world to keep its distance, is precisely the standard of the sects, and not of the Church. I have heard that it is sects that divide things secular and religious, and that they say the nation is not holy, that God is is not caring for this English nation as He cared for the Jewish nation of old. I have always believed that this was the touchstone

of the position of the sects and not of the Church. I have been taught by great divines to regard the Church of England as the nation in its relations with the invisible. I believe it to be the organisation of the highest national life. I may be asked how does this theory tally with the fact, that those sects of whom I am speaking and for whom I entertain great respect, all deny it as much as this dignitary of the Church denied it in his paper on Wednesday last? The denial, I am told, comes from all sides; but, my friends, the denial will not alter the fact. Supposing that all of us chose to deny that we are Englishmen, can that alter the fact of our nationality? Because I do not choose to be called an Englishman, and refuse, so far as I can, to submit to the conditions of English citizenship, can that make me less an Englishman? I see at once, from indications of feeling in this hall, that my view is not shared by many of you; but it is, nevertheless, a view which I can vouch to be, from my own knowledge, held by many who belong to the Church who are not less earnest members of it than you yourselves. While the English Church lasts, Englishmen, whatever we choose to say, cannot take themselves outside it. So long as there is a national Church, surely my friends on the platform, and all of you in the hall, will agree that, in theory, at all events, it should embrace the whole of the nation; and therefore, I say, while it exists it is no more possible for people to unmake that unity because they wish to unmake it than it is to unmake their nationality to which they were born. They may return to it and acknowledge it, but they cannot unmake it.

What is the duty then of the national Church under these circumstances? Surely it is the duty of the nation and the Church to make the return to unity as easy as possible to all those who are outside. Are we doing that? My friends on the platform say "Yes." I wish I could agree with them with any truth; but I confess that that is not the conviction which has come home to me from an anxious study of this subject. The nation in past times has settled the form of Christianity which it thinks best for this people of England. (No, no.) At any rate, that is my view; and I would only ask, if the nation has not done this, who has? The nation has formulated that Christianity in its Articles and its Prayer-book. If the nation has not done it, I should like to know who has? I should like to know what is the meaning of the Common Prayer-book at all, unless it is the Prayer-book that has been recognised by this nation? The nation has placed churches and national officers in every parish. My friends cry "No, no!" Well, I should like to know who has placed them in the different parishes of this country? At any rate, my friends, that is my belief; and those who think with me hold this to be one of the most precious portions of our national inheritance. The clergy are the officers and guardians of that national Church, an inheritance which many of us laymen, at any rate, value above almost every other portion of our national inheritance; and how are they doing their duty? I admit that they are doing their duty nobly in many ways, and I speak as one who is not only cordially but most intimately connected with the clergy, the national officers of the Church; for my grandfather was a clergyman, my brother is a clergyman, I have very many relations who are clergymen. All the most intimate friends I have had in my life, whom I have at present, are amongst the clergy; and no one honours them or their work more highly than I do; but for all that I am bound to acknowledge that that inheritance of which I am speaking is in danger, and that danger is mainly due to the conduct of the clergy in their relations with the Dissent of this country. They have become too professional in a narrow sense, they are separating themselves too much from the nation in general, and particularly from that portion of it which is outside their own lines, I mean their Nonconformist brethren. They seem to forget that after all they are *servi servorum Dei;* that they are to minister not only to their own immediate congregations, like the Dissenting ministers, but to every Englishman who may desire their services. I speak from

my own conscientious view of what is the real state of the case. Let me by a couple of illustrations show what is the policy pursued by the clergy, which I think is endangering this most precious part of our inheritance. I would refer to two questions which have lately come under their consideration. There is the title of "Reverend"—the title which has been appropriated by the nation to the ministers of Christ in this country. A Nonconformist minister claimed that title, and you all know what happened. Instead of the clergy of the Church of England saying, "By all means, you are a minister of the Church of Christ—and we are only too glad that you come forward and claim the national title set apart by the nation for that ministry." (No, no.) I told you, my friends, that I looked at the question from this point of view as a layman, the most precious part of whose inheritance, and his children's inheritance, is, as he believes, endangered by the policy which you are carrying out.

Then take the burials question. I confess, when the rev. gentleman read the first paper just now, and touched on the subject, I was astonished at the response with which his remarks were received. It seems to me and to all laymen—to all laymen whom I know—they may not be known to you, but there are many more than you appear to imagine—at any rate, they think this burials question is virtually settled. We think so; I think so. We think you ought to welcome Englishmen who come forward and claim their portion in the national burying-grounds of this country, and join in making easy conditions for their admission. (No, no.) I anticipated that response to such a statement. If the clergy or this assembly think that the opinion of the country is with them, I believe they will find they are grievously and sorely mistaken. Let me illustrate my view in another way. There is a national army in England. That national army has the charge of the parade grounds, ranges, and the other military machinery of the country. A great army of volunteers has come forward and are desiring to share these ranges and these military facilities with the national army of this country. This movement has been going on for a few years past. I happen to have seen a good deal of it; and I can only say that where there have been wise national officers who have put those facilities and advantages as far as possible at the disposal of those who come forward as volunteers in the same cause as themselves, they have entirely carried with them those volunteer bodies, and have been able to do almost whatever they pleased in educating them professionally. Let me show how that bears upon the relations of the Church of England with Dissent. There is a clergyman—or rather I wish I could call him a friend—with whom I have the honour of a slight acquaintance, who was appointed two years ago to a town in the north of England, which was almost entirely filled with Dissenters. It was, indeed, the stronghold of the Liberation Society. The Liberation Society this autumn proposed to hold a meeting in that town; but the different Nonconformist congregations sent to the Liberation Society, and said if they came there, none of the congregations would attend, because they would think it very disrespectful to their vicar, of whom they were very proud. It was not by taking the line, which seems to be the popular line here on the Burials Bill, that that result was obtained. While this Congress has been sitting there has been a similar gathering of one of the great Nonconformist communities of this country—that of the Baptist Union. It is now sitting, I believe, at Newport. I was reading the remarks of the Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown, in a sermon which he preached at the opening of that meeting. He there urges that denominationalism forms the strength, and not the weakness of the Church. Well, of course, I cannot myself agree with that; but, at any rate, I do say that constant, friendly relations with the Nonconformist bodies would act as a spur to zeal. The ideal, of course, is unity. Will these bodies come back to the Church? I am sorry to say that it seems to me scarcely anybody in this room, except Mr. Harwood and myself, has the slightest hope of such

a result as that. I quite admit that considerable changes will have to be made and great courage shown by the Church if that union is to take place. I firmly believe that we must alter our Articles if the Union is to be brought about. (No, no.) I hear dissent to that, but I should feel glad if it were done, because, in reading them through, I recognise them as a venerable and most valuable document—a document which was of the greatest service at the time it was prepared by the wise Churchmen of those days, but for us, I must say, it is certainly obsolete. I will mention only one Article, and ask any Churchman in this hall whether he cordially, and *bonâ-fide*, accepts its teaching; I mean the Thirteenth, which says that works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of His Spirit, have no doubt the nature of sin. I do not believe there are many persons in this room who do not think that, if we are to get back to the unity we ought to desire, we shall have to alter not only the Articles, but also other portions of the Prayer-book. I do not believe the alterations will be at all extensive. But I think that, with wisdom, they may very well be made. Wisdom and courage will be necessary; and wisdom and courage we must have if we are to retain the national Church in this country. I believe that we are quite as competent as our fathers to do such a work, and that God is just as much with the nation now as He was then. If we set to work in the spirit in which they set to work, I believe we shall, by God's help, be able also to provide, once more, a new framework for the Church which will make it again, as it once was, the worthy national Church of the people of England.

DISCUSSION.

Rev. Nevison Loraine.

The relations between the National Church and Nonconformity are extremely unsatisfactory, and I fear they are increasingly so. The lines of demarcation are being gradually darkened, and the feeling of separation deepened. These things ought not so to be. A distinguished Churchman in his sermon at a former Congress pointed out that the fault of this unhappy estrangement lay not on one side alone. "Our neglect," he observed, "has given to Nonconformity its strength."* The sad story so honestly told by the Dean of Bangor this morning of the alienation of the people of the Principality from the National Church, by the conduct of Churchmen in times past, might easily find an unhappy parallel in many districts in England. Surely the experiences of the past should correct the present and the future. I venture to tell Canon Ashwell, however, that he must not take the statements of what he calls Dissenting organs, as a safe index of the tone of Nonconformist feeling towards the Church. We Churchmen would scarcely like to be judged by some of our so called religious organs. Nor is Canon Ashwell correct in ascribing, to any great extent, the secession of young men of thought and culture from the ministry of Nonconformity for that of the Church of England, because of their "fear of the deacons." That were a cowardly motive. I am persuaded that it is rather because of an increasing acquaintance with and love for those primitive principles of Catholic antiquity on which our Anglican Church is founded, that they are drawn to the mother Church of England. My Lord, I am one of those who long for the closer union of Christendom—not necessarily for oneness of outer form, that is quite secondary. Wherever thought, taste, feeling are busy with great questions, there will and must be diversity. It is so in science, art, politics; and as we move amid the

* Dean of Chester. Sermon to Congress at Liverpool, 1869.

august mysteries of our Divine faith, we cannot reasonably expect to be of one mind; but we may be of one heart. The waves are multiform, the shore line is varied, but the sea is one; and beneath all the varieties of outward form and expression we should have oneness of spirit. But in seeking to promote this closer union of Christendom, I think the Nonconformists of the United Kingdom, our kinsmen according to the flesh, should have our first consideration. There are, it is true, differences of opinion greater or less, dividing us: but how many links of agreement are there by which we are united: "Called in one hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all." Surely here are grand elements of unity in contrast with the—in some cases—almost imperceptible points of division. What are the grounds of separation to wit between the Wesleyans and the Church of England? On the main lines of theological belief the doctrinal system of Wesleyan methodism as exhibited in its own standards is simply that of the formularies of the National Church. The Wesleyan and other sections of Methodists number some 700,000 in Great Britain; and in English speaking communities they number some 13,000,000; a greater number than that of the Roman Church within the same limits. Why should this great community be allowed to glide away into alienation from the mother Church to which they are united by a thousand ties? There are the sister establishments of Scotland, too, with half the population of Scotland, the now United, Free, and Presbyterians' Church, and the Congregationalists, etc., in England. Should our efforts for re-union not begin, and begin at once, and with earnest and loving vigour with those who are eminently near to us? And in making this appeal I place myself under the shadow of a great and honoured name. The Archbishop of Canterbury is reported to have said in Convocation in February, 1875, "desiring most heartily that there should be union, and looking upon the divisions that separate Christians as a great stumbling-block in the way of our Master's kingdom, I naturally feel more with regard to those divisions which separate us from those with whom we are by nationality and by language, and by the country in which we live, connected, than, with regard to those divisions which separate us from persons who are at a very great distance locally. I cannot help thinking that the very greatest desire and the heart of every Englishman should be that those who speak the English language, and believe in the same gospel, should, if possible, be united in their efforts to promote their Redeemer's kingdom. I think that if I am to begin I should prefer beginning with union with those who are about our own doors." I thanked God when I read these generous and wise words; and I know they touched a chord of reciprocal goodwill in many a Nonconformist's heart. Nor was the Archbishop alone in these views. The Bishop of Winchester said, on the same occasion, "Much as I desire union with the old Catholics and the Eastern Church, there is nothing I desire so as to see all Christians in this country united in one body and in one spirit. I have always held the doctrine that the Nonconformists of this country have a right to all the offices of the Church of England. When I was myself a parish priest I never made any distinction between Churchmen and Nonconformists." If this had been the spirit of the clergy generally in times past, our "unhappy divisions" would not have been so marked to-day. And these divisions are the weakness and the shame of Christendom. In correspondence with a sceptic recently, he met my appeal to him by the objection "how many sects divide Christendom; and with little love between them?" The objection of difference of opinion was easily met, but before that charge of "little love," I bowed my head in silence. And when he added "something wrong here," I felt he was right. There is something wrong here; and I know no subject more worthy the devout and resolute purpose of Churchmen in this great Congress, than the how that wrong may be put right. And I heartily venture to hope when the Bishops in communion with our Church from all parts of the world, meet next

year at Lambeth, this subject may occupy their grave consideration. May God give them a right judgment. A question is at present exciting much attention, and, if we may judge from what we have seen here this morning, one in danger of making division rather than union, namely, the Burials question. But there is a prior question—a question which, if judiciously dealt with, would take the fire out of many other burning questions; not how are the dead to be brought into the place of the dead, but the question is how shall we bring back the living men and women of England, who love the Lord Jesus Christ, but who are outside of, and in some cases hostile to, the national communion, again into the arms of, or at least into loving sympathy with the mother Church of England. That is the question: may we consider it seriously, and be instant in prayer to the good God and Father of all that He will enable us to exhibit the proofs not only of our sound Churchmanship, but that we are the disciples of Him who gave us the new commandment, "Love one another."

Rev. Canon Ryle.

I am much obliged to his Grace for allowing me to say a few words, as an Evangelical Churchman, on this great subject. I have found that some persons, since I have been at Croydon, regard me as a Nonconformist myself, and one said, "Here comes that dreadful Ryle; he is nothing better than a Dissenter." But, though I am a Low Churchman, I am a very true Churchman indeed, and, in desire to promote the best interests of the Church of England, I give place to none. In a great army there will be infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and each branch of the force has its own peculiar dress and mode of fighting. But you will remember that although their uniform and equipments are different, they all fight on the same side. I think we all ought to exercise the utmost gentleness, tenderness, and kindness, in dealing with our Nonconformist brethren. It is true they say hard and rough things about us, but do we not sometimes say hard and rough things about them? We must not forget that the Church of England has made many of them Dissenters. We cannot deny that there was an immense amount of intolerance in the time of the Stuarts. We must confess that it was the indifference of the Church in the last century which drove out the two Wesleys and Whitfield to preach in the lanes and on the commons because there was no church for them to preach in. It is rather hard, then, to turn on those who through our own neglect, indifference, and persecution, have been made Nonconformists, and blame them for Nonconformity. Let us regard the Nonconformist ministers as men and brethren—let us deal with them as gentlemen. I found when I first went to my parish of Stradbroke, that there was a clever and lively young Baptist minister settled there. He was about to deliver a lecture on poetry, and he sent to me to ask if I could lend him Chaucer, as he happened not to have it. I lent it him, and told him he was quite welcome to any other books I had in my library. He availed himself of my offer, and the result was he would never allow a word to be said against me, and always treated me with the greatest respect. Courtesy costs very little and is worth much in dealing with Dissenters. I hope, also, that you will always co-operate with them whenever you can. Do not be angry with me for saying that I always attend the meetings of the British and Foreign Bible Society when I can. I go to show that there is common ground—the ground of the Word of God—between the Nonconformists and us. And if we bear in mind that the late Bishop Wilberforce called on the Nonconformists to assist in revising our translation of the Word of God, surely there can be no great harm if we co-operate with them in circulating it. Let us also be

careful not to do anything which will tend to repel Nonconformists. You know, or at least the ladies know, there is such a thing in society as flirtation. It often means nothing and leads to nothing. Still, it attracts notice, and is very misleading. It sometimes does a great deal of harm, and requires a great deal of explanation. Let me bring that to the present point and say, let us have no flirtation with Popery and the Church of Rome. Do not be angry with me. These are points on which you and I differ, but there are High Churchmen who indulge in this sort of thing. It may mean nothing, and it may lead to nothing. But depend upon it you do great harm when you give occasion to the people to say you are flirting with the Church of Rome. Nothing certainly is more likely to drive the Nonconformists away from us. Let me beg of you, then, to have no flirting with Popery and the Church of Rome. Let me give you an illustration of what I mean from Church history. You all know the history of James II., and why he lost his crown. You all know that he flirted with Popery, and even did more than that, and you know that those gallant and noble men, the seven Bishops, went to the Tower because they would not submit to it. You have, I doubt not, read in the graphic pages of Lord Macaulay how they were followed to the Tower by the blessings and prayers of Protestant London—for London was always a Protestant city. Let us, then, as they did, show our Nonconformist brethren that our Church is a really Protestant Church, and that we do not mean to go back to Popery, whatever we may do about ornaments. Let them see that we are true to the Church of England, true to our Articles, true to the Prayer Book, true to the grand principles of the Reformation, and we shall take the most likely course to pave the way to reunion, and bring back the Nonconformists.

Rev. W. Benham.

His Grace the Archbishop in his opening address told us that the prospects of our Church were bright, and with regard to the present question I feel assured that that picture is true. I conclude that it is so, first from the attitude of the Nonconformists themselves. Whatever bitterness there may have been in past times, in the present day with such men as John Stoughton, Henry Allon, and Baldwin Brown, and other leading Nonconformists, you cannot speak of Dissent as mere bitterness against the Church. Speaking of personal religion, I have read the "Meditations" of Baldwin Brown, and in them there is pure gold and plenty of it; and if we can get it on our side what an enormous gain that would be! My second reason for hopefulness is derived from the speeches we have heard here; though all the clergy are not of one school, it is clear that they all recognise that they have a divine authority and a divine mission. We are the bride as well as the body of Christ. We do not all agree with Canon Ryle, but all I hope have his work on St. John—it is full of excellent reading. He knows what he means when in the rite of baptism he says "seeing now that this child is regenerate." They are not mere words, and I am sure he means what he says. Again, no one can deny the doctrine of sacramental grace who uses the prayer of "humble access," and that when we speak in the Holy Office of "eating and drinking the body and blood of Christ," we have a real meaning, and we shall attract the Nonconformists not by undervaluing our formularies or by falling short of the truth, but by faithfulness to our creeds and to the faith. Whatever persecuting there may have been in past times, it is over now, and the attitude of the Church now is, the offering to them supplementary truth to that which they already hold, and love. Canon Ashwell mentioned the noble work of Longley in the Bishopric of Ripon, but he might also have mentioned another man, Dean Hook. We owe to those

two men that the West Riding is now so strong as regards Churchmanship. Another hopeful fact to which we may look is the great fund established by the late Bishop of London for the metropolis, by which so many churches have been built, in which Christ is held up to the people in our sacraments and creeds. In my parish I have a Quaker who is a good man and influential, with whom I am in constant intercourse. Though the veil between us is opaque, it is very thin. He tells me that he likes me, and thinks well of me; and the person he likes best next to myself is the Right Rev. the Bishop of Lincoln there on the platform—and whenever the Bishop publishes anything the Quaker buys it and reads it. I mention this to illustrate my hope that we are nearer than we think. I do not think, indeed, that I shall ever get him to be a Churchman. He is sixty years of age, and as we get older we cling the faster to our more youthful prejudices, but I have lent him "The Kingdom of Christ," by Frederick Maurice. I did know once however, of a young curate, a friend of mine, who is gone to his rest, who succeeded by God's help in bringing a Quaker family to baptism, and they continue staunch members of the Church to this day. In conclusion, let me refer to a case which is nearer to you. If any Nonconformist had been where I was three or four nights ago, and had heard an old man who has fulfilled his three score years and ten, plead with such earnestness on behalf of his Invisible Lord and His Church—I allude to Canon Carter—such a Nonconformist would feel that we have greater grounds for union than all our differences.

Rev. Canon Brooke.

I would say a word to recall thoughts which we ought to carry away from such a meeting as this. Our subject is the relation of Nonconformists to the Church in the nineteenth century. The nineteenth century has seen the greater part of its course; but part of it remains. The future is to us the most important, and we may forecast the future by looking back. Doing that we shall find that in this century Nonconformists have gone further from the Church politically, but come nearer to it religiously and socially. Whether the separation or the coming together is to increase, will depend on the attitude we take towards them. I trust we shall so act as to make our convergence increase more and more, until we come together. There are hopes that we may. Not only have the Nonconformists come nearer to us in many observances of religion, and nearer on points to which formerly there was strong objection; but there are indications which lead to the conclusion that there is one Spirit working in one body, whether we are called by one name or another. We should recognise that it is only the working of the Holy Spirit of God that can bring any human being into personal relationship with Christ and into true religion; and when it pleases the Holy Spirit to use the instrumentality of man, and to use it with effect, it is not for us to forbid those men to carry on the work which the Holy Spirit has given them to do. Now it has pleased the Holy Spirit not only to work in the hearts of Nonconformists, but to use their efforts to bring men into spiritual relationship with God; and while that is so, what we should do is to work with the Spirit in the great work which He has given us all equally to do. Let us recognise true Christian brotherhood wherever it exists, so that having one heart and one mind, there will in time be one body.

Mr. Beresford Hope, M.P.

I have no time to traverse the argument of my friend Mr. Hughes, but when I listened to it I thought that a skilful logician, carrying it to its legitimate conclusion, would say that it proved that there was a particular and special God for England. I proceed to Canon Ryle. He has pointed out that there is great danger in spiritual flirtations, and has given us a shocking example from the reign of James II., who was an unparalleled flirt, no doubt; but did he not flirt with the Nonconformists, and they with him? In all this he was ably backed by an assistant named Penn; but what did the seven Bishops go to the Tower for? Was it not because they would not have any flirtation with the co-flirting Papists and Nonconformists? Was it not the Declaration of Toleration which sent them there? And who were those seven Bishops? Were they not High Churchmen, if any ever existed? If they (or, at least, five of them) had not committed the honest but deplorable mistake of setting up the orthodox but schismatic "non-juring Church" things might have been very different now. As to the relations of Churchmanship and Nonconformity, whatever treatment the Dissenters might have had in the seventeenth century, only five per cent. of the English people were, we are assured, Nonconformists in the reign of Queen Anne. But for the non-juror calamity we might have escaped many of those differences of which we have now so many. I merely rose to correct an historical blunder, and to say that, whether with Miss Rome or Miss Geneva, let us avoid flirtations. But let it be remembered that the great historic flirtation of James II.'s day was that of Papists with the Dissenters, and the immortal opponents of that flirtation were seven High Church Bishops.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 12th.

The Most Reverend the President took the Chair at Half-past Two o'clock.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL STUDY:—

a.—The best methods of diffusing Biblical and Theological Knowledge.

b.—The Study of Prophecy, its object and importance.

a.—The best methods of diffusing Biblical and Theological Knowledge.

PAPERS.

Professor Stanley Leathes.

I must begin by saying that the subject assigned me was not in any way one of my own choosing, nor do I feel myself in any degree specially qualified to deal with it. I am, moreover, by no means clear about the object which those who chose it had in view. I must

therefore take the title as it stands on the list, and treat it as it presents itself to me. I presume then, by Biblical knowledge is meant knowledge of the Bible, and by Theological knowledge is meant knowledge of Theology. Either of these in itself is a very wide subject, and when we speak of knowledge of the Bible it is by no means certain what is meant. In its truest and most appropriate sense it must include, if indeed it can be independent of, a knowledge of the Greek Testament and a knowledge of the Hebrew Bible. And if the diffusion of the knowledge of the Bible is to include both of these, and especially the latter, I confess I am not only at a loss as to the *best* methods of securing it, but as to any very successful methods whatever. There is no royal road to learning, and a man cannot be well acquainted either with the Greek Testament or the Hebrew Bible without being, at all events to a certain degree, learned; and the only way to become learned is to learn, and the only way of diffusing learning is to induce an ever increasing number of people to submit to the toil and discipline of learning. And then I would say that this end can never be obtained till people are content to pursue knowledge simply for its own sake. As long as persons will persist in studying with no other end in view than a place or a class in an examination, or the money return that is to follow from it when obtained, it is useless to talk of the diffusion of knowledge, and yet as far as my experience serves me of at least one university 20 or 25 years ago, this was eminently the fashion then. And the very thought of knowledge, as such, was treated with derision and contempt. There were for the most part two classes:—those who were idle and ignorant, and those who read because they had a reasonable hope of the rewards which reading held out to them. As for zest or interest in the subject of study for the subject's own sake, it was a thing unknown among the great majority of men, or if known, regarded with something akin to scorn or pity, and from what was told me only last week by one eminent Cambridge professor, I gathered that things were not altogether reformed now. But if this is the case, and as long as it is so, I can only say that we may increase our universities and colleges to an indefinite extent, but we shall fail to diffuse a true and sound spirit of knowledge, whether Biblical, Theological, or Scientific.

I conceive, however, that a man may acquire a very real and serviceable knowledge of the Bible without the knowledge of Greek or Hebrew, indispensable as these are for one who would go on unto perfection. And I would observe, in passing, that though one of these branches has now by prescription obtained a place among the indispensable requirements of the clergy, the same can hardly yet be said of the other. A knowledge of the chief language of the Old Testament is no part of the minister's invariable equipment. And I am by no means sure that the reproach of the old words does not linger as an indomitable prejudice in many minds.

> For Hebrew roots are always found
> To flourish most in barren ground.

But, waiving this, I think we must recognise the fact that if Biblical knowledge is to be diffused to any large extent, it can only be by

diffusing the knowledge of the *English* Bible. The Bible is pre-eminently the book for the masses, far more so than Milton or Shakespeare, however desirable it may be that the knowledge of these writers should be more and more diffused. But the knowledge of the Bible is indispensable to the masses, if, at least, we share the conviction of St. Paul, that the Holy Scriptures, and they alone, "are able to make us wise unto salvation." Now it is absurd to suppose that the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures in Greek and Hebrew can be diffused among the masses; we must therefore seek to grapple with the far higher and more important question how to diffuse the knowledge of the Bible, which in this case is necessarily the *English* Bible, among the masses. And here we are bound to ask ourselves how far we are really in earnest in the attempt. The English Church, as a reformed Church, unquestionably takes her stand upon the Bible. She is a witness for the Word of God. Her ultimate appeal is to the Bible. One of her chief grounds of contention with the Church of Rome was that, whereas the latter had shut up the Bible and taken it away from the people, she restored it to them and opened it. She knows no authority higher than the Bible, or so high, and if, in the long run, it can be shewn that her own position is inconsistent with the Bible, she is pledged by the very charter of her own existence to surrender it. The very object for which she exists is that she may instruct the people out of the Word of God, not out of the decrees of Councils or the writings of Fathers, but out of the Word of God itself, as the very fountain-head beyond which it is not possible to go. If then this is our belief, it is clear that the problem how to diffuse the knowledge of the Bible is emphatically the problem of the English Church.

But at the very outset there are two notions prevalent which have largely taken possession of men's minds, and interfere with and impede this office of the Church. One is the notion that the Bible *requires an interpreter*, and the other is the notion that the Bible is *superannuated*. With regard to the former, one can hardly meet it with a direct negative, because to do so would be manifestly absurd. There is unquestionably no book so open to illustration and interpretation as the Bible, and the flood of illustration that flows in upon it increases day by day. There is no book that has been so often and so voluminously interpreted as the Bible, and none which yet requires it so much. But for all that, unless the Bible has a story of its own to tell, and is capable of telling it, we may be quite sure it would not have found or demanded so many interpreters. It is because the Bible is admittedly the greatest of books, that therefore it must be the most intelligible of books; it is because the Bible is the greatest of books, that therefore it must be adapted for the greatest number of readers; because its message is for the world, and not for any class, whether priests or professors, that therefore it can, so to say, be satisfied with nothing less than the world for its readers. To acknowledge that it contains the secret of secrets, the very words of eternal life, and yet to withhold it from the people, is to be grossly inconsistent with ourselves. But a book is great in proportion to the greatness of its thoughts, and the clearness with

which it enunciates them; the Bible therefore cannot be the great book which by universal consent it is admitted to be, unless it can make, and has succeeded in making, its great central thoughts intelligible. And this, be it observed, may well be the case, even though there may still be abundant room for elucidation, illustration, disquisition, and interpretation. The broad and general message, for example, of the Gospel of St. Mark, or the Acts of the Apostles, or even the Epistle to the Romans, is sufficiently obvious to every one. The more each is read, pondered, and digested, the more it will take hold of, and sink down into, the mind. And we dare not say, while professing to hold the Bible in honour, that it can be other than good for the masses of the people to become more and more imbued with the central truth and message of these marvellous documents of the Bible. To this end they need no interpreter, but may be *trusted* to interpret themselves. If we suppose that we can interpret them better, we must surely claim for ourselves or our society the honour we have already assigned to them. That is to say, we must trust ourselves or our society more than we can trust them.

With regard to the other notion that the Bible is *superannuated*, that will depend upon what we suppose to be the scope of the Bible, and upon the effect it has produced upon ourselves. If we regard the Bible from a merely intellectual and scientific point of view, we shall not improbably suppose that other intellectual or scientific productions have superseded it. If we suppose that its message relates to a unique subject, upon which all other written documents are silent or uninformed, we shall be willing to accept its message, and more than ever desirous to bring that message home to others. And this is the problem before us. How are we to deal with it? The English Church inculcates upon all sponsors the duty of calling upon the baptised to hear sermons. The office of the preacher therefore must surely stand foremost in this matter. "The Lord gave the Word, great was the company of them that published it." Notwithstanding the revolution brought about by printing, the office of the preacher, especially in the diffusion of Biblical knowledge, can never become obsolete. Great as is the use to be made of printing, it will hardly be independent of preaching. The more knowledge there is of the Bible through printing, the more its own peculiar ordinance of preaching will be held in honour. We cannot therefore contemplate the wide diffusion of knowledge of the Bible apart from the Divinely-appointed ordinance of preaching the Word. This must ever be the most powerful agency in making known the truths of the Bible—in getting them to take hold of the heart. It is often said that we have too many sermons, but the fact is, that our sermons do not penetrate where they are most wanted. The slums and rookeries of London are alike impervious to the preached or the printed Word of God. The difficulty is to reach them, whether by Tract or Bible or otherwise; but most assuredly, if the knowledge of the Bible could be brought to enter there, it would cause "the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose."

And yet it is not the mere knowledge of the Bible that is wanted,

but that knowledge which is peculiarly its own—the saving knowledge of the Bible. For it cannot be too often or too emphatically asserted, that there is a knowledge of the Bible which misses, if it does not defeat, its own object. If the appointed office of Holy Scripture is to make "wise unto salvation," then Holy Scripture must both be specially adapted to accomplish this end, and also have failed in its object till this end is accomplished. But preaching is a comprehensive work, and is by no means to be limited to pulpit ministration. And so it must lead on to and embrace all kinds of classes for the study of, and instruction in the Scriptures, Cottage Lectures, Sunday Schools, and the like. These are all so many ramifications of the root-office of preaching or making known the Word. They are all most important in themselves. They cannot be over-rated; they cannot be surpassed; nothing can be substituted for them. We cannot invent or suggest other machinery, we can but multiply, develop, and use this. If any other agency offers itself, by all means let us gratefully seize it, but on no account let us ever forget, that in the existing machinery ready to our hand, there are available the most ample means of diffusing a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, which shall make the masses "wise unto salvation." The great danger is lest in the means we should lose sight of the end, and in seeking to develop the agency, should forget the one object of the act. There is reason to believe, that together with, and perhaps in consequence of all our manifold reading in the present day, we are apt to neglect the study of Scripture. There should be more individual and private study of Holy Writ. There is reason to fear that oftentimes the Bible is, after all, the least read book upon the shelves. There should be more systematic and careful study of it in the family, more devout and searching investigation of its treasures in private. Notwithstanding the Biblical atmosphere in which we all live from the constant reading of Scripture in church and the like, it is simply astonishing how much ignorance of the Bible there is amongst us; how little those who suppose themselves familiar with Scripture really know of it. This is a blot which all should endeavour to remove, but it can only be removed by earnest and intelligent study of Holy Writ; not as a thing which is to act as a kind of charm, but as a book which is really charged by God with a living message for living and for dying men.

Lastly, with reference to diffusing the knowledge of Theology. What is Theology? It is the science of the relation between God and man. It is the application of the message of the Bible to the wants and problems of the heart and life. It deals with the solution by means of the Bible, of the mysteries of our being, theoretical and practical. Theology regarded in any other aspect is a dream and a cobweb, devoid of all human interest, and too frail for the maintenance of the hopes of man. The Theologian is he who can grapple with the problems of life in the light of God's Word, and through the strength imparted by his own felt experience and knowledge of its truth, not he who is deep merely in theological lore, and in the discussions of the schools. A celebrated theologian, many years ago, declared publicly that there was "not one word in Scripture of

our applying to ourselves the promises of the Gospel." I can hardly conceive a more complete *reductio ad absurdum* of the science of theology. I can hardly imagine a more conclusive proof of the desirableness of diffusing among the people at large a knowledge of the Bible, in contradistinction to a knowledge of theology, if this is the theology to be diffused. But in point of fact, the foundation of of all true theology is a knowledge of the Bible, embracing of course, in its higher branches, a knowledge of the languages in which it is written, which is then absolutely indispensable, but, being in relation to the great mass of the people, necessarily independent of it. And if we can only get the popular mind more thoroughly saturated with the teaching of Scripture, and the knowledge of Scripture, by whatever means it may be accomplished, we may be quite sure we shall have laid the foundation, not only of a knowledge of theology in individuals here and there, but much more of morality, honesty, righteousness, and virtue in the nation at large, and therefore of national greatness and of national prosperity; for if the message of the Gospel, which is the message of eternal life, can be brought home to the heart of the nation, and applied by the several units of the nation, each one to himself, in its promises, its privileges, and its obligations, we shall then have well nigh, if not completely, realised the glorious vision of the ancient prophet, "Thy children shall be all taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of Thy children." This will be the natural result of the diffusion of the theology of the Bible, and it is that which the *saving* knowledge of the Bible can alone produce.

As a practical suggestion, I have only to add that the more general formation of classes for the study of Scripture of a higher kind, such as those held by the late Mr. Maurice, and the establishment of prizes for Scriptural knowledge in our schools, as is the case at Harrow, are among the best methods of diffusing Biblical knowledge that commend themselves to me. But with regard to classes, there is the two-fold difficulty of getting them together, and of retaining them when formed; and I know from experience that prizes may be founded and yet attract but few competitors, and therefore it seems that the best method of diffusing Scriptural knowledge is to create a more general thirst and desire for it, and to remember and inculcate the fact that it is within the power of everyone, by individual effort, to satisfy the desire where created.

The Dean of Durham.

My Lord Archbishop,—The subject which the committee have placed in my hands is the best method of diffusing "Biblical and Theological Knowledge"—and from its very general character I hope that I am right in concluding that you will allow full freedom of choice as to the particular part of the subject which I may select. I confess that I had a good deal of difficulty in my selection. There are so many methods of diffusing religious truths, and so many classes of persons among whom it may be diffused—

there are the poor, the middle class, the upper class—that I was at first somewhat perplexed to determine to which of these classes the subject was most applicable, while I found it equally difficult to explain *any one method* of diffusing Biblical and Theological knowledge, which should equally embrace all classes. While I was in this little difficulty, I happened to say to an eminent friend of mine, "what shall I make of this subject—what shall I fix on as the best method of diffusing Biblical and Theological truth," and he readily answered "Tell men to attend Lightfoot's lectures," to which another friend of the party added, "I should say, tell them also to attend Liddon's lectures." Well, I will only say (by way of introduction) that I ventured to think the suggestion a true one, *in this sense*, that it contemplated the diffusion of Biblical and Theological truth among the upper, and educated classes of the country, and to this source I must limit my few remarks.

In the first place, may I make a short but very decided protest against the idea that we live in an age in which men of high cultivation are losing their interest in Biblical and Theological knowledge. You will often hear it said that science—exact science of different kinds—is beginning to eject theological interests from the masses of our countrymen, and that an increasing class is becoming indifferent to them. Now let us here distinguish. That there is a good deal more of scepticism than there was 40 years ago I nowise deny, however I may lament it: but that this arises from an indifference to those subjects of thought, which undoubtedly come under some department of theology, I do not believe, nor do I think that the facts of the case support the idea. I had the curiosity to look into four leading reviews, which more, perhaps, than any others, indicate the interests of men of high cultivation—*The Nineteenth Century*, the *Fortnightly*, the *Fraser's Magazine*, the *Contemporary*. I found in *The Nineteenth Century*, of nine articles three which dealt largely with theological subjects, one of them being the "Symposium"; in the *Fortnightly* one or two; in the *Contemporary* there were four out of eight, one being by the Bishop of Salisbury on "the Divine office of the Church," and the next on "the Gospel of St. John;" in *Fraser* two, one on "Clericality," one on "Dean Stanley at Saint Andrew's." Now, what I infer from this is *not* that all these articles were orthodox; but I do say, they are proof of a wide-spread, a serious, and a *respectful* interest in religion; they indicate, I may say to my brethren of the clergy, that our countrymen are ready to hear what we have to say—that there is a more respectful attitude (even on the part of those whom I fear we might call doubters) towards Christianity than in almost any previous age. What a contrast, for example, with the state of things amongst the same kind of philosophers, one hundred years ago, when Bishop Butler tells us that it had come to be regarded as a mark of mere weakness of mind that any one should believe Christianity at all, and when Gibbon says that he would not have written his 15th chapter if he had supposed that Christianity had any real hold on the affections of the mass of the nation. And, with this disposition abroad, I maintain that it will be entirely our own

fault if we don't meet it, and that we shall be neglecting one of the very first objects of a Church, and one to which (I say with all respect) our blessed Lord Himself and St. Paul especially pointed, when the one said, "I speak *wisdom* among them that are perfect," and the other, that a Scribe instructed to the kingdom of Heaven must be a householder who could bring forth out of his treasure "things new and old."

What I mean to urge first, then, is this: the most important of all methods at present "for diffusing Biblical and theological knowledge," *to keep up a high standard of learning among our clergy*, to keep them (what in the best times of the Church they have always been) ahead of the thought of the day, to make them shrink from no subjects of enquiry, that enquiry being conducted in a humble and prayerful spirit; and I will take leave afterwards to add that they must not be this, merely in their closets and in their writings, but that the Church of England, if it is to keep its hold on this thoughtful nation, must contain at once a large body of learned men, and also of powerful preachers. In no other way has the Church in great crises—and this *is* a great crisis—ever prevailed. I need not speak of St. Paul, who had ever held the title of the learned and even the philosophical Apostle; but in the great days of the contest about the Trinity, the Church, had Athanasius, one of the most acute, and Jerome, by far the most learned of the fathers, and him who single-handed decided for ever three great controversies—the Pelagian, the Donatist, and the Manichæan—Augustine; in the middle ages it held sway not only by the practical genius of great men like Innocent, but by the undisputed talents of Anselm and Aquinas; in France Bossuet and Pascal almost saved the Church in spite of the profligacy of Louis XIV., XV.; and in our own Church Hooker and Butler have moulded not merely the theologians, but even the politicians and the philosophers of England.

I cannot but hope that even in these few remarks I may have carried you with me, in what may at first seem a paradox, but is really the soberest truth,—that if the Bible and all that thought about God, which I take to be meant by the word theology, are still to keep their hold on the minds of our countrymen, the very prime necessity for this is that we should have a body of clergy whose learning shall enforce respect. And, may I not add, how remarkable has been the legacy and the example which the past Church of England has bequeathed to us in this respect. There has been a dark spot or two, such as the time of which I just spoke, just before Butler, and possibly, too, the end of the last century. But, on the whole, I venture to say that in natural power, and in its truly manly character (in the best sense of the word), and what is not the least important in its *variety*, the great old English theology is second to that of no other Church. I would not be understood to speak in a spirit of, what I may venture to call without offence, a sort of mere insular isolation and self-complacency. I know how great, even though they have been dangerous to us, have been and are the writings of the great Roman theologians—of Bellarmine and of

Bossuet; I must speak with reverence and gratitude of their profound devotional writings, such as Thomas à Kempis, Pascal's Thoughts, and, may I not add, the great bulk of the writings of John Henry Newman. I know, too, that in profound and conscientious learning all real students of the Church of England owe much to Germany; but I adhere to the belief that both in natural genius and in *variety*, the great English divines since the Reformation are second to none; and I feel bound to add, since I am not disposed to be an indiscriminate admirer of that great ecclesiastical revolution, that whereas no single great writer, except Wycliffe, marked the English Church for the two centuries before the Reformation, *it* certainly did this for us, it opened the floodgates of thought; within 100 years you may trace the beginnings of the three great schools which, I venture to believe, are a religious necessity—a necessity for the thought of a free National Church. It gave us Andrews, Laud and Bull on one side, the great Puritan divines, especially Baxter and Leighton on the other, and Chillingworth; and at least *one* half of Hooker and *one* half of Jeremy Taylor, and the great Cambridge school of Cudworth on the other. I for one must earnestly hope that, whatever we may add to them, the rich mine of English theology may not be yet supposed to be exhausted, but that our own great thinkers may still be a main study of a learned English clergy.

In maintaining the necessity of a learned clergy as perhaps the very first requisite for maintaining Biblical and theological studies in their true place in the minds of our most thoughtful countrymen, I ventured to add one thing which I consider indispensable; there should be at the same time a powerful *preaching* clergy. If there has never been a healthy and devout period in the history of the Church without its producing, or being produced, by a learned clergy, there has assuredly never been such without a preaching clergy who have, in all senses of the word, been able to speak the word of God with power. Surely, my friends, I need not say a great deal, though I *could* say much on this point. I need only say that the very word Gospel, whatever else it may mean, means preaching. And I wish, indeed, I could avoid saying that I am afraid a true historian of the Church of England would hardly say that in past centuries its preaching power has been equal to some of its other gifts. But may I not hasten to add that this age, which has witnessed so great a revival of the energies of the Church, has also seen, and I hope will see still more, a revival of that great and sovereign art, which its Lord described so simply when He said, "I will make you fishers of men"—of that greatest of powers; skill to awaken the conscience, tenderness to touch and strength to control the feelings, wisdom to direct this life. I don't at all forget, my Lord, that preaching in its power was not first revived in this generation; that it was the strong and surely the heaven-taught weapon of good men to whom we have not forgotten all we owe—of Cecil, of Venn, of Scott, of Charles Simeon,—but I still venture to think that in the special form of influencing men of thought, and while it touched the heart and

conscience, of making them also feel that the reason was a gift of God to man, and meant to lead them to Him,—this age has done a good deal to teach us the real power of a great preacher. I abstain from mentioning names; but you and I, my Lord Archbishop, can remember the days (I hope it is not a thing of the past) when one devout and powerful mind was a tower of moral strength to a great University; and when I heard, I think from Mr. Maclagan, on Wednesday that we must still lament that many young men of earnest minds were falling from the faith, I could not help rejoicing that in London especially the vast power and opportunities which the great preacher possesses is both understood and practised.

These then are, I will not say the only, but two of the best methods which I believe this age requires for the diffusion and the deepening of our knowledge of the Bible and theology. Of course, I am aware that there are many others, which will be brought before you forcibly. But though I have put these thoughts before you far more carelessly than I could wish, I can affect no doubt on two points; first, that Christianity will still go on to conquer this age, as she has conquered all that preceded it, and next though various weapons may be needed for this great conflict, she can now dispense with the two I have spoken of, a wise, learned and thoughtful clergy, and one which will have the immense power of bringing home God's truth to man's heart.

ADDRESSES.

Professor PLUMPTRE.

I DO not propose dwelling much on what may be called the mechanism by which Biblical or Theological knowledge is to be imparted. I imagine that these are matters which each teacher can best discover for himself. Either systematic Sunday, or week-day, lectures on the books of Scripture, chapter by chapter, and verse by verse, or from the services of the Prayer Book, or, if you want to deal with the systematic form of theology, on the Articles of the Church of England;—each of these has its own separate advantages, and it remains for each pastor to discover by personal experience which of them enables him to gain most hold on the intellect of the young men and the young women who are growing up around him. I will only take the opportunity of mentioning one detail, because I imagine it is not sufficiently known. I wish to call attention to the very serviceable and useful examinations of Sunday School teachers, which have within the last four or five years been set on foot by the Church of England Sunday School Institute. I name this because it seems to me to supply what many of us, especially those who are comparatively inexperienced in ministerial work, must have felt the want of. It gives at once a plan, a motive, and a test. I cannot bring myself to take that somewhat despondent view with which my friend and colleague Professor Leathes opened his remarks. I do not believe from what I have seen and heard around me that there is any want of interest in the study of Scripture, apart from prizes, apart from competition, apart from anything but the desire to know and attain the truth for the sake of the truth itself, and I for one should earnestly and emphatically deprecate relying too much on competitive examinations and examination prizes as

a method of diffusing biblical and theological knowledge. I believe the moment you do that you run the risk of introducing a merely commercial view of knowledge, and then, and perhaps not until then, your scholars will begin to ask whether such a thing "will pay" or not. Besides the mechanism with which we bring our own thoughts and knowledge to bear upon those whom we have to teach, there is another question upon which my friend the Dean of Durham dwelt powerfully and eloquently, who and what are to be the teachers? I desire to express my thankfulness to him that he has brought to our recollection the fact that the ministry of the Church of Christ has in all ages included within it two great elements, the prophet and the teacher; the prophet whose work it is to bring a word from God as a message of warning, or of comfort, or of consolation, to the hearts of men, and the teacher whose function it is, taking the truths which God has revealed, and following the method by which those truths have been made known, to impress the truths not only upon the conscience and the affections, but to bring them home so that they may lay a firm grasp upon the intellect of men. As regards the training of those who have to teach, and the preparation for the work of diffusing biblical and theological knowledge among our people, I am not prepared to enter upon the perilous task of estimating the merits of the different commentaries to which the clergy naturally turn. I will only give one word of caution—It is not good to have only one commentary—it is unwise to be a man of one book, or to swear by the words of one master, even if the master should bear the honoured name of Lightfoot, Wordsworth, or Alford. It is not wise even in these cases to be bound by the view taken by any single writer. But it is not a wise thing to have too many commentators. A man does not get to know his Homer, or his Sophocles, by getting ten, fifteen or twenty scholiasts upon those books, and seeing what has been said of this or that passage. If it is true that "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety," there is also a measure of truth in the saying of one of the wise of old when he speaks of the value of meditation—and meditation in this instance includes prayer—that there are matters in which a "man's mind is wont to tell him more than seven watchmen that sit above in a high tower," (Eccles. xxxvii., 14). If we want to interest those whom we teach in the subject-matter of our teaching we must endeavour as far as lies within our power to make them feel the same kind of interest in the books they study, that we feel. Here, it seems to me, that which really gains the most hold on men is the thought that in the Bible they have not a book but a library. Remember that the Old Testament and the New Testament are but different shelves in one library, and that each book is a volume and has a history of its own, that each had a writer, that that writer had his own thoughts, his own training, his own surroundings, the atmosphere in which he lived, and the environment out of which his thoughts grew. And if we want to understand a book rightly we must endeavour to throw ourselves into the atmosphere and the surroundings of the writer. Not satisfied with this, we must endeavour to enter as it were into the very heart and brain of the writer and think his thoughts, so that our hearts may beat with his, and that we may feel as he felt, and then, and hardly until then, shall we understand his words. Of course there are many helps more or less subsidiary to this. Commentaries, as I have said, do something, perhaps not much, and after all, lexicons, grammars, and concordances, —I do not mean English concordances, those of course are simply misleading—but such a book as the Englishman's Hebrew concordance, or that very admirable and elaborate English Greek concordance to the New Testament just published by Mr. Bullinger; these, honestly studied and used, will lead the student of the Word of God to a more enlarged apprehension of its meaning than the mere gathering together of what other gleaners in the great harvest have brought home rejoicing to their own garners. We have to work for ourselves, and you may be quite

sure that no time or labour given to that work will be lost. That great treasure-house of truth contains spiritual riches which are inexhaustible. No gleaner of the harvest, no gatherer of grapes after the vintage is over, need be afraid lest nothing should be left for him. It was one of the wise proverbs of the Rabbis of old that "none ever went and stopped a day in the house of the interpreter and returned back empty." But there remains this also: we must not forget, in investigating the intellectual side of biblical truth, that there remains the spiritual. In the midst of all diversities we must remember that man has a soul to be instructed, and that there is a hidden wisdom to be attained. We have not only to note all the surroundings of the Apostles and the Evangelists, not only to mark out the walls and fortresses of the earthly Jerusalem, but to point out to those whom we have to teach, the way to the heavenly Jerusalem. It is a small thing to know the scenery of the valley of the Jordan unless we can give some guide to those who are making their perilous descent into the valley of the Shadow of Death. If you interest the intellect by studying the Bible as you would any other book, and strengthen the spirit by making it feel that it is above all other books, then I may say with confidence that no man labouring earnestly will find that his labour is in vain. I am sure that he will gain willing and attentive hearers, and he must encourage them, if he will do his work effectually, to interchange thoughts with him. The great pattern instance of education which Holy Scripture presents to us is that One who was growing to perfection in wisdom and in stature, sat not only listening to the Doctors, but also "asking them questions." If you want your pupils to have one mind and heart with you, you must allow them, indeed encourage them, to ask questions freely. If the questions are, as they may sometimes seem to you to be, wanting in reverence or overbold, in any case do not look shocked and do not give evasive answers. If you do not know, say that you do not. If the question stretches, as sometimes it will do, into a region beyond your ken, remind yourselves, remind them, of the limits of your knowledge, the limits of all knowledge; tell them that it is wise in the world of theology as in the world of science to "keep within the limits of the knowable," and be assured that no faithful work in teaching will ever lose its reward. I will end by quoting once more the saying of one of those old Rabbis, who after all had some good in them and were men of like passions with ourselves, "I have learnt much from the Rabbis, my instructors, I have learnt much from the Rabbis my colleagues, I have learnt most of all from the scholars who sat at my feet and listened."

Rev. W. Boyd Carpenter.

You have heard this subject treated by those who are eminently entitled to be heard, and, following in the wake of some of their suggestions, I would say that one of the essential requirements for the diffusion of Biblical and Theological knowledge, is to stimulate the spirit of intelligence and interest amongst our people. This being so, what will be our best methods of stirring up that spirit? We must commence with the clergyman himself. All the knowledge which is diffused from the clergyman will flow downwards until it reaches the very lowest strata of those with whom he has to do. In proportion to the amount of information which he distributes will be the overflow which will fall downwards to (what I may call) the lowlands of his parish. In this a parochial organization is like an artificial fountain; the clergyman must be the central jet whence the water rises. It falls into the upper basin—his congregation, his Sunday school teachers, and his visitors—and unless these be filled to overflowing the lower basins will be but scantily supplied. Hence it seems to me that it would be wise for us to consider whether we are careful to keep up a good

supply of information. For this we should be prepared to explain terms and to illustrate principles. To explain terms, there are many points which we are too ready to take for granted are known and understood by our people. It is, indeed, a mistake to ignore the fact that there is a wide diffusion of knowledge, a great spirit of inquiry, and a great spirit of doubt abroad; but I think it is equally foolish to ignore the other fact, that when we speak to our people we are dealing with a mixed audience; that while there may be 200 or 300 listening to us who are ready to follow us distinctly and clearly through every argument touching deep questions of faith, there is also a large number of people, the majority of our audience, who are absolutely in ignorance of many points upon which we almost think it needless to inform them.

Let me illustrate what I mean. It was my privilege to meet with a young man who was going up to the university with the view of taking orders, and he related to me his experience in one of his examinations. He said, "I was asked to explain what was meant by ephod, but although I had heard the word frequently in Church, the very frequency with which I had heard it had led me never to take the trouble of trying to understand what it meant." Are we not, perhaps, too ready to assume that the meaning of many familiar words and phrases is known? May it not be a hint to us that in the diffusion of knowledge we shall often help the more intelligent by preaching to the least informed?

To illustrate principles. In dealing with the Bible there is one thing which has struck me much, and that is, although it be in one sense the largest book, it is in another the very smallest book in the world. It contains a variety of information, it touches on a variety of topics, nations, histories, but the salient and essential principles are few indeed. It is, indeed, most needful to remember that this Book consists of a variety of books, and is in that sense a library; but still I believe it would give point to our teachings, and coherence also to our regular preaching from Sunday to Sunday, and would tend to awaken a spirit of intelligence amongst our people, if we were to point out to them carefully how those few great principles are constantly recurring in various forms in every part of the sacred Book. Thus you put into their hands a key which enables them to approach the study of their Bible with a greater spirit of intelligence than before; for just as the student of the face of nature feels when he grasps one of her laws that he holds a key to explain a variety of phenomena, so when one of our people gains an intelligent apprehension of one of the great principles in the Bible, he goes to its study again to find its truth reflected in its histories and its prophecies, its biographies and its epistles. He has, in fact, a law which enables him to interpret a hundred passages; and, animated by the spirit of such a knowledge, he goes to the study of the Bible with a keener zest than before.

But there is another thought. To stir up the interest of others you must make them take part in the study themselves. Professor Plumptre has told us of the saying of the Rabbi who learnt most from his pupils. Suffer me for one moment to illustrate what I mean with regard to making those whom we meet with join in the instruction themselves. A Bible class may be conducted in one of three methods: it may degenerate into a lecture, it may be sustained by the readiness of question and answer, or it may be conducted on the plan of mutual study. I found, from experience, how difficult it is to provoke questions. A sense of their own deficiencies often keeps many silent; and hence I hit upon this device of reversing the operation of my young men's Bible class, and instead of teaching them, I got them to teach me. We chose our subject, we went carefully through some book of the Bible, and we selected one of our number to read the introductory paper.

It will be said, I dare say, that there was much that it was painful and tedious to listen to, but one thing I have reaped as a lesson, that it is well

to listen even to the badly-expressed thoughts of others, and to wait patiently for the results of the experiment. Such waiting is rewarded. The quality of the papers read by the young men has vastly improved during the last few years, so that we have grown in that which seems to me the very life of the class itself—in intelligence and interest. It is no longer sitting at the feet of one whom they are afraid to question, but it is an honest intercourse of Christians endeavouring to understand their Father's message.

It is to me some satisfaction to know that in this class so conducted I discovered that there was more than one young man who was possessed of capacity, and possessed, I believe, also of spiritual earnestness and aptitude for the ministry of Christ, which they are now preparing for at Cambridge.

In proportion as this intelligent knowledge of the Bible is diffused, is a weapon put into the hands of our people which, even apart from Christian evidence or manuals of Church teaching, is of incalculable service to them. For an intelligent knowledge of the Bible is in itself a defence against assault; for he who has considered, studied, and drunk in, as it were, the tone and spirit of Scripture, can at once cut the knot, or rather disentangle the knot, of many a difficult question. For instance, not merely once, but half-a-dozen times, it is reiterated as an objection to our faith that the Bible contains the words, "The poor shall never cease out of the land;" and no man who remembers the enormous circulation which such an assertion as that is calculated to have among certain classes, but must feel how earnestly important it is that our people should be able from not merely a textual, but a thorough knowledge of the whole spirit of the Bible to turn aside the edge of such an objection as that.

Supplied with information—understanding intelligently its high aims and simple truths—the solid conviction will grow that the principles which the Bible unfolds are, after all, the strength and the hope of the hearts of men; that, though temporary disturbances may occur and doubts and theories arise, the outcome of such periods will show the universal application of its principles to the spheres of moral and spiritual life. It is recorded that the great French astronomer, who has so lately passed away, when the disturbances in the orbit of Uranus were first discovered, cast aside at once the hypothesis that those disturbances were due in any wise to a less rigorous application of the law of gravitation at so great a distance from the sun, and, patiently waiting, passed on to the discovery of another orb upon the utmost range of our system. Such should be our conduct. Let us wait in patience, quietness, and confidence; let us not believe that principles so long tested by us can fail, let us believe that the disturbance of an age is due not to any relaxation of their energy, but rather to the development of some latent power—the dawn of some clearer light—the advent of another world.

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b.—The Study of Prophecy; its object and importance.

PAPERS.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Lincoln.

My Lord Archbishop, My Lords, and gentlemen—I greatly need your indulgence in an endeavour to deal in the short time allowed me with so vast a subject as prophecy, reaching from Genesis to the Apocalypse, and from the Creation to the end of time. Prophecy is not to be limited to words, it extends to acts. The life of the Patriarchs (says St. Augustine) was a prophecy. Creation was a prophecy. St. Peter teaches that, as the earth was created from out of water and was afterwards destroyed by water, so it contains the element of fire by which it will one day be consumed. St. Paul teaches that Adam, the father of mankind by nature, was a prophecy of Christ, the Father of mankind by grace. Adam's creation on the sixth day of the week was a prophecy of our new creation in Christ, the second Adam, dying on the cross on the sixth day of the week; and the formation of Eve out of Adam sleeping in Paradise was a prophecy of the formation of the Church, the spiritual Eve, the bride of Christ, from the pierced side of the second Adam sleeping in death on the cross. Her life was hid in Christ, and is derived from Christ. St. Paul, speaking of the exodus of Israel and of their wanderings in the wilderness, says that all these things were prophetic figures of our history; they were prophecies of our Passover, which is Christ, and of our baptism into Him in the Red Sea of His blood; they were prophecies of the true manna, the living bread from heaven; they were prophecies of the true rock, smitten for our sakes and gushing forth with living streams, cleansing and refreshing all true Israelites in their pilgrimage through the wilderness of this world to the Canaan of their everlasting rest. St. Jerome, in his treatise on the forty-two stations of the Israelites in the wilderness, has taught us to Christianise the Pentateuch. St. Cyril of Alexandria in his "Glaphyra," and in his work on "Worship in Spirit and in Truth," has shown that the whole Levitical ritual is prophetic of Christ. St. Augustine, in his writings against the Manichæans and "On the City of God," has evangelised Hebraism.

In our own country, to cite one specimen out of many, Bishop Pearson speaks the language of the ancient Church, when he says that there is scarcely an event in the history of Joshua which is not clearly prophetical of our Divine Joshua, Jesus Christ; especially, the miracle of the staying of the sunlight by the voice of Joshua till he had overthrown his enemies, is a prophecy of the continuance of the present solar system in which we live, till Christ has put all enemies under his feet. The ancient Hebrew Church expressed a great truth, too often forgotten, by designating the historical books

of the Old Testament, from Joshua to Chronicles, by the title of the "former Prophets." She recognised them as not only records of the past, but as prophecies of the future. Side by side with the stream of prophetic acts flows another stream of prophetic words; and the Church is a spiritual Mesopotamia lying between them. This stream of prophetic words, like its parallel stream of prophetic acts, flows forth from Paradise. It has its origin in that text which is well called "Protevangelium," or the first Gospel (Gen. iii. 15): "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. It shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." As ages passed on, this stream of prophecy became more deep and clear. The promise, first made in that text, was repeated to a particular person—Abraham, to whom it was revealed by God that in his seed all nations should be blessed. In his old age a son was born to him—Ishmael; but the blessing was not to come through him. He had to wait thirteen more years, and the child of promise was born—Isaac; and "in Isaac was his seed to be called." But Isaac, before he had any seed, was demanded by God of Abraham as a burnt-offering. Here was the trial and triumph of Abraham's faith. When Isaac bore the wood, and was afterwards laid on the wood, Abraham saw Christ's day (as Christ assures us) and was glad. He saw by faith the day when Christ would bear the cross and be laid upon it; and, having given up Isaac in will to death, he received him back again, as the writer of the Hebrews tells us, "in a figure;" that is, a figure of Christ dying on the cross, and raised again from the dead.

Among the twelve sons of Jacob, the spirit of prophecy pointed out one, Judah, not the first-born, as the royal ancestor of Christ. The same spirit declared to David, the youngest of the eight sons of Jesse, of that tribe, that Christ should come from his loins, and sit on his throne; and that He should suffer, that His hands should be pierced, that He should have vinegar given Him to drink and gall to eat, that His garments should be parted and lots cast for His vesture, that He should die, be buried, rise again, and ascend in triumph to heaven. The seed of the woman was more clearly pointed out by the same spirit in Isaiah, as "Emanuel, God with us," to be born of the Virgin of the house of David; and the same prophet proclaimed Him as "the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace," and yet revealed Him as "the Man of Sorrows," as "wounded for our sins and bruised for our iniquities;" and the Spirit, speaking by Jeremiah, declared him to be Jehovah, "the Lord our Righteousness." The place of His birth, Bethlehem, was pre-announced by Micah; the time of His coming by Daniel; that He should come to the restored Temple at Jerusalem (which ceased to exist soon after the death of our Lord) was foretold by the same prophetic spirit speaking by Haggai and Malachi. His betrayal for thirty pieces of silver and predicted by Zechariah, who announced Him as coequal with Jehovah; and foretold that He would ride on the foal of an ass to Jerusalem; and that He, the Shepherd of the flock, would be smitten and the sheep would be scattered, and yet that all would hereafter be gathered

together in Him. What, therefore, shall we say here? Do we need a stronger proof of the existence of God (that is, of a Being endued with foresight to foretel, and with power to control, future events) than this wonderful working together of prophecy by word and deed for 4,000 years? The challenge of God by Isaiah to the false gods of the heathen is, "Let them show what shall happen; let them declare things to come" (Isaiah xli. 22). They cannot do it. The Omniscient and Omnipotent alone can do this. The fulfilment of so many types and prophecies, so minute and so various, and seemingly so contradictory, uniting the two opposite poles of glory and of suffering, and all meeting in Christ, proclaims in clear tones the Being and Attributes of God.

And, further, Almighty God was pleased to give visible tokens of the mission of the prophets. The face of Moses shone with heavenly glory after converse with God. He touched the lips of Isaiah with fire from the altar by the hand of an angel. The fire from heaven licking up the water in the trench at Carmel avouched the mission of Elijah. The touch of the Divine Hand showed that of Daniel. The tongues of the fire at Pentecost declared that of the Apostles. Therefore, in both Testaments prophecy is affirmed to be from God. "The Lord hath sent you all His servants, the Prophets," says Jeremiah. "No prophecy of Scripture," says St. Peter, "is of private interpretation, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" and the same Apostle declares that the prophets were not the original authors of the prophecies delivered by them; they were channels and not sources; they "preached what the Spirit of Christ that was in them did signify, when it testified beforehand the sufferings of Christ and the glory that should follow." This was the subject of prophecy; the sufferings of Christ, and His glory that would follow. May we not, therefore, here say, that we need no clearer evidence of the unspeakable importance of Christianity, and the absolute necessity of receiving the Gospel, and of imparting it to others, than this fact—that Almighty God had been working on a uniform plan for 40 centuries by a continuous succession of types and prophecies adjusted to one end, and preparatory to one great consummation, the coming of Christ, and the offer, on the one hand, of everlasting happiness to all who believe and obey Him; and the declaration, on the other, that there is "none other name by which we must be saved," and that "He will be revealed hereafter in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ?"

And here we are led to consider the objection that prophecy destroys man's free will. No. God foresees all things, but he forces nothing. Men remember past things, but they do not cause them by remembering them; and God foresees future things, but does not cause them by foreseeing them. I do not mean that prophecy is not intended to influence human practice. It has a didactic and ethical office. Jonah's prophecy that Nineveh should be destroyed caused Nineveh to repent, and saved Nineveh from destruction. That same city hardened her heart against Nahum's

prophecy and was destroyed. As St. Paul declares, the Jews "heard the voices of the prophets in the synagogues every Sabbath day, and fulfilled these prophecies by condemning" Christ of whom the prophets wrote. And why? Because they did not understand them; for they read them "with a veil on their hearts." In fact, one of the characteristics of Hebrew prophecy, and one of the proofs of its Divine origin, is—that it is so adjusted to human nature, and is so delicately balanced, that it is very possible for some to neglect it, and very easy to others accept it and profit by it; and thus it is an instrument of man's moral probation. Hence we are led to consider our own duty towards those prophecies of Scripture which are not yet fulfilled, but seem to be in course of fulfilment. Our blessed Lord has declared that "the Gospel must first be preached as a witness to all nations, and that then the End will come." This prophecy seems to be now moving onward towards its accomplishment, and ought to stimulate our missionary efforts, in order that we may rejoice when the end comes. And when "the fulness of the Gentiles is come in," then we may look for a great outpouring of Divine blessing on the ancient people of God. Here is an incitement to us to pray and labour for that blessed consummation.

But there are other features of a very different character in the prophetic horizon. The Gospel will be preached—but be preached as a witness; many will not receive it; many will renounce it. Our Lord has foretold that "charity will wax cold," that "iniquity will abound," and that, "when the Son of Man cometh," the faith will be hard to find; and that the last days of the world will be like the days before the flood, and like the days before the destruction of Sodom, and like the last days of Jerusalem. Need I refer to the words of the Holy Spirit speaking by St. Paul in his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and in his First Epistle to Timothy to the same effect? It is probable that some of the most illustrious evidence of the truth and inspiration of prophecy, and of its practical value for the guidance of the faithful, is reserved for the last days—especially for the coming conflict between truth and error, between the Church and the world, between Christ and anti-Christ, and the great and glorious consummation which will follow that conflict. All Christian antiquity believed that the persecution of the Hebrew Church under Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 175-164) which was foretold by the prophet Daniel, will reproduce itself in a persecution of the Christian Church in the last days. Indeed the prophet Daniel in his last two chapters blends these two persecutions together. That prophecy is full of instruction to us all, especially to Bishops and clergy. Let us endeavour by God's grace to imitate the faithful priests, Eleazar, Matthias, and the Maccabees, in those times of trial under Antiochus Epiphanes; and let us be warned by the unhappy fate of those recreant priests, Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus, who betrayed the Hebrew Church to the enemy, and died miserable deaths. The last prophetic Book of Holy Scripture, the Book of Revelation, speaks thus: "Blessed is he that readeth, and they that understand the words of this prophecy, and keep those things

which are written therein." Let us therefore diligently study that book, commended to us in such solemn language.

My Lord Archbishop, and brethren in Christ, time is not granted me now to offer any elaborate proof of the following proposition; but my reasons for it may be found elsewhere (in the notes on the Apocalypse in my edition of the Greek Testament, and separately in an essay on "Union with Rome.") After forty years careful examination of that Book, I solemnly declare my deliberate conviction that the errors, novelties, corruptions, and usurpations of the Church of Rome are foretold by the Holy Spirit in the Book of Revelation; and while I do not deny that there are still some people of God in her, inasmuch as in that book, on the eve of her fall, the voice of God is heard, "Come out of her My people," I affirm that to fall away to the Church of Rome, in despite of such warnings as this book contains, is a heinous sin; and that it is an imperative duty to come out of her, and to persuade others to do so. I believe also that as the literal or Assyrian Babylon was taken by Cyrus the Persian in the hour of her festal revelry, when she was profaning the vessels of the Lord and was worshipping her false gods, and as the dried bed of the river Euphrates, her glory and strength and the cause of her wealth, made a road for the conqueror who captured the city, so the spiritual stream of Papal supremacy which has flowed on so proudly for many centuries, and by which Rome has been aggrandised and enriched, will one day be the means of her fall; and her doom will come suddenly when she is exulting in spiritual revelry and sacrilegiously desecrating God's truth and worshipping the idols of her own hands, especially when she is adoring her own Pontiff, to whom she ascribes the attributes of God.

I am not surprised that Rome and her votaries deny that the Apocalypse points to her. The Jews denied that the Hebrew prophecies pointed to Jerusalem and to her sin in rejecting Christ. In both cases it was predicted in the prophecies that the persons whom they most concerned would not "believe their report." (Isaiah liii. 1, cf. Rev. ix. 20, 21.) Their unbelief confirms our belief. I gather also from the same inspired book that Romanism will survive Rome; and will give a great impulse to Infidelity by its exorbitant claims and extravagant dogmas, put forth in the name of Christianity.

But we may not pause here. The Apocalypse has a warning for England as well as for Rome. It has a warning voice for us all. It teaches that Christianity does not consist in a hatred of Rome. It teaches that we must be Protestants but that we must be also Catholics; and that we must be Protestant because we are Catholic. In other words, we must shun error because we believe the truth; we must flee Babylon because we love Sion. And how does it do this? It reveals to us the Church, the faithful woman (in the 12th chapter) clothed with the sun, Christ, and crowned with twelve stars, that is, wearing the bright diadem of apostolic doctrine and discipline. It reveals to us the Church as the heavenly Jerusalem with its twelve foundation stones inscribed with the names of the

twelve Apostles; and it displays to us this true Apostolic Church as the pure and holy bride, clothed in white raiment, and adorned for her husband, Christ; and it shows us the nearness and dearness of the Church to Christ by the heavenly voice, "Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb." Friends and brethren, can there ever be a more signal proof of Christ's love to the Church—the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church—than this? If, therefore, we love Christ, let us be loyal to the Church for His sake whose bride she is. Let us not separate the bridegroom from the bride. Let us not think that we can please Christ if we disparage the Church. Let us "contend earnestly for the faith once for all delivered to the saints." Let us defend the truth and inspiration of the Scriptures committed to the keeping of the Church, and to be interpreted faithfully by her. Let us revere the sacraments of the Church, and hold fast her creeds and her threefold ministry. Let us pray God, in His mercy, to protect the sanctity of her churchyards and of her churches. Let us suffer gladly for Christ's sake and for His Church. Then we may hope to be of those welcome guests described in the Apocalypse, "Blessed are they that are called to the marriage supper of the Lamb." But, further, the Book of Revelation prepares us for severe trials. In the sixth chapter, the opening of the sixth seal, the eve of the end, reveals a time of great distress, civil and ecclesiastical. It is called "a great earthquake." In the sixteenth chapter, describing the same period, we see a gathering of forces against Christ and His Church for a great conflict, called by a symbolical name, Armageddon, that is "the mountain of cutting to pieces." In the twentieth chapter we see a similar confederacy of diverse powers, called by another symbolical name (derived from Ezekiel), Gog and Magog, against "the beloved city," the Church, and against the camp of the saints. Whatever may be the precise form of this conflict, it surely betokens a violent assault against national establishments of religion; it foretells that temporal powers will be arrayed against the Church, that error will be encouraged, and that encouragement of error will lead to the persecution of the truth.

But the Apocalypse does not forsake us in our distress. It does, indeed, reveal a severe struggle, but beyond it, it displays a glorious victory. In the twentieth and twenty-first chapters it uplifts the veil, and shows to us the second coming of Christ. It reveals the great white throne, and the Judge seated upon it, and the books opened, and the dead, small and great, judged out of the books, and the terrors of the lake of fire, and the joys of the heavenly city, and the Church glorified with Christ for evermore. Thus, in the darkest days, the Apocalypse ministers comfort and encouragement, as well as warning and admonition. It is not only a manual for the Christian preacher, but for the Christian patriot and Christian statesman, who is called to do battle for the truth in evil days, and who desires to estimate aright the things of time and eternity. Friends and brethren, the shadows of the latter days are now falling upon us. But with the Apocalypse in his hands the Christian believer will not feel desolate. He will indeed mourn, mourn

bitterly, for the sins of his country as well as his own, and confess them to God, like Daniel (Daniel ix.) He will mourn even more, as Ezekiel teaches him to do, for the sins which have caused the downfall of a nation and a Church, than for the downfall itself (Ezekiel xxiv. 15—27), and, as the same prophet teaches us, they who mourn in Sion for Sion's sins, will be spared by the destroying angel, and will be sealed by God as his own (Ezekiel ix. 4.) He will indeed deplore the infatuation of States abdicating their noblest privilege, that of promoting Christianity, and thus forfeiting their own peace and prosperity. He will lament the error of those who imagine that they can educate the people without the doctrines of the Gospel and without the grace and guidance of the Holy Ghost, in Scriptures, prayers, and sacraments, and that they can regenerate society by the beggarly elements of a creedless Secularism while they are sowing the seeds of national anarchy and confusion. He will mourn over national desolations, as the prophet Jeremiah mourned amid the ruins of Jerusalem. But in all these perturbations he will feel an inward calm. And why? Because such troubles as these have been foretold by the voice of prophecy, and he therefore sees in these troubles an evidence of its truth. He will, indeed, endeavour to maintain a national Establishment of religion for the sake of the State as well as for the Church, but he will never sacrifice the Church for the sake of the Establishment. The destruction of national institutions will wean him from earthly things, and make him look upward to heaven, and onward to eternity, and will bring him more closely into personal communion with God. Like the prophet Elijah, in the evil days for the Church and State of Israel, when he was alone in the solitude of Horeb; and like the prophet Ezekiel, an exile and captive on the banks of the river Chebar, he will see the glory of God. Like Daniel, alone in Chaldea, he will have angelic visitations and see the glory of the Second Advent of Christ. Like St. Paul, alone in the wilderness of Arabia, he will have visions of Paradise and of heaven. Like St. John, a prisoner in the Isle of Patmos, he will see the glory of the heavenly Jerusalem, where he hopes to dwell for ever and ever with Christ.

Lastly, the retrospect of the past will be to him a pledge of the future. He knows that the prophecies concerning Christ's first coming, which have been already described in the former part of this address, have been already fulfilled, and he will reason thus:—I know that these prophecies—so numerous, so precise, so various, some of them so seemingly contradictory, and extending over four thousand years, and contained in the Holy Scriptures—have been already accomplished, and can I therefore entertain any doubt that the other prophecies, which concern the future before me, will in due time be accomplished also? If ninety prophecies in the book have been already fulfilled, will the ten remaining prophecies in the same book fail of fulfilment? No; assuredly not. The fulfilment of the former is an assurance to me of the fulfilment of the latter; and this is the more certain, because I know that these other prophecies have not only been delivered by the prophets, but by the Lord of all the prophets, who is the subject of all prophecy, Jesus Christ Himself.

And what are these other prophecies? They are those prophecies which concern the struggle which awaits the Church in these latter days, and which also foretell her future victory and glory. They are the prophecies which speak of Christ's Second Coming, of the general Resurrection, of the Universal Judgment of Quick and Dead; they are those which speak of heaven and hell and eternity. They are those prophecies which declare that He will appear in the clouds of heaven in power and great glory, and that "He will put all things under his feet, and that all the kingdoms of this world will become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ, and that He will reign for ever and ever, King of kings and Lord of lords."

My Lord Archbishop and brethren in Christ, this is what lies before us, "Therefore will we not fear, though the earth be moved and the hills be carried into the midst of the sea." In all the trials and troubles of private and public life, amid the winds and waves of popular commotion, in the distress of nations with perplexity, in the dissolution of earthly empires, and in the disintegration of national Churches, in the strife of parties, in the frenzy of fanaticism, in the darkness of superstition, in the rebuke and blasphemy of unbelief, the believer in sacred prophecy will have an anchor of the soul sure and steadfast, and will behold in the storm itself a presage of eternal calm. When all things are most dark, then, as the Apostles toiling in the ship on the sea of Galilee saw Christ, in the fourth or last watch of the night, walking on the waves and coming to them, so, in the last age of the world, the faithful, who are labouring in the Apostolic ship of His Church, tossed by waves and buffeted by winds, will see the refulgent form of Christ, brightly shining in the gloom, and treading beneath Him the foaming billows of human pride and presumption, and making the liquid waves to be a solid pavement to His feet, and speaking to His disciples with a voice of power and love, "Be of good cheer, it is I;" and then the ship will be at the land, the land of everlasting peace, "where they would be."

Rev. Canon Hoare.

The Prophetic Scriptures may be arranged in three great divisions.

(1). Prophecies given in the Old Testament, and proved by the New Testament to have been fulfilled. In this class are included all those prophecies which foretold the birth, life, and death of our Saviour. Of this class I am not going to say anything, as their importance is admitted by all students of the Word of God.

(2). Prophecies in both the Old and New Testament which have been fulfilled, but whose fulfilment is proved from uninspired history, and not from the New Testament, such as the prophecies of Daniel respecting the four kingdoms, and the prophecy of our Lord Himself respecting the siege of Jerusalem.

(3). Prophecies not yet fulfilled, such as those relating to the return of the Jews and the advent of our Lord.

It is to the study of these two latter classes that I would now direct attention. According to the thesis, we are to consider the object and importance of it. But the two subjects are so interwoven with each other that it is impossible to discuss them separately. The importance of the study depends on the importance of the object. The two may therefore be taken together. The object of the study is—

(1). To confirm the faith.
(2). To prepare us for the difficulties of the latter days.
(3). To give a solid foundation for our hopes of the Advent.
(4). To promote our conformity to the whole mind of God.

I. To confirm the faith.

Our whole faith rests on Scripture, and our whole faith in Scripture depends on its inspiration. If Scripture were not a divine communication, it would be insufficient to teach us the divine purpose of salvation. If it were not God's Word it could not reveal us to God's plan. But what can prove inspiration more irresistibly than the fulfilment of prophecy? If Daniel had not been inspired, how could he have foretold the rise and succession of the four great empires of the world? If the whole line of prophets, beginning with Balaam, had not been inspired, how could they have foretold the present position of the Jewish nation, dispersed but yet preserved, scattered throughout the world, but yet kept distinct? Is it not, then, of the utmost importance that these prophecies should be studied, and that what God has foretold should be carefully examined, that so we may, taking our stand on the great broad facts of history, boldly challenge those who doubt the divine element in the Scripture of truth to tell us how it came to pass that Daniel foretold the succession of four kingdoms terminating in the present position of Europe, and the whole line of prophets foretold the present condition of the Jews? Every Jew we meet is a proof to the student of prophecy of the inspiration of Scripture.

(2). It confirms our faith in the sovereignty of God over the world. Some people seem very doubtful whether God is really reigning over the affairs of man. They seem to exclude Him both from Scripture and providence, and to believe that He has neither spoken in the one nor acted in the other. The result is that when they look at all the distractions of the world, the wars and rumours of wars, the famines in divers places, and the general anxiety in the minds of men, their hearts are ready to fail. But it is not so with the student of prophecy. He can see God reigning in it all. He can see in history how vast empires have risen and fallen as God declared in prophecy that they would do. He can look, therefore, above kings to the King of kings, fulfilling His own word, and working out His own predicted purpose. He knows from the fulfilment of prophecy that the Lord has been reigning throughout, and is reigning still, and so his heart is at rest, for he knows that all is in His hand.

II. A second object of prophetic study is to prepare us for the difficulties of the latter days. I allude especially to religious difficulties—difficulties affecting the Church, not the State; the progress of the Gospel, and not the powers of the world. Now all must admit

the greatness of these difficulties. Some people are quite disheartened by them, and are ready to say, "Truth faileth." I am not in the least surprised at their fears if they neglect the prophetic word. If people go on their way with the idea that the Gospel is to continue to progress triumphantly, till heathenism melts away before our missions abroad, and sin before our ministry at home, they have reason to be disheartened, for the Devil seems to work quite as hard as we do, if not much harder, and sin and false teaching seem to be cropping up with fresh power all around us. But the student of prophecy need not be in the least disturbed by what he sees, for he has been prepared for it by God Himself. Our Heavenly Father has warned us in prophecy that in the latter days there must be perilous times, and we are not to be disheartened because our Father's word proves true. He foretold that there should be scoffers in the latter days, so when the scoffers arise they prove the prophecy true, and become unconscious witnesses to the divine inspiration of the book which they reject. Thus the prophetic word turns fear into hope, and draws encouragement out of danger. There is a story told of two Jews who were walking amongst the ruins of Mount Zion when a fox crossed their path. The one burst into tears, but the other broke forth in praise. "Why do you weep, brother?" said the one. "Why do you praise, God?" said the other. "I weep," said the weeper, "because of the desolations of Jerusalem." "And I praise God," said the man of faith, "because I see that His word is true, and, as He has fulfilled one part in the destruction of the city, so I am certain He will fulfil the other part in the restoration." It is just so with the student of prophecy. He sees God's word fulfilled in the danger, and he is perfectly certain that it will be fulfilled likewise in the mercy.

But more than that. By the study of the prophetic word we are prepared for the particular dangers that are likely to arise. The students of prophecy are not fighting in the dark, for they know the direction in which the truth is likely to be attacked. They know that we must be armed for an apostacy under the headship of the Man of sin in the midst of the Apostolic church; that error will arise under the "form of godliness;" that it will spread with the power of "a strong delusion;" and that it will be of so subtle a character that "if it were possible it would deceive the very elect." They know that we are warned to be on our guard against dangers within, as well as attacks from without, and to be prepared for the most sorrowful and painful duty of contending earnestly for the faith, not merely against infidels outside the Christian pale, but against persons naming the same name, and baptised with the same baptism as ourselves.

III. A third object for the study of prophecy is to give a solid foundation for our hope of the Advent. According to Scripture, "we live looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ. But how can we have hope without promise? and what are the promises of the coming of the Lord but unfulfilled prophecies? If, therefore, we are to be really looking forward to His coming we must study prophecy. If we are content with unproved ideas and wild theories, then we may neglect

the prophecies; but if we desire, as wise men, to be found intelligently ready for the advent, then we must study the signs which God has given us to prepare us for that great event. It is the greatest mistake to suppose that God's people are to be taken by surprise when the Lord comes, for St. Paul says distinctly, "Ye, brethren, are not in darkness that that day should overtake you as a thief." So our Lord Himself has given us certain signs by which we may know when the time of His advent is approaching, and has said, "When ye shall see these things come to pass know that it is nigh, even at the doors." He has given us moreover distinguishing tests, and has warned us against the danger of mistaking other things for signs of His appearing. He has told us what are, and what are not, the signs of His coming. But if this be the fact, should not these signs be studied, and that while they are still in the catalogue of unfulfilled prophecy? He has told us to look up, and lift up our heads when they *begin* to come to pass. Surely, then, we must know them beforehand, and not delay our study till they are finished, and the time is past. It was through the study of these signs, as foretold in Matthew xxiv., that the Christians avoided the error so common in modern times of confounding the seige of Jerusalem with the advent of the Lord; and so, instead of waiting at Jerusalem for His return, took their flight to Pella and were saved. It was in the same manner, by observing the predicted signs, that St. Paul quieted the wild notions of the Thessalonians, when he pointed out to them that the Man of Sin must arise before the advent, and that therefore the day of the Lord was not immediately at hand. And so if we desire a sober, sound, solid hope, a hope in which there is no danger of disappointment, we must carefully study what God Himself has taught us, and from His own prophetic word must learn what are, and what are not, the signs of his appearing.

IV. But the study of the prophetic word has a further, and most important, object, viz., to promote our conformity to the whole mind of God. True spirituality has been defined as oneness of mind with God, and most of the most dangerous heresies have arisen from persons picking out little bits of Scripture, and creating what I may term a new Gospel by means of exclusion and exaggeration. Their Gospel is just like the portraits in *Vanity Fair*, with certain features accurately painted, but the whole turned into a caricature by the loss of proportion. But if we want to know the whole mind of God, we must receive the whole of His inspired Scripture as He Himself has given it. The sacred book is one perfect whole, and we must not either take therefrom or add thereto. We must not leave out one part because it is contrary to our preconceived opinions, or another because we do not think it practical. We must not say we will study the doctrine, and not the practice; or the practice, and not the doctrine; we will study the past, but not the future; or the future, but not the past; the history, but not the prophecy; or the prophecy, but not the history. In God's mind the past and the future are as one. What He has promised is as certain as what He has already done. And, therefore, believing in the inspiration of the whole of Scripture, and believing the whole Book to be the Word of God, we

would honour the whole, we would study the whole, we would draw no distinction between prophecy and history, but, accepting that which God has given, we would receive the whole as inspired by the Holy Ghost, in the earnest and reverent hope that we may learn from it the whole counsel of God. If we desire to know the whole mind of God, we must not set aside nearly one-third of His inspired word, and that a third rich in the most precious promises, abounding in matter of the deepest interest, adorned with the beauty of heaven-born poetry, and, above all, given to us by God Himself with the declared purpose of shewing to his servants things which must shortly come to pass.

ADDRESSES.

Rev. Sir Emilius Bayley, Bart.

I cannot help feeling thankful that we find ourselves at the close of this Congress face to face with the question of the study of the Word of God, and that it has been thought right to give prominence to that Word, and to the study of that Word, in the subject which has been now brought before you.

It seems to me that the subject of to-day affords a partial solution to two of the most important of the questions which have occupied our attention at previous meetings. I think that the question as to the best mode of promoting united action amongst different schools of thought, and also that of the best mode of promoting a tolerant spirit towards our Nonconformist brethren, find an answer in the subject of this afternoon; because I am sure that the more we engage in the humble and devotional study of the Word of God, including the prophetical Scriptures, the higher, the purer, and the holier will be the atmosphere into which we shall rise; the more we shall lose sight of all minor differences which separate us, and the more ready shall we be to welcome all who love the Lord Jesus Christ. I suppose there is no name or memory around which every section of the English Church gathers more readily than the name and the memory of Archbishop Leighton; and it has always seemed to me to be one of the most characteristic anecdotes of that good man, and one which best illustrates his tolerant spirit, that he went to visit a Presbyterian minister, who was ill, upon a horse which he had borrowed from a Roman Catholic priest. With him piety and toleration were closely united.

I cannot but think but that the importance of the study of the prophetic Word is a thing which ought not to be lost sight of by the clergy of the Church of England. I will not say that the multiplication of services is doing it, but I believe the multiplied serving of tables is doing much to pauperise and weaken the power of the pulpit of the Church of England. I am persuaded, and my younger brethren will bear with me in saying so, that we must read and read, and read, if we would keep abreast of the age, if we would satisfy the legitimate requirements of the laity, if we would preach with freshness and with force the unsearchable riches of Christ. Now the object of prophetic study, and by that I now understand the study of the predictive portions of prophecy, is threefold: theological, evidential, and practical. But time fails me to deal with each branch of this great subject. I would say only on the first, that if we are to understand the whole of the revealed counsel of God, we must study the predictive prophecies of the Scriptures. If persons object that such

portions are so difficult that they will leave them out altogether, I say, you must study the whole Word in order to know what is predictive and what is not predictive. If they say they will confine themselves to the fulfilled portions of Scripture, I answer, they must study both the fulfilled and the unfulfilled to know which is which. If they still argue that such are the difficulties, such the differences of opinion involved in the whole question that they will pass it by altogether, I would bid them look at the meetings which have been held in this hall, and ask whether the fact that we have had differences of opinion honestly stated, and received with Christian temper, is inconsistent with the reality of our common Christianity. It only proves that, whilst we have an infallible Word, we are but fallible interpreters of that Word.

I pass by the topic of the *evidential* value of the Scriptures with one single remark; that, inasmuch as we have not one prediction only, but a great multitude of predictions, in fact a very complicated lock to deal with, if we find a key which opens that lock the only inference we can draw is that that key must be Divine. I touch, lastly, upon the *practical* value of the study of the prophetic Word. It is useful for warning, it is useful also for encouragement. I cannot add to the solemn words of warning which have fallen from the two previous speakers in connection with this subject. I would rather point for a single moment to the encouragements which are held out to us in the prophetic Word. The blessed hope of the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ is a doctrine for our belief in which we are entirely dependent upon the prophetic Scriptures. And let us remember that it is specially in times of affliction that the Christian heart turns to the sure word of prophecy. It needs, perhaps, the wine-press of tribulation in order to press out the full juice of comfort from the apocalyptic Word. It may be that trial is in store for us; but prophecy does not end with that. We are bidden to look forward, and patiently to wait. We are not, indeed, to imagine that every earthquake is the precursor of the earthquake of the seventh vial, and that every war is a prelude to the battle of Armageddon. We are to beware of crude and fanciful interpretations; and I believe that at the best we are but very bad prophets. Mistaken oftentimes are the prophets in the political world, and equally mistaken are the prophets of the ecclesiastical world; those, for example, who tell us that this old English Church of ours is falling to pieces. I believe them not. I would take the more hopeful, the more cheerful view, whether I look to the National Church, to which we belong, or to the great Church of Christ, to which I hope we also all belong. Yes, it is well to look forward, and to look upward. Prophetic Scripture tells us not to hang down but to lift up the hands. It tells us not of a setting but of a rising sun. It points not to disorder but to order, and assures us that out of chaos God shall bring forth harmony and peace—out of darkness light—out of conflict triumph; and that we, when the battle is over and the victory won, shall enter into rest and enjoy the promised reward.

> Oh, scenes surpassing fable, and yet true,
> Scenes of accomplish'd bliss! which, who can see,
> Though but in distant prospect, and not feel
> His soul refresh'd with foretaste of the joy?

The Venerable Archdeacon Lee.

I would ask you to consider the study of prophecy under one only of its aspects, for we may study prophecy either in order to prove the doctrines of Christianity, or to prove the truth of Christianity. In other words, prophecy may be studied from different points of view, according to the end

at which we aim—according as we seek to confirm the articles of our faith, and to deduce rules of life and conduct; or, as we seek to establish the divine foundation of our faith by the evidence which the supernatural character of the prophetic volume supplies.

There are certain distinctions which it is necessary that we should attend to here. The prophet of the future, as every reader of the Bible knows, is also the preacher of righteousness; and thus two elements of prophecy have often been distinguished—the moral and the predictive. The predictive element, again, is itself twofold—it is religious and apologetic. Speaking generally, therefore, the religious aspect of prophecy is that which comprehends not only those great moral truths which are embodied in the teaching of the several prophets, but also that long series of promises and revelations which centre in the Person of Jesus Christ, and which form so large a part of the Christian's faith and hope. There remains, then, over and above all this, that portion of the predictive element of prophecy which supplies evidence of its supernatural and miraculous, as distinct from its religious character; and this it does through the exhibition in history of events foretold and announced to the world long before such events came to pass. In conformity with these distinctions prophecy may be regarded as either religious or evidential—dogmatic or apologetic.

On the religious aspect of prophecy I do not mean to speak. Fully as every Christian recognises the supreme value of this aspect of the prophetic volume, it is plain that this value is not recognised by those who do not receive the Bible as the record of God's Revelation; and it is equally plain that, in order to convince them of their error, they must be led to the belief that the Bible has come from God. It is of essential importance, therefore, to disengage from the utterances of prophecy, if we can possibly do so, what it possesses of self-evidencing power; and which, if fairly urged, no honest gainsayer of its religious utterances can deny. It is for this reason that I would now urge the importance of the apologetic aspect of prophecy, affording as it does that evidence which, from age to age, runs parallel with the actual course of history, and may be compared with it, thus rendering manifest the supernatural interposition of God. Never was the study of prophecy, from this point of view, of greater importance than at the present day. And yet, anyone who considers the matter must have noticed that, for some time past, the argument from prophecy has gradually dropped out, so to speak, from our apologetic literature. I do not at all mean that the miraculous character of the Christian religion has been overlooked by the defenders of Christianity; but I do maintain that the proof of our holy faith which the predictive element of prophecy supplies is not, at the present day, sufficiently insisted upon—although no stronger evidence of the Supernatural can be brought home to the human mind than the fulfilment of an ancient prediction.

Of this neglect of the apologetic use of prophecy several causes may be assigned, some of them extending back to a remote period:—For example, the unjust, and often uncharitable, employment of prophetic language in the interest of some present political* or religious controversy; the contradictory and often fantastic interpretations of predictions still unfulfilled; above all, the abuse of prophecy in fixing the chronology of the future. When, *e.g.*, we find a writer so learned, so pious, and generally so sober-minded, as Bengel, who lived in the earlier part of the last century, seriously calculating that the millennium must begin in the year 1836, can any one doubt that such applications of the Word of God have rendered men indifferent to the prophetic argument? And thus, as I have said, this

* Thus, looking back some 600 years to the great contest between the Empire and the Papacy, we find the Pope (Gregory IX.) denouncing the Emperor as the Beast from the Sea; and the Emperor (Frederick II.) retorting that the Pope was the Dragon from the Abyss.

most important branch of the Christian evidences has been dismissed by many from their thoughts, as merely affording a field for the exercise of misplaced or eccentric ingenuity.

The interpreter of prophecy undertakes a very grave responsibility when he attempts to expound the meaning of predictions which are, confessedly, still unfulfilled; especially when he considers the present attitude of the rationalistic school. We all know that nothing carries more weight with the mass of mankind than a positive statement put forward with unshrinking confidence; and when we are now-a-days told, in every form of absolute assertion, that to foretell the future is impossible, it is but in accordance with ordinary experience to find this pure assumption listened to by many with tacit acquiescence in its justice and its force. The believer in Revelation, no doubt, at once discerns the worthlessness of an objection such as this to the apologetic use of prophecy: but for those who do not believe, or who doubt, the case is far otherwise; and the Christian apologist has gravely to consider what ground, common to himself and to one who denies the truth of Christianity, can be selected whereon to base his defence. Now, facts are things which no one can question—whether historical facts, or facts of which everyone can have direct knowledge; and I would briefly illustrate what I have said by adducing an instance under each of these heads.

For four hundred years before the birth of Christ, the voice of prophecy was silent; and one can scarcely doubt that this interval of silence was designed by Divine Providence in order to place beyond question the *antecedency* of the prophetic announcements. The agreement, therefore, of an event which came to pass after the close of those four hundred years, with a prophetic utterance delivered before the beginning of that period, must be recognised by all as an instance of a prediction fulfilled. Now, what does history tell us here? Writers on Christian Evidences have abundantly proved the fact of the existence among the heathen of an expectation of a great Deliverer in the very age when Christ was born. In order to assign to prophecy its full weight and importance among the proofs of Revelation, we must not lose sight of the historical fact that its voice has been accompanied by a thousand echoes given back by all the traditions of the world. The voice of prophecy, as we know, was silent for 400 years; but that silence was suddenly broken by a strange concord of other voices declaring that "the desire of all nations" was now about to be fulfilled. We still hear those voices in the verses of Virgil; in the repeated statements of heathen historians; in the application of Messianic Prophecy to Vespasian, by whom the Jewish Temple was destroyed. What object of investigation, then, can be more worthy of the student's solicitude, than to trace in the literature of that age such confirmatory evidence? Is it not, for instance, a matter of deep interest, first to read in the pages of Cicero (*De Div.* ii. 54), how his attention was directed to a Sibylline oracle which predicted the approaching birth of "a King" whom all men must acknowledge if they wish to be saved?—Cicero himself asking, in evident perplexity, "Who is the man? What is the time?" And, then, bearing this fact in mind, again to read in the life of the Emperor Augustus, that a prediction had been brought under the notice of the Roman Senate, shortly before he was born, announcing "that Nature was in travail" (*Naturam parturire*), and that she was about to give birth to "a King" of the Roman people. (Suetonius, *Octav.* 79, 94).

But I have spoken of facts, of which each of us can judge for himself; and chief among such facts is the "standing miracle," as Bishop Butler calls it, of the existence at the present day of the Jews as a distinct people, notwithstanding their long and their wide dispersion. We should not allow familiarity with this fact to dull our sense of its evidential force. We should not forget that Judaism is a something still throbbing in human lives; or that the struggle which it has waged, and which it still continues

to wage against the world, is a struggle, as Jewish writers justly boast, against the most powerful disintegrating forces ever brought to bear against a nation or a creed. But what is the real import of this great fact? During that long silence of Prophecy which I have spoken of, the Jews, hitherto isolated from the rest of the world, sent out their colonies to Alexandria and to Rome. It was now they entered on their providential mission as the witnesses to Prophecy during each stage of subsequent history. It was now the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek, and the predictions of the coming Saviour were spread abroad among other peoples. One idea, one duty, one hope, henceforward animated the Jewish race,—to wait for, to proclaim, to behold Messiah. The patience and the tenacity with which this hope has been cherished by successive generations down to our own day, resemble the invariable recurrence of certain facts in Nature; as well as that foreboding instinct with which certain species of living creatures are endowed. No discouragement has chilled this hope of Israel; no calamity has lessened the force of their testimony. Their City, their Temple, have been destroyed; their Holy Land has been given over to desolation; their distinct nationality has ceased for 1800 years:—and still Israel lives on. The ancient prediction has been fulfilled to the letter: "The people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations." The attempt to account for this fact by natural causes, is simply irrelevant; for the real fact—the only fact—to be accounted for here, is the agreement and coincidence of the event itself with a long series of previous prophecy, not the manner in which, or the means by which, that event has been brought to pass. This perpetuity of the Jewish people, indeed, is a fact as miraculous as would be the earthly immortality of an individual man,—for nations perish like individuals: and how naturally this thought occurs to the mind is proved by the mediæval legend of the eternal Wanderer, "doomed to death but fated not to die," who refused relief to the Saviour as he fainted beneath the Cross. In a word, the Jews in their Dispersion remind us of the Sibyl's leaves which were scattered to the four winds of heaven, each leaf bearing a fragment of imperishable prophecy.

It is not a little remarkable that the hopes and instincts and energies of the Jewish people have not long since been brought before us in a brilliant picture by the pen of our most gifted living writer of fiction. I hail this literary phenomenon as a token that the fact on which I have insisted is one that has power to interest the imagination of our own generation; and I am not without hope that, in an age of investigation like the present, the study of Prophecy which I have urged may be cultivated in a candid spirit by those whose object is the discovery of truth,—if, indeed the circumstance that this study is connected with religion should not deter them from the inquiry.

Nor when speaking of facts of which we ourselves can judge, should we forget that other "standing miracle"—parallel with that of the existence and perpetuity of the Jewish people,—presented by the existence and growth of the Christian Church in like conformity with the announcements of Prophecy. "The Gentiles shall come to thy light" was a prediction uttered during the strictest isolation and exclusiveness of Israel; and all history attests the illumination which the kindling of that light has shed upon the human soul. Every page of history bears witness to the influence which the Christian religion has exercised on the civilization and the morality of mankind. The triumph of the Cross over the opposing powers of the world is a fact which no one can deny;—when the might of thirty Legions sank down before the sling and the staff of the Son of David; when all the energy of ancient Paganism collapsed in presence of the Gospel, deprived of vitality like the guard beside the Lord's Sepulchre, when the watchers became as dead men in presence of the descending Angel.

SECTION ROOM.

FRIDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 12th.

The Right Rev. the Lord BISHOP of DOVER took the Chair at Ten o'clock.

THE PERMANENT DIACONATE AND LAY HELP. PAPERS.

The Right Rev. The Lord BISHOP of GUILDFORD.

I THINK it may be taken for granted in such an assembly as this, that the chief want after all in our Church, and in our country in the present day, is the *multiplication of living agency*, duly commissioned and organised for the evangelisation and spiritual edification of the people, especially the great masses of the poor, accumulated in the mining and manufacturing districts, in our seaports, and above all, in our metropolis, with its three-and-a-half millions of souls, the vast portion of which are herded together and isolated by an ever-widening chasm from the upper classes, in the suburban and other dens and alleys, in a state fatal alike to their physical, social, moral, and eternal welfare, a state which is a reproach to a civilised, wealthy, Christian community; nor only so, but to every thoughtful person an occasion of most serious apprehension as to its inevitable results if no due remedy be promptly applied. It is said that there are two Englands now, the old and the new, but there are also two Londons now, practically almost as far separated from each other as the poles. They say "not half the world knows how the other half lives." I speak not unadvisedly, but from personal knowledge, and without exaggeration, when I say that if I could or dared to lift the veil which hides one half of the metropolis from the other, and disclose the real state of things, many a kindly-disposed, well-to-do, and easy-going person would not only be startled but appalled.

Take, however, a larger survey of the country in general. Think of sixteen millions of our town population compared with the seven millions in the more favoured rural localities—think of them, not as simple and ignorant folk, having the old hereditary feeling of dependence towards their superiors, but with large wages, education, political power, organisation, and jealousy of the rich, unsoftened by personal intercourse, with discontent as their lot, unchastened by Christian influences, and chafing under a sense of wrongs and neglect, imaginary or real, and say—Is there not a train laid, only awaiting the hand and some particular occasion for the application

of the match. Think also how many a hand there is ready and eager to do this; think of the many injurious influences most sedulously at work, moral and political incendiaries, propagating the fatal principles of Atheism, communism, and secularism; and say—have we not reason to dread, both as the natural and judicial result of such a state of things, an explosion at any moment under our feet, which may tear up the foundations of society and involve its all unsuspecting victims in utter ruin, a ruin which might have been averted if only misguided men, amenable as others to kindly Christian influences, had been duly cared for. Never then was there so great a need of living agency, a spiritual force to deal with such men, not in the mass, but individually, not as pariahs of society, but as brother men, heart to heart, seeking them out one by one, from house to house, room to room.

No doubt there is a great amount of such living agency at work among us, but it is altogether inadequate, and not being duly organised often expends itself, if not in transitory and spasmodic efforts, yet in irregular channels, and although it would be an act of blind prejudice, and would be an arraigning of the sovereign power and goodness of God to deny the palpably blessed results in such cases, yet we may believe that they would have been more lasting and satisfactory had the force at work been duly enlisted, as it might have been in the service of our Church. If she had only been as Catholic and expansive as she ought to have been, and, thank God, is now becoming, then such men as Whitfield and Wesley would not have been lost to our ranks, but have been tenfold multiplied therein. Still, as a matter of fact we have very little idea, after making every allowance for efforts without our Church, how slender is the spiritual force at work among the people, not only compared with its enormous proportions, but even with that which existed in former ages previous to the Reformation, and even down to the great rebellion. This diminution arose from the confiscation of Church endowments, the abolition of religious orders and agencies doubtless abused, but which might have been turned to good account, especially in the present condition of things. Alas! many links are now wanting which were ready to hand.

I need not detain you to show how alongside of this decrease of spiritual agency the population has increased from 2,000,000 at the time of the establishment of the parochial system, to 23,000,000 now, and is still increasing at the rate of 264,000 per annum; and how the character and condition of the people has altered from an agricultural to a manufacturing class, agglomerated round the centres of labour, and entirely severed and disunited from their employers and the upper classes, with an utterly unequal proportion of parishes, endowments, and clergy, although they are more dependent than others upon the latter for religious instruction and good influences.

Meanwhile, there is still a growing lack of those coming forward for the work of the sacred ministry, (*a*) partly from the melancholy dissensions among us and the increase of scepticism still unsettling young men's minds, (*b*) still more from financial causes, which bar

many good men from our universities, while other avenues of honourable and profitable employment are opened to them; (*c*) but also because of the inflexible and unvarying high standard proposed to all candidates for Holy Orders, whatever may be their natural powers or antecedents, and irrespective of the diverse positions they may be called to fill, as though the same gifts and attainments were requisite for every department of the sacred ministry. By these means we have practically closed our ranks to all men except those of higher birth or possessing certain worldly advantages, and lost that help for which we are languishing, and which would have done good service to our Church in its present emergency.

If, then, we are going to meet the present abnormal state of things as regards the dense masses of our people, living in such a state of physical and often spiritual destitution as is without a parallel in Christendom; if we are going to stay the plague which has broken out, and to rush in between the Living and the Dead; if we are going to vindicate our claim to be the National Church, *i.e.*, the Church of the people, we can afford no longer to sit down contented with our present system. We have need of larger and braver thoughts than heretofore. We must rise to wider aims and higher hopes. We must make bolder ventures in the way of necessary change in all practical departments of Church work and Church life, and not be satisfied with merely what we find, seeing that our present system has broken down as regards a large portion of the people, not from lack of any virtue in itself or being inapplicable to modern times (quite the contrary), but for want of development and expansion, for never was our Church doing a greater work among the masses of the people wherever it is at all being brought to bear upon them.

I take it for granted, then, that our chief want is the accession of spiritual force in the form of duly ordained men, instinct with the love of Christ and of souls, endowed with spiritual gifts for the ministry, and ready to give themselves unreservedly to it. God alone can raise up such, and therefore we must be instant in prayer, but we must use the means to evoke, train, and provide for such men, or prayer is a mockery and faith presumption. We must multiply the vessels to receive the outpouring of the Spirit, and, in doing this, we must not "limit the most High" by thinking to confine His gifts and callings too exclusively to men of a certain class or condition. Hitherto we have looked to our ancient Universities to send forth their sons into the vineyard, and God forbid they should ever fail to supply the larger and leading portion of the sacred ministry, although there is great reason to apprehend this. There is no preliminary training so valuable as that given in those Universities by a liberal education, especially in these days when it is so important that the clergy should keep abreast of the age in general knowledge and mental culture, but there are many circumstances which draw off young men at our Universities from taking Holy Orders, and debar others who aspire after them from entering those seats of learning, and so our ranks are gradually dwindling away while there is a greater and greater demand for the increase

of them by the growth of the population, the multiplication of Churches and districts, and the demands of our colonies.

How, then, shall we meet this great emergency? 1st. By a more extensive organised system for enabling promising young men to avail themselves of a University career, both by subsidising their incomes, and also by retrenching the unnecessary and extravagant expenses of the Universities, and so bringing them back, at least in a measure, to the original intention of the founders, and their actual state when there were some 30,000 poor pious scholars maintained, as at Oxford in the 15th century.

But our chief, and most simple and ready resource, is to supply the *missing link*—to restore the Diaconate in its true character. It is now practically in abeyance. One string of the threefold cord of the sacred ministry is gone. The Diaconate is regarded only as a stepping-stone to the priesthood. The people see scarcely any difference in the two. But, it may be objected, if there is such a lack of priests, how can we afford to retain men in the Diaconate? To this I would reply that, first, I see no reason, especially considering the present necessity, why men should not be admitted to this office at an earlier age, say at 21, or, at any rate, 22 years. Two extra years, or even one from each, would be a great accession to the clerical force. It is just at this period, when school and college life are ended, that so many are drawn off into other callings, who might otherwise be caught for the sacred ministry. They cannot afford to wait, and are induced to entertain other overtures. Such young men, without being engaged in the higher sacred duties for which they are unripe, might be in many ways of incalculable service to overtaxed Incumbents by helping in the conduct of Divine worship, in catechising children, so necessary now that mere secular education is so prevalent, in preparing catechumens for confirmation, in visitation of the sick, and so on, but not preaching in Church unless specially qualified and deputed thereto. Thus they would relieve the chief pastor, gain experience, and have an opportunity of testing for themselves, and giving evidence to others, of their fitness and disposition for the Pastorate, for surely their orders need not be as indelible as those of the Priesthood.

But, in order to meet the case, and also to rise up to the original type and intention of the sacred ministry, we must altogether *widen the area* from which it is to be drafted. God never willed that this office should be limited to one class of persons, or to those exactly of one standard and measure as regards natural gifts and earthly attainments. The spiritual work of the Church belongs to the whole body. There are diversities of gifts, and there are differences of ministrations. We shall not come to the perfect man except by the effectual working in the measure of every part. Now, as I would maintain, or rather elevate as a rule, the standard for the priesthood, seeing that because of the spread of education and the growth of infidelity there is more need than ever of a highly-educated clergy, so, considering the present emergency, I would in some cases lower the standard as regards learning for the Diaconate, giving it a more distinct and permanent character, although not drawing an absolute line which should debar

any as they become duly qualified from advancing. We must relax our rules, and draw our supplies from a wider field of society, if we are to supplement and augment our dwindling, and altogether inadequate forces. The present supply of priests might be nearly sufficient if it were supplemented by the restoration of the Diaconate, especially if the re-arrangement proposed yesterday were adopted—that of uniting small and immediately contiguous rural parishes. They might be employed with less distraction in the higher departments of clerical duties and be keeping pace with the learning of the times, causing the Church to be respected in scientific circles, while the deacons would cause her influence to be spread lower and deeper among the masses of our population. In fact, we want not only a larger but *more varied* living agency in order to deal with the manifold elements of which society is now composed in this country. Many men there are having all the essential, aye, and special qualifications for some of the principal works of the ministry, *e.g.*, winning souls to Christ, and helping them in their daily walk, men lacking classical attainments and academical training, but having had great experience and possessing much valuable knowledge; men of earnest piety, well versed in Holy Scripture and burning with desire to devote themselves to the service of Christ and immortal souls, and that within the pale of our Church, some of them perhaps men of humble origin and culture, but others, not a few, of gentler blood and refinement; men of leisure, or engaged in business or following professions, who would render invaluable aid in relieving and supplementing the overtaxed energies of many a pastor, seeking out and ministering to souls who must otherwise be left untended and uncared for upon the dark mountains of spiritual destitution. Such an agency moreover might, in many cases, be obtained at little or no expense, if the deacon, after apostolic example, were allowed still to maintain himself by a secular calling. And yet, alas, how many such men are lost to us. They are absorbed into other denominations, or betake themselves to irregular courses and become self-constituted teachers, or the holy zeal kindled in them, is suppressed until it well nigh dies out of them, and all because we have not welcomed and enlisted that help, for lack of which we are languishing and souls are perishing by thousands.

Lord Hatherley.

The above two subjects are closely connected with each other. In this paper, limited as it must be, by time, I shall assume that the Church surely needs increased numbers of labourers to gather in the Lord's harvest.

The Church of Christ is bound to evince its life by its development and growth to break forth by the lengthening of her cords, and strengthening of her stakes in every region where she has once obtained a firm position, but especially so bound is this our National Church of England. This reformed English branch of the Church Catholic, this standing protest against superstitious degradation and

despotic government, pretending to infallibility, on the one hand and rationalistic self-will and anarchy on the other, should be prepared at all times to invite, at least, within her fold the many nations committed by Providence to our secular government.

I cannot dilate in this paper on the advantages and blessings derived to every Christian family from the existence of a National Church, organized and governed according to the primitive and apostolic model, and forming a portion of the great body of which Christ is alone the Head.

When our portion of the Church Catholic became established it entered into combination with the political organization of the realm, and the Church, on the one hand, conferred on the State the inestimable blessing of a pure faith and holy ordinances, upheld and administered by a duly commissioned clergy, and on the other submitted both as to her temporalities and outward forms of worship and government, to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Law, as declared and expounded by the constituted authorities, both legislative and administrative in this realm.

The lay element has ever been kept in sight by both the Church and State in this establishment. The Parish, governed and ministered to in matters Ecclesiastical by the "Persona," or Parson, is the unit of the system, but with the minister in most temporal matters are associated the vestry and the churchwardens and sidesmen or synodsmen. The clergy of the several parishes constituting a diocese are placed under the superintendence of a Bishop, the Bishops under that of the Archbishop of the Province, and the whole organization is left to the control and regulation of the laity represented by the Houses of Parliament, the Bishops, however, by their advice and vote assisting the House of Lords, and the action of both Houses being confirmed by the assent of the Crown.

Now this organization, in itself good, has been found defective chiefly from the increasing prosperity of the country. At home, the population of some parishes and places, especially in the metropolis and in the manufacturing districts, has enormously increased, and abroad—the colonies and dependencies, especially India, have opened an ever-widening field of missionary work.

To meet these emergencies, societies have sprung up, of which the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, are amongst the earliest types, giving rise subsequently to the National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor, and the Church Missionary Society, Church Building Societies, and Societies for providing additional Pastors and Curates have also been formed, some of which were originated, and all have been supported by the aid of the laity, though the clergy, I fear, have been called upon to bear far more than their due proportion of the labour and expenditure in each phase of Church development.

I am thankful, however, that the Parochial system, and Diocesan government, though for a while in some degree left in the background, have yet been found necessary to the full development of our Church work. The revival of Rural Deaneries, which has taken

place of late years, is a return to an essentially Parochial Agency, and Diocesan Branch Societies have been established for the various kinds of Church work, and have afforded a solid foundation on which that work may be rested.

But what an additional weight of labour has been thrown upon the clergy! Not only have parishes of enormous extent and population been left to one incumbent, but contrast the amount of Church-work done in every one of these parishes with that which was considered all-sufficient less than half a century ago.

I, myself, within that time remember to have heard from one of the most zealous and active parish priests, that the incumbent of a considerable parish in the town in which he was for the first time about to labour, thus addressed him, "You will find I have done everything I could here for the Church. I found service every Saints' Day, and the Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays, and I have brought down the two Litany days to one, and abolished the Saints' Day Service." No such feeling is likely, I think, again to animate any of our clergy. Increased services both in country districts and in towns, daily services in most town parishes, and frequent Communion services attest the change. Then consider the now absolute necessity for establishment of both Day and Sunday Schools, and the far more regular and systematic visitation of the poor and sick in every parish.

These are the necessities of the Church, but yet more is desired by many who feel anxious that the service of God should bear some proportion, not indeed to His Greatness, which is infinite, but to the love of those who desire to offer up their best to Him Who gives them all. To such it appears that amid the gorgeous abodes of the wealthy the building dedicated to the worship of God should not be the meanest, and that the skill exercised in ornamenting it should not be the poorest and feeblest, and that the voice of praise and thanksgiving should not be uttered in the dullest and most sleep-inviting accents.

For all these purposes expenditure must be incurred, and as the Apostles thought it not right that they should be occupied in "serving tables," so may the overburdened parochial clergy well require the aid not only of a diaconate, but of the laity, in raising the necessary sums of money for the various purposes I have referred to, as well as in carrying those purposes out.

It has been found beyond all dispute that the labourers fall short of the demand. The very fountain head of their supply appears of late to have sunk below the level required.

The candidates for orders are either fewer in number or fewer in proportion to the increased number of those to whom they should minister, and the combined efforts of the incumbent, and one or more curates in parishes of perhaps more than 10,000 persons, cannot achieve such continual preaching of the Gospel as first brought the world of the Gentiles within the Church's fold, though a valuable body of paid agents has been for a long while engaged under the designation of Scripture Readers in rendering such assistance as was in their power.

The two special subjects of this paper, "A Permanent Diaconate," and "Lay Help," indicate two methods of supplying the deficiency.

The one scheme, that of "A Permanent Diaconate" would, it is thought, enlarge the number of candidates for Holy Orders by inducing a new class of men to enter on the first step in the ministry, namely, men whose education has not been, and is not likely to be, carried so far as is now required for the next step—that of Priests, and who, from their social position, being somewhat different from that of the incumbent, might be content to remain in that condition and be ready to devote their lives in all simplicity to the manifold duties of the deacon curate. A desire has been expressed by some to extend the field of choice still further by lowering the standard of examination of deacons generally, and some high authorities have added to this the suggestion of allowing the deacons, as such, still to support themselves after ordination by trade or other remunerative employment.

It appears to me that it would not be possible to bind down those admitted to the diaconate by any pledge that "when they have used the office of a deacon well," they will not apply for the higher order of the Priesthood, but I think that the examination for Priests' Orders might well be retained at its present level, or even raised, so as to admit only those members of the diaconate who reach to higher level of instruction. Many would thus remain in effect permanent deacons.

I do not see any objection even to lowering the standard of examination of the deacons, which would tend still further to fix the permanency of the diaconate. I am on the whole unwilling to open trade or other lucrative employment to deacons after their ordination.

There can be no objection in principle to allowing deacons, Priests, or even Bishops to follow some worldly calling by which a maintenance can be secured. It might well become a necessity, for instance in the case of some Missionary Churches at the present day. The case of St. Paul is sufficient to establish this point. But experience has led to the conclusion that at least in settled communities, it is well that secular pursuits should be withdrawn from those whose whole life is supposed to be dedicated to higher duties. Self-maintenance, indeed, especially such as is undertaken in order to spare others a burthen, is in itself a duty, but it has no doubt been found by experience that it is very difficult indeed to draw the line between the moderate attention to worldly business, which is required for that purpose, and the pursuit of lucrative occupation which soon becomes engrossing.

The so-called Apostolical Canons prohibited "Bishops, Priests, and deacons" from secular callings, and at the Reformation in like manner a statute (20 H. viii, c. 13) forbade the exercise of worldly callings by those in Holy Orders. I fear that in the present condition of society the respect paid to the clergy might be much diminished by a relaxation of the rule.

It may be observed that for the purpose of making the experiment, an Act of Parliament will be necessary, a point not to be lost sight

of in considering any proposals which have not a basis of experience, and it will be seen that a resolution as to lay readers at a conference of Archbishops and Bishops at Lambeth, subsequently referred to, distinctly negatived the expediency of an application to Parliament for such a purpose.

A difficulty at present no doubt presses very much on those candidates for orders who have not the means of pursuing their studies, nor even of maintaining themselves during so long a period as intervenes between the ages of say 16 and 23. In many cases employment may be found for them, as the only resource open to them is that of becoming ushers in small schools, where neither their education nor their tone of character is advanced. But it appears to me that before making the new experiment of permitting deacons to exercise secular employments after ordination, I would rather rely on the resource of lay help where the experience of the aid rendered, and of the character maintained by the lay helper, might well lead to his ordination as a deacon, and at the same time, in consideration of such aid, lowering the standard of examination.

The lay helpers, where such are organised, can really perform all the more pressing duties for which the aid of a deacon is required. I refer upon this point to the last annual report (the 10th) of the Association of Lay Helpers for the Diocese of London.

1. Preaching in Sunday Schools and conducting services for the children.
2. Conducting Bible Classes for young men.
3. Systematic visiting of the poor and sick for religious purposes.
4. Conducting, or assisting at services for the poor in School and Mission Rooms, and in the open air.
7. Assisting at Church Services in the choir and in reading the Lessons.
8. Seeking out the unbaptized and unconfirmed.

I am thus naturally brought to the question of lay help. I pass by the lay help provided by law, viz :—Churchwardens and other officers, neither will I dwell on the great benefit derived from diocesan conferences of clergy and laity. I will speak rather of the parochial lay help in aid of the incumbents of parishes desiring such assistance. This subject was very prominently brought forward at a meeting held in 1865 at London House under the presidency of the present Primate, then Bishop of London. A sub-committee of the Bishop of London's Fund had reported on lay agency, and the regulations I have just cited with others describing the duties of lay agents were resolved upon.

A fundamental principle or rule of the association was that lay help should be provided on the application of the incumbents of the parishes requiring it.

The present Primate, then Bishop of London, had established a Diocesan Association of lay helpers, of which the following were fundamental rules.

1. The members are to be communicants, and to be proposed to the Bishop.

2. A list is to be furnished of members, and of the duties they may be willing to undertake.

3. On application by incumbents they are to be put in communication with these members.

On Ascension Day, 1865, an important meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of our Church was held at Lambeth, who unanimously agreed

1. That it was not expedient to alter the statute or common law with the view of extending the diaconate to persons engaged in professions or trades.

2. That it was desirable to institute the office of reader, and that the form of admission thereto be by prayer and delivery of the New Testament by the Bishop, without imposition of hands, and that it be held until the Bishop shall, by writing, under his hand, remove the holder thereof.

3. That the office be exercised under the Bishop's commission, issued with the written consent of the incumbent, and revocable by the Bishop on his mere motion, or at the request of the incumbent.

4. The office to be unpaid. The duties to be :—To render aid to the Clergy in all ministrations, not strictly requiring the aid of one in Holy Orders; to read Lessons in the Church; to read Prayers and Holy Scripture, and to explain the same at such places as the Bishop's commission shall define.

The present Bishop of London in February, 1869, approved of the various suggestions as to lay help, of which I have already stated the chief heads, and also approved of a form for the admission of lay readers pursuant to the resolutions of the meeting of Archbishops and Bishops in 1865. Some of our Bishops have, in like manner, approved of forms for solemnly inaugurating the office of lay reader.

In September, 1872, the present Primate delivered a series of addresses or charges on his primary visitation, in the first of which he discussed the subject of lay help. In an appendix to the charge, he states :—the Diocesan Lay Helpers in the Diocese of London to have commenced with 90, in 1869, and to have amounted to nearly 1,400 in 1871; of which number 30 were lay readers. In the Tenth Annual Report of the same Diocesan Society (1875-6) the lay helpers are stated as amounting to nearly 2,400, and the lay readers to 107.

I think these facts are sufficient to shew that the system of lay help and of lay readers has been found acceptable to a large number of the clergy. Those who do not desire, or are unable to procure the agency of a lay reader, are yet largely relieved from their mere secular duties by the lay agency in their general parochial work, and the increase of lay readers (already trebled in number between 1871 and 1875) shews a growing disposition to adopt that agency on the part of the clergy, and to undertake its duties on the part of the laity. I think, too, that the institution of lay readers is in harmony with our Church Constitution. The Bishop's license, formerly necessary for any Church Teacher, is given in more solemn form. I have heard objections made to the use of prayers not sanctioned

by Convocation or by Parliament. I can understand the objection if such forms of prayer were used in our Parish Churches, but I think no one can object to a blessing being sought for those whom the Bishop is authorized to license, nor to its being used in the Bishop's Chapel rather than in his hall or drawing room.

One suggestion I ought to refer to in this paper, viz., that of a restoration of a sub-diaconate. It appears to me that lay helpers, especially when licensed as readers, with prayer, really supply the place of sub-deacons. To the employment of the latter term objections would be probably made, which cannot be made to our present scriptural orders, sanctioned by the general usage of the Church Catholic. Whitgift in his answer to Cartwright, cites Beza's approbation of the sub-diaconate as scriptural, but even writers before the Reformation (see citations in Rogers, on the Thirty-nine Articles, p. 260,—Parker, Society's reprint), appear to exclude the sub-diaconate from such sanction.

On the whole, then, I venture to suggest :—

1. The extension, generally, of Associations of lay helpers on a similar footing to that in the Diocese of London.

2. The encouragement of an increase of lay readers.

3. The selection from lay readers, or other members of the Association of lay helpers, of men, who, besides being qualified for holy orders by their intelligence and conduct, have adequate means of self-support, either by reason of private fortune, or from resources which will remain open to them after their ordination as deacons (such as clerkships and the like.)

4. The admission of those so selected to the order of deacons on a lower educational standard than at present ; for instance, without requiring any examination in the learned languages.

5. That there be no relaxation in the requisitions for the examination before admission to priest's orders.

I have spoken of the benefit to be derived by the clergy from lay help. I find it impossible to exaggerate the blessing of such labour to the lay helpers and to the large masses on whom their help is brought to bear. To the young, zealous Christian, work is pointed out on which he can fully expend his zeal without incurring the temptation to which youthful vanity is all too prone ; of despising, as dull, the Church's order. He can thus convey to the masses the good tidings of salvation, to which they cannot otherwise have any access amid the din and toil of their worldly callings. The more familiar intercourse thus commenced with one of their own class on sacred subjects prepares them for the instructions of a higher character from the minister, and when we see the members (continually increasing) of Young Men's Christian Associations and other like agencies at work among the Church's fold, I think we are justified in looking to lay help as a wise tentative step in advance, from which great results may be anticipated.

I may add that I especially appreciate the practical form which lay help has assumed. Amidst the many evils of the present day, anyone who has experienced the blessing of steady adherence to order, and in his own parish steadily accepts his allotted share of

parish work, will understand how it was that the saintly Hooker, on his death bed, meditated on the blessed harmony and order of the service of Angels in Heaven, and expressed a longing wish that so it might be on earth. Amen.

Mr. Robert Furley, Ashford.

In all ages of the Church the help of the laity of both sexes has been of great importance to the clergy, and never was its need felt more than at the present time, when so much is expected of them. In venturing, however, to submit some thoughts on the subject, I wish it to be understood that they are the result of observations made chiefly in Kent, my native county.

When we look at the state of the Church of England in 1831, and call to mind the disastrous riots throughout the country, especially at Bristol, when the Bishop's Palace was destroyed, and the disgraceful attack on the late Archbishop Howley in his metropolitan city on the 7th of August, 1832, we can but feel astonished and grateful for what has been since achieved.

I will not withhold from the heads of the Church and the clergy generally, their share of praise for these important results, but it will be admitted that the pressure from the laity was *the great moving power* which put an end to non-residence, the system of pluralities, and the general laxity which had so long existed in its discipline. These wholesome and indispensable changes secured a permanent Ecclesiastical Commission, and the fixing of the incomes of dignitaries; but the crowning act of all was the commutation of the tithes, which, while it led to the improved cultivation of the soil, and did only common justice to its occupiers, put an end to those long and costly controversies which checked religious progress.

When the axe was thus laid to these grievances and abuses, and not till then, were the laity brought to the front, and a better understanding with the clergy sprang up.

We have since witnessed the formation of Diocesan Societies for Education, Church Building, and other religious objects, the erection of new churches, the restoration of old ones, a resident and effective body of clergymen, too often inadequately remunerated, but nearly all supplied *now* with comfortable residences; as well as schools almost as numerous as churches, carefully watched over by the clergy, often at a cost which they can ill afford. All this has been brought about by the united labours of the clergy and *those of our laity*, who believed that the Church of England was worth preserving. At no former period of her history has she been better prepared to meet the attacks of her enemies, come they from what quarter they may; and no parallel to such a revival of religious zeal is to be found in any other country. But as more remains to be done, there is no time for rest.

At the beginning of the present century the number of the parochial clergy was smaller than the parishes to be served, and though this want has in some slight measure been supplied, the

unsatisfactory distribution of our clergy is still to be deplored. In the northern dioceses the population assigned to each clergyman is about double the number to be found in the south.

At the recent Diocesan Congress held at Canterbury, his Grace the Archbishop referred to the great difficulty which existed in providing a sufficient number of duly qualified clergymen. This statement is gravely made at the time that our need of them is daily increasing. There appears, therefore, to be no alternative but to attempt to supply this want by providing more efficient lay help. Such a movement must of course originate with the clergy, and when there is a proper organisation, the demand for help will I doubt not produce the supply.

It is not *Christianity* that is wanted for this work, *but Christians*, and hundreds of them, are, I believe, to be found who are not satisfied with merely giving their pecuniary help to the Church, but have a craving to assist the over-worked ministry, in one form or another. How often might the broken health of the clergy have been prevented by such assistance. Look only at what has been done in London. An association of lay helpers was established there about twelve years ago, under the auspices of our present Primate while Bishop of that Diocese. It has now between two and three thousand members, and has proved a great success. It has been formed of an organised body of laymen of all classes being communicants, who assist the clergy gratuitously, especially those of poor and populous parishes in various branches of their parochial work. It is kept on foot at the trifling cost to the whole diocese of about £125, supplemented by a grant of £175 from the Bishop of London's Fund. The present Bishop in a pastoral letter states, "Experience only deepens my conviction, that *if the masses* are to be penetrated by healthy and improving influences; if their social, moral, and religious condition is to be ameliorated, it must be by eliciting in aid of the Pastor's labours, and side by side with his ministrations of the Word, the co-operation of the Christian laity of both sexes, more extensive, more sustained, and more systematic, than the Church of England has hitherto enjoyed and invited."

Here, then, we have a starting point.

Now, some of the tests by which we may judge whether or not a parish is well worked and cared for, are, the state of the Church, the services performed in it, the congregations, and whether they are *composed of all classes, including a due proportion of the poor*, the appearance of its church-yard, the support and management of its schools, its clothing and other clubs, its district visiting, especially among the aged and infirm, and the help rendered to home and foreign missions.

Should the parish be *even a small one*, it needs a good constitution, and a large amount of labour in the incumbent for the efficient discharge of all these duties. But, single-handed, how inadequately must the work be done in populous and scattered ones.

Until recently, what lay help have the clergy had except from the churchwardens, whose duties, if I mistake not, are often misunderstood? The office is one of observation and complaint; church-

wardens being the organs through whom whatever is amiss, is presented. I remember the time when they left the Church during the service to visit the public-houses, and see that they were all closed, a duty now better discharged by the police. The supervision of the poor is no longer left to them and the overseers, while the periodical vestries, where all the affairs of the parish were formerly discussed, have dwindled down to one or two thinly attended ones held during the year. Thus the parochical responsibilities of the clergy are increased, our old system has become dislocated, and there is no new one to supply its place. Can we then be surprised that a large proportion of the labouring population of this country is so indifferent to religion, rarely enter a place of worship or open a Bible, have no regard for the clergy, and towards whom no Christian agency has at present been successfully directed? How then is this lower stratum to be reached, unless by the instrumentality of lay-help, or some other combining element, based on sound Church membership, and not on its hollow empty name? Habits form character, and such services rendered in a loving spirit, will not fail to produce an increase of spiritual strength to the parties so employed. Time and not money is needed for it. The lay-helper should be loyal; there must be no undervaluing the legitimate authority of the Church, nor disregard for its ordinances, but unless these things all shine brightly in the clergy themselves, how can we expect to find them in their flocks? Loyalty to the Church is required even from the Sovereign, for an English Parliament has voted it "inconsistent for the safety and welfare of this Protestant nation to be governed by a Popish King."

The more simple the organisation the better; no complicated and expensive machinery is requisite. If it is proposed to extend lay-help over the whole of a diocese, it should of course originate with the Bishop, and in no instance should lay helpers be employed in a parish without the approval of the incumbent. If judiciously introduced, a wholesome channel of activity will be provided, where most needed. Experience has proved that whenever the Church earnestly begins to occupy new ground, new means of supporting her efforts are sure to follow, especially if extreme opinions are kept in check, and the counsels of the moderate prevail. The number of laymen to be engaged must depend on the work to be done, and the assistance which may be forthcoming.

The size and position of a parish will of course regulate the aid needed, but I venture to think that there is scarcely a parish, however small, where lay help by one sex or the other, may not be profitably employed.

As no two parishes, though adjoining, can be treated alike, so no hard and fast rules can be laid down beyond that golden maxim, "in things necessary, unity; in things doubtful, liberty; in all things, charity."

The following is a brief statement of some of the services which may be advantageously rendered by the laity to the clergy.

1. Assisting to bring into the fold those who as yet have never entered it, or having entered it, have since strayed away.

2. To check drunkenness. We have to thank the legislature for closing public-houses on Sunday mornings. Formerly the drinking portion of our population returned early to the public-house on the Sunday after a Saturday night's excess, intending to spend what money they had left. The wife has now the chance of getting it. The clergy are engaged in their Churches, and the laity might be actively employed at this time in making domiciliary visits. While in our large towns, breakfasts might be occasionally provided, followed by suitable addresses. If the habitual drunkard cannot be reclaimed by adopting total abstinence, the laity may at least promote the formation of Bands of Hope for the sake of the children.

3. The encouragement of open air services in summer, and cottage-lectures during the winter.

4. Assistance in preparing for Baptism and Holy Communion, and visiting and reading with the sick, aged and infirm.

5. Reading of the Lessons on the Sunday services by a churchwarden or some layman.

6. The supervision of the choir.

7. Lay help should encourage self help. The Penny Bank should be established ; it has shown what may be rescued from the public-house. The late Mr. Edward Denison said that in our treatment of the English poor, there was nothing that we could learn from the French, but their natural thrift.

8. It begins to be apparent that most of our schools supported by voluntary subscriptions side by side with rate supported schools will sooner or later be abandoned, so the clergy will have need of all the exertions of churchmen to leaven the Board Schools.

9. Lastly, and above all, the relations of confidence between the clergy and their flocks should be promoted and deepened.

Many, if not all of these suggestions are familiar ones, and have been already adopted with success in some parishes.

I have not distinguished male from female help, but I must say a passing word on district visiting, which for nearly half a century has afforded valuable assistance to the clergy, but unless fortified with the help and discrimination of those whose hearts are not so soft, it may be a question whether, in our populous towns, if it is confined ladies, it has not become inadequate to meet imposture and pauperism.

Being connected with Kent I may refer to what has been done by the association for the supply of spiritual aid to the hop-pickers, in proof of what may be done by united and well-directed lay agency.

My experience, though it extends over a period of nearly fifty years, is, as I have said, limited. It commenced at a time when the labourers were nightly engaged in destroying threshing machines, and burning agricultural produce. I wish I could conscientiously believe that our agricultural labourers had made that progress which might have been expected from the advantages that have been offered to them. In the present day we encounter their newly-formed unions, established, not for the support of their aged parents or afflicted relatives, this they rarely think of, but for their mutual protection. I think that no thoughtful or dispassionate man can object

to these unions, provided the rules in no way infringe on the laws of the land; for we must not forget that the cultivation of the soil has assumed a commercial character. That common link which once bound the owner, cultivator, and labourer together is broken, and each now does pretty nearly what is right in his own eyes. It is this which paralyzes the exertions of the clergy. If it were not for the game, I seriously believe there are parts of England where the landlords would never go over their property; and now when they do so, they are too often surrounded by keepers and beaters instead of their own tenants, with whom they could converse about needful improvements. Again, it frequently happens that the only means by which the clergy, the tenant and the labourer have of approaching the owners of the soil is through their stewards. This was not the case when Addison wrote that amusing sketch of a landlord in his day. He tells us "Sir Roger de Coverley was standing up in Church when everybody else was on his knees, in order to count the congregation, and see if any of his tenants were missing," and he adds, that he had ordered a Bible for the boy who had pleased him on catechising day, and had rewarded the mother for the care she had taken of him.

The farmers, except in the outlying districts, are now no doubt better educated, but how few of them have as yet shown any great solicitude that this blessing should be extended to the labourers they employ, and their offspring.

A reverend gentleman, at the recent Diocesan Conference held at Canterbury, is reported to have said that farmers were apt to look upon the children of their own labourers as little better than their own cattle. Can this be true? If it is, he and his brother clergymen are not altogether blameless.

The time was, when the smaller cultivators of the soil sat down to the same table, and partook of the same food as their labourers. They saw that the Sabbath was properly observed, and drew their workmen round them in the evening, and read them a chapter from the Bible, often followed by prayer. These small occupations are fast disappearing. Most of the single men either board themselves or are boarded by the farm bailiff, who has no control over them. If the masters are regardless of them so long as they do their work, the men, on their part, care but little for their masters. They often show more solicitude for their horses, for they will steal the corn for them. But a small per centage, it has been said only 2 per cent. of those whose ages vary from fifteen to fifty, are ever to be seen in our churches or with a bible or religious book in their hands. Instead of this, they too often idle away the greater portion of the Lord's Day in the stable. Some of the single men devote the afternoon to taking their linen to be washed, and fetching it when clean, while others assemble behind a stack, or in an unfrequented spot, and play pitch and toss. How are these men to be reached? Though they are inferior to mechanics in intelligence, still there is some good material to work upon. The task will be a hard one, unless the landlords and their tenants will lend a helping hand; yet, strange to say, these are our fellow-subjects on whose behalf pressure is

soon to be put, that the elective franchise may be conferred upon them!

I must say a few words before I conclude on the objections sometimes made to lay help.

Daily experience convinces us that whether we are engaged in religious or in secular pursuits, a great proportion of mankind work best single-handed. In our worldly callings how often do we find men as they advance in years preferring to work on alone, rather than be helped, and when it is almost forced upon them, they still fancy that they can do it better than their help-mates. So it is in the Church. What difficulties do young clergymen experience in working in the same parish with aged incumbents, who lose sight of the saying of a great school-master, that "those who have ceased to learn, are no longer fit to teach."

The clergy also too often forget that the same gifts are not inherited by all, and that while one man may shine in the pulpit, another will excel in the sick-room, or school-room, or in missionary work; and, instead of being jealous, they should seek help from all who are capable and willing to render it.

Other clergymen are to be found who dread divided councils, and are afraid of provoking controversy, and we must admit that this fear is not groundless.

We also meet with others who object to prayer-meetings and religious gatherings out of the Church, and yet, strange to say, many of them keep the doors of their Churches locked throughout the week.

Again, unless the movement is a general one, it is discouraging to the clergy themselves, who have not the sympathy and co-operation of the neighbouring incumbents, while it provokes the opposition of those non-conformists, who dread any improvement in an establishment they wish to destroy. I will mention an instance of this within my own knowledge. It is the case of an agricultural parish containing 350 inhabitants. There are no resident landlords, and the farmers and their families were perfectly indifferent about lay help, but not so those in the humbler ranks, and three or four of them were selected by the Rector, and met him weekly during the winter evenings for prayer and reading of the Scriptures. These men visited by invitation a particular cottage (where some of the neighbours would also assemble), and there they read and prayed. The reading was limited to passages which had been agreed upon, and which the clergyman had previously explained to them. It was unquestionably a success, the attendances at Church and prayer meetings were better, and there was an improvement in the religious tone of the parish. But it aroused the opposition of some of the farmers, who became jealous of these humble Christians, and petty persecutions followed. The only Dissenters in the parish were Wesleyans, and, strange as it may appear, they employed spies to watch those who frequented these gatherings. Here again the Rector had no sympathy from landlord or tenant, and he was powerless. The failure has proved a severe trial to this good man, and for a time affected his health. I attribute this failure to the

want of proper Church-membership, rather than to the means employed.

I must stop, for I have exhausted the time allotted to me. Being of a sanguine temperament, I will conclude in the words of one of our Prelates—

"Though we hear on many sides, and in bitter, angry tones, the old Roman Censor's ruthless cry, 'Delenda est Carthago,' we trust if one and all do their duty, that the doom of Carthage is still remote from the Church of England, and that under God's good providence, we shall transmit an institution pregnant with capacities for usefulness, not unimpaired, but re-invigorated, strengthened, broadened, and popularized to generations yet unborn."

ADDRESSES.

The Ven. Archdeacon Allen.

I begin with four propositions that I believe to be unquestionable—

1. The Gospel is a trust to be communicated to others by all who have received it.

2. Almighty God in all ages of the Church has mercifully enabled many, who know no other language than their mother tongue, to be effectual preachers of the Gospel.

3. Through the general spread of education much native common sense and intellectual power have been elicited in men of humble rank.

4. The first requisite for an able minister of God's Word is a burning love for souls.

I recommend that in the case of men found to understand the Scriptures, and to be well learned therein, and to have an intelligent acquaintance with the history and doctrines of our book of Common Prayer, and who give a reason for the faith that is in them, and who are well reported of as men of truth, diligence, prudence, charity, godliness, and who have given proofs of their attachment to the English Church, the knowledge of Greek or Latin be not insisted on as a necessary qualification for their being admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons.

The essential difference between the office of a Deacon and of a Priest is plainly marked in the ordination services. I wish it to be generally understood that admission to the diaconate will not open the way for admission to the priesthood for any who do not give satisfactory evidence of their possessing special qualifications for the care of souls.

To relieve their Lordships the Bishops from the importunity of Deacons pressing for admission to the Priesthood before they have given such evidence of their special qualifications for the care of souls, I suggest that in each diocese two or more members of the Cathedral Chapter, or other godly and well-learned Clergymen may be named by the Bishop as those without whose recommendation, after they have carefully enquired as to the attainments of each deacon, he shall not be admitted to examination in the Ember-week by the Bishop for the priesthood.

I see no sufficient reason for deacons in all cases to forsake the labours of a secular calling of honest industry. The number of deacons may rightly be largely in excess of the number of priests. If, after experience of spiritual work, a deacon feel himself insufficient, or little qualified, for that work, it must be better for that deacon to withdraw from such spiritual work, rather than continue in a service for which he feels himself

unfit. No deacon should be admitted to a higher step in the ministry save such as have, by their prudence, their capacity, their devotion to their holy work, shewn to those who are judges in this matter, that they have purchased to themselves a claim to be admitted to the priesthood.

The foregoing suggestions have been submitted to the two Archbishops, and to all the Bishops of England and Wales. They have been approved in substance by the Bishop of Guildford and by Bishop Macdougall, by the Dean of Hereford, Archdeacon Emery, Canons Miller, W. B. Hopkins, E. J. Edwards, C. Lloyd. The Archbishop of York writes:—"These views are in the main such as I have held for many years. The difficulty is to get candidates to accept the position of permanent deacons." But my wish is, that there should be no distinction among the deacons. That all who seem to deserve the priesthood should be raised—if they wish it—to the priesthood. I wish, indeed, greatly to raise the standard of admission to the priesthood. The Bishop of Durham writes:—"I cordially agree in the purport of what you have sent me. . . . I believe if the Bishops could agree in dispensing with Greek and Latin on certain conditions, we should open the door for admittance to Holy orders of a class superior in piety, intelligence, and knowledge to very many of those who are now accepted." The Bishop of Winchester writes:—"I agree heartily, except that I doubt as to the suggestion of the withdrawal from the work." But this suggestion has already been sanctioned by Act of Parliament. The Bishop of Salisbury writes:—"I am quite ready to give a very favorable hearing to such a plan, greatly preferring it to the scheme of instituting a new order of Evangelists." The Bishop of Lincoln writes:—"With much I agree. I would give up Greek, but not Latin." The Bishop of Ely writes:—"I think it would be desirable to state in the most decided way that the standard for the priesthood would not be lowered." I am anxious greatly to raise the standard of admission to the priesthood. The Bishop of Manchester would give his "entire approval" if there were any "evidence that there is any large or qualified body of men who would be anxious to be ordained to a diaconate of the type suggested." The Bishop of Bangor writes: "It appears to me that your suggestions are very valuable. There are practical difficulties, but they may be surmounted, if we can only secure on the part of all those in power a sufficient combination of judgment and firmness." The Bishop of St. David's writes:—"Without pledging myself to any acquiescence in details, I am quite inclined to think that it points in the direction in which the solution of some of our most pressing difficulties is to be found." The Bishop of Exeter writes:—"I see no reason for substituting members of the Cathedral Chapters for the Bishop's examining chaplains, otherwise all the above suggestions seem to me good." No substitution, however, of examiners in the place of the Bishop's chaplain is intended, but a protection only of the Bishop from unfit pressure. Bishop Steere (Central African Mission) writes:—"I entirely agree with these recommendations. It seems to me a great want in the Church at present that we have no means of giving any proper status to many persons who might make most efficient preachers and helpers in Church work. During my service in England I met with some most valuable men who might have been admitted as deacons under these recommendations, who could only now be reduced to silence or driven off into Methodism. I shall always be very glad to do all I can to support the plans here proposed."

There is, as I believe, only one real difficulty, which must be faced. An Act of Parliament is necessary to repeal the disabilities as to Deacons following a secular calling, the Bishop having power to disallow any employment that seemed to the Bishop to be unfit. All Deacons formally licensed might be required to give all their time to their holy work.

Mr. Thomas Salt, M.P.

The question of lay helpers is not a new one; it was very fully considered and discussed at the Bath Congress in 1873. I believe there is a report by a committee of convocation upon the subject, and we have already heard how much has been done in the Diocese of London; I much fear, therefore, that I can add little of value to what has already been said by persons far more able and experienced than myself. We must not forget how great an amount of lay work has long been carried on in the Church of England. If we think of all those people who are actively engaged as managers of our voluntary schools, of those who are employed as district visitors, of others who bring great ability and energy to the management of our Church Associations, Institutions, and charitable works, and if we add again to those many persons throughout the country who take a warm and deep interest in their Church and in their parish affairs, we shall easily reckon up a large army of irregular forces whose zeal is beyond all praise, whose work is invaluable to the Church, and whom, if they were removed, it would be almost impossible to replace. But I conceive that the subject which is placed on the paper for consideration this morning points to something more definite and systematic than the operations to which I have just alluded. The existence of lay readers, of scripture readers, of guilds, of lay associations, and of various other assistants under various names points to a yearning for a more systematic effort in the direction of lay work. All these that I have just named are doubtless doing good work in their particular spheres, varying in character, varying in their different surroundings according to the wants, habits, and thoughts of the inhabitants of places in which they live. But possibly something more is wanted which will fit in more generally with the great scheme of Church organisation. Let us consider for a moment what is the work to be done, and the forces that we have at hand to carry out that work. The Church of England sets down as our duty the bringing home the pure and simple truths of the gospel to every man, woman, and child in the country. By the census of 1871, I find that there were in England and Wales 22,700,000 people. To provide for the spiritual ministrations necessary for this great number, there are 20,600 Clergy of the Church of England to whom must be added 9,200 ministers of Protestant Nonconformist bodies, 1,600 Roman Catholic priests, and 2,000 persons who are denominated as scripture readers. Taking those altogether we arrive at a number of between 33,000 and 34,000 persons engaged in the work of spreading the gospel throughout the country. It might at first sight seem that that was an army of people, large enough to carry out the work they had in hand, but we must make very large deductions when we come to deal with the practical question of bringing their labours directly home to the people. Many of the clergy of the Church of England are not engaged in parish work, but in teaching and other matters of that kind; then again the distribution is not equal, in one place you have clergymen attending to a parish of 200 or 300, and in others you have parishes reaching to the enormous number of 25,000 or 30,000; therefore there is much left to be done, and a great gap to be filled up. We want two things for the carrying on of the work; we want men, and we want money. It is quite clear that it would be almost impossible to raise sufficient money to provide the number of clergy that we should actually require for our over-grown parishes, and our scattered districts, because already our clergy, although sometimes rich, are, on the whole, decidedly underpaid in comparison with the growing wants and expenses of the present day. It is not so very easy, as everybody knows, to find clergy, and it is not a very unfrequent complaint that the quantity and quality of the clergy is somewhat falling off. Then we are driven back upon some expedient, such as the increase in a more systematic manner of the number of lay helpers. I do not speak about the

permanent diaconate at this moment, because I think it is better to confine myself to the point of lay helpers. I think there are four cases in which their work can be brought to bear with advantageous effects: firstly in overgrown parishes where the population is excessive; secondly, where the parish is scattered, and beyond the strength of a single clergyman to work; thirdly, where the clergyman himself is failing in health and strength, and requires some assistance in visiting, in reading the lessons, and so forth; fourthly, there are cases where a layman can in the first instance gain admission to the houses of people who have been neglected, and are ignorant, but to which a clergyman would not be so readily admitted. In those cases I think lay-helpers can be employed with very great effect. Then how are we to get those lay-helpers? It seems to me you want to encourage a lay-helper to do the work by putting into his hand some definite authority. Laymen are very shy in undertaking this work, and the very best men are slow to undertake it: they say "Why should I put myself in this position, the people may not like it; I may not feel myself qualified for it;" and there are a hundred feelings of that kind which the best men will have. I cannot help feeling that a very great step would be gained if the Bishop were to give directly to any lay-helper who was required to work in a parish, some very simple authority or memorandum of approval, drawn up in the simplest form, stating what that particular person might do, where he might work, and also containing the power of withdrawal at any time on the part of the Bishop. I think that by some such simple method as that we might attract a great number of lay-helpers to work; they would feel that they had an authority from the highest sources, and they would be in that position that they would be completely under authority, and might be withdrawn at any time if it were convenient or desirable.

I could say more, but I think that I have reached the limits of my time.

Rev. Hugh Smyth.

The only reason I can conceive for my having been called upon to address this section upon this subject is that I have been fortunate enough in my own parish to elaborate a system which has hardly been touched upon by previous speakers, and which develops a new and very important feature of lay work. The parish in which that work is carried on is one of which there are so many in these days of increasing population, in which an agricultural parish adjoins, and almost surrounds a manufacturing town. The town pushes itself out in various directions, and we all know how a district springs up under those circumstances. First of all there are a few houses, then the score of houses becomes a hundred, and by this time there is usually some small unsightly Nonconformist place of worship served only by the most inferior of local preachers. By degrees the number of houses increases, a large district springs up, the distance from the parish church is possibly a mile and a half, a very large number cease to attend any place of worship at all, and the rest probably merge into Nonconformity. At last, after all this mischief has been done, the district gets so large that it is sufficient for a separate district, a grant is made and a curate is sent in, who has to enter upon the work almost single-handed, without any proper assistance or appliances, and he has an exceedingly up-hill career before him. All this time there have probably been close at hand laymen to whose charge that district might have been committed, who might have been the pioneers of the coming clergyman and the coming Church, and afterwards most able and effectual assistants. I have, fortunately, in my parish been able, before this mischief was done, to secure the services of men of great experience, great energy, and ample means—large employers of labour, who had been occupied in Church work, such as is commonly

open to laymen, for sometime, and who were most desirous of serving the Church in every way if they could only do so under proper authority. One of them was the Mayor of the Borough town last year, another is the present Mayor, and two others were great and prosperous employers of labour. These men had districts assigned to them. Their first care was to build an iron Church. A choir was also procured, with proper musical appliances. Then the next step was the authority to be given to these laymen, and the present Bishop of Ely very wisely determined that they should not be cast haphazard on the district, but that there should be a regular system that they should act under his license. He also desired that they should go up for their quasi ordination at the same time as the candidates for holy orders, and also that they should have some examination, not in Latin and Greek of course, but to see that they were properly fitted for the work. I accordingly took those four men up, and, with regard to the examination, it was not a very difficult one, and I do not think I shall be betraying confidence if I describe it. We were ushered first into the presence of the Chaplain—a very able University man—and he began to talk to us, but the then Mayor was a man of most venerable aspect, with a long white beard and long white locks, and to something which the Chaplain said, he remarked, "Ah! what the young man says is very true," I observed that as soon as the Chaplain, who had been accustomed to examine candidates for Deacon's Orders, heard those words, "Young man," fall from the Mayor's lips, he retired. Then a message came from the Bishop to say that he would like to speak to us, and the Bishop said, "To tell you the truth, Mr Smyth, my chaplain has come back, and he says there is a very venerable old gentleman there, and he frightens him, and he says I must come myself." The Bishop came. I do not think he was frightened, but he at once saw that these were men well fitted for the work, and, after a little conversation, all he laid down was that they should go through the addresses and be present at the ordination, when they were solemnly commissioned for that which they had to do. He also intends to keep a register of those who are ministering in the same way, and to call them up for visitation as regularly as he calls up the clergy. Now the next point was the service, and here an objection was made. Are you not confounding the laity and priesthood in giving them a regular service? —they are to expound, but there is no distinction between expounding and preaching. But the Bishop has laid down very clearly that they are to take no part whatever in some parts of our Liturgy; for instance, in the service of the Holy Communion, not even in the Anti-Communion—they would not, of course, take part in the absolution, and thus there is no more effectual way of teaching the difference between a layman and a priest. They are at the service Sunday after Sunday. The people see there is this that a layman can and may do, and there is this that he cannot do and must not do, but that a priest alone must do. The result of the whole is that the Church has been completely filled, that it has been more than filled, so that at this moment we are going to add aisles to the temporary building, and I have already received an assurance of £1,000 to begin with, whenever we are in a position to turn the district into a separate parish. Now, I believe, such men as these are to be found in numbers all over the country, and why, when we have such a mine of wealth among the laymen, shall we leave that untried? They are men of ability, men of piety, men of experience, and shall we go to untried boys fresh from school, as one speaker has suggested, or shall we lower the standard of the clergy, as another proposes. I hope that those who have the lead in these matters will pause before they do anything of that kind. Would you lower the standard of the attainments of the clergy at a time when education is spreading to such an extent, that the lower classes are more educated than the higher ones of a generation ago? Would you, again, in the time of increasing wealth, inflict the misery of poverty upon those whom you doom to a perpetual

diaconate? Do you not know that the very greatest hazard the Church, speaking of it as an establishment, has ever had to go through, is that which we have done away with, which existed in the time of pluralities, when there was a rector with his handsome income, and there was a man who would never hope to be anything else than a curate in utter penury, and when the man who was the curate might be to the eyes of the people by far the superior man? Do you not know that the old books teem with stories of degradation and misery to which these men were reduced? You cannot take up a work of fiction in the old time but you see this on every side, and will you increase it by bringing forward a large body of these men freshly introduced to the Church? Consider the heart-burning there will be if you have a body of deacons. I am not speaking of men pursuing their usual calling, but men set apart for that work. Consider the heart-burning there will be even if you hold out a possibility of succeeding to the priesthood. I grant you this may not be the case if you have a celibate clergy, because there is nothing degrading in the eyes of the man himself, or in the eyes of those around him in celibate poverty, but if you have a married clergy, will you have families brought up as those families were? Will you have the spectacle of poverty for those around to look at with half pity and half contempt? We have something like it in the Scotch Kirk, where the probationers who are not accepted go on with the title of the "Stickit Minister." Will you have a class like those men, who have gone up perhaps three or four times—industrious men, able men, perhaps good preachers, but yet unable to pass the examination? What respect will a man gain in his parish who has been attempting two or three times to pass, and has been unsuccessful? You create a body of disappointed men. They may be men of piety and earnestness when they enter into the work, but it is impossible for a man to keep his energies fresh under such depressing influences. And I would again point to the utilisation of laymen as the remedy for our present want of men.

DISCUSSION.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester.

I believe I have some claim to say a few words on this subject, for I am the first person who ever brought it publicly forward, at all events in a printed form, in the present generation. Twenty-three or twenty-four years ago I read a paper, which I hold in my hand, on the subject of lay work and the permanent diaconate, to a ruridecanal chapter in Cornwall. That paper was in favour both of lay work under regular fixed rules and of a permanent diaconate. It was most strongly opposed by the episcopate of the day, and most strongly opposed by my own dearest and best friends amongst the Bishops. I brought the subject forward more than once in the Lower House of Convocation, assisted by my Rt. Rev. friend the Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham. I brought it forward as soon as I became a Bishop, and every Bishop on the bench at that time either opposed me or held his tongue. Therefore, I alone fought the battle for a considerable time. I shall say very little about lay readers, because my friend, Mr. Smyth, has spoken about them in my old diocese, but I would say in answer to what was said by Mr. Salt, that for thirteen years I have been in the habit of admitting in my own private chapel, to a service that would be public to anybody who like to come, lay readers, and have given them a regular form of license signed and sealed with my official seal, giving them authority to minister in all places except in the parish Church—of course not to use the absolution, nor the blessing, nor anything which is distinctly priestly, but giving them authority to act as workers in the parish, as ministers in places of worship not consecrated, and I have found in both my dioceses that that

has answered. Only very lately I admitted a general officer in the camp at Aldershot who fulfilled his duties most diligently and effectually, until, unhappily, he was called away from the position he then occupied. I am sure these readers have worked most admirably, only too few come forward to offer themselves. I do not think it necessary that they should have much examination, if only the clergyman of the parish is satisfied that they are efficient men, men who have the love of God in their hearts, who have sufficient knowledge of the faith of Christ, who are orthodox and sound in that faith—if their own parish priest is satisfied of that, I am always ready to admit them, and I have never failed in finding that they are thoroughly good men. Now I should like to speak of the other subject in that paper—one is the permanent diaconate and the other a certain form of lay work, namely, ladies' work. With regard to the permanent diaconate I think it very important for this reason, I want to see the standard of learning in the clergy kept up, and, if possible, raised, and I am perfectly certain that unless we have some new machinery, it must be very rapidly and very greatly lowered. We cannot help it. Bishops are pressed every day. I believe I never pass a week in which either the incumbent of a parish, or a candidate himself, does not press upon me in the most earnest way to relax some of my rules in order to admit men whom I consider unqualified for the orders of deacons and priests. Now there really is such a want and such a deficiency of clergy, that unless something can be done—and there can be some safety valve—the learning of the clergy, and the social status of the clergy, must be very considerably lowered and that very soon indeed. Another thing which moves me very strongly in the matter is this, there is not a Church in the world, that I know of, which does not use in its ministry men of a lower class than the English clergy. I think we lose a great deal by refusing to accept the zeal and energies of men in the lower class of society. The result is that if we do obtain men, as we are obliged to do sometimes, whose education is not quite up to the standard, we raise them up to a certain extent in the social scale, and make them a kind of half gentleman. But I am certain that if you raise such persons into a high position by making them clergymen, and put them into a different social position, you do not improve their position in life, on the contrary you make them very uncomfortable, you give them expenses which they never had before, and, therefore, really make them very much poorer men. But if you could bring persons from the middle classes, and not only that, but I do not see any possible reason why should not bring them from the lower classes, into the lower orders of the ministry, you may keep them there. Is there anything dishonourable or disgraceful in being a peasant? Not the least in the world. I have known as many gentlemen among peasants as I have known in other classes. If I look back to the persons who I should say were the most thorough ladies and gentlemen at heart, I should find them among the peasants; therefore, there is nothing dishonourable in being a peasant. Why cannot we have those men? When you make a thorough Christian of a man you have done a great deal towards making him a gentleman. It is not necessary to put them into a handsome house, to give them a show and a state which is not natural to them, but you do raise them very much indeed by giving them a high Christian tone. The great success of the Wesleyans has been due to two causes, one the large employment of local preachers, and the other the large employment of class leaders. We have nothing of that kind. A lay reader has some analogy to both of these classes, but he is neither the one nor the other, though he is something approaching to a local preacher, but we want some such organisation amongst ourselves. We never shall thoroughly reach all the masses of the country unless we have persons who can be drawn from a class somewhat different from the gentry, and can be employed in certain agencies, which gentlemen, perhaps, are not altogether equally fitted for. The great difficulty of this has been already touched upon more than once, it is,

that if you want a permanent deacon he must be pretty well provided for. If you are to have a deacon who can pass into the priesthood, and who may, in the course of time get a living, and after that might possibly get a deanery, and after that possibly a bishopric, you may very likely get a man who will come for £50 a year. It is not so easy to get them now, but a few years ago there were plenty of people perfectly willing to take orders and to take curacies which were not worth more than £50 a year. But if you provide that a man shall not, save under exceptional circumstances, pass out of the diaconate, you must give him at least £150 a year, or else he will not be ready to serve upon that condition, that is if he is a middle class man. If you take an actual peasant perhaps it might be otherwise, but if you take a middle class man he cannot have less than £150 a year. This is the real difficulty; and the only solution that I can see is the having persons who are allowed to engage in their ordinary occupations. I quite admit the difficuties which Lord Hatherley has thrown out. No doubt some of the ancient canons are against Bishops, priests or deacons meddling in any secular work, and there is a canon of our own Church which is perhaps somewhat against it, although not distinctly against it, that ministers are not to forsake their calling, are not voluntarily to relinquish the same, and afterwards use themselves in the course of their life as laymen. That is not the same thing as first engaging in secular work and adding to it the work of the ministry. It is possible that we might have to go to the Crown in order to enable us to make a new canon, and I suppose in the Acts of Parliament there are words which may require modification in order to enable us to admit persons under those conditions. But nevertheless, great as the difficulty is, it appears to me that it ought to be faced. I am sure there are thousands of persons at this moment in this country who would very gladly indeed add to their secular labours the duty and calling of a deacon in the Church of Christ. Of course it is impossible to say that that deacon should not be allowed, under exceptional circumstances, to rise to the priesthoood, but still, as a rule, I should say these men ought to be kept in that condition unless they have shown some unusual zeal and some unusual ability in their office. I did want in addition to this question, to speak for a moment on ladies' work, or women's work—for it is much better to talk about women than ladies. We have a great deal of women's work, thank God, in the Church. A great many women are working quietly, but not with any direct authority; but there was an order in the Primitive Church which gave direct authority to women as well as to men, and it does seem to me that we are very much failing indeed in our due organisation, by not thoroughly reviving the ancient order of deaconesses. Is is scriptural, it is primitive, it is thoroughly orthodox. The deaconess works with the direct authority of the Bishop, she works under the minister of the parish. She is, therefore, not likely in any way to go wrong in her teaching, because she is responsible both to the Bishop and to the priest, and she will have a great deal more power than any ordinary lady by being thus admitted into a regular order in the Church. I do commend most earnestly to the consideration of the Church these two very important subjects; we certainly want every machinery that we can call into existence. Some people say, why does not the bishop who advocates this, call it into existence himself, the permanent diaconate. I answer that the permanent diaconate cannot be safely called into existence by one single Bishop. It must be the work of the whole Church, otherwise it will be a failure.

Mr. Anthony B. Cobb.

The more one hears on the subject now before the Congress, the clearer and plainer it seems that the Church of England is stretching forth her hands for something, which either she has not got, or does not possess in such fulness and perfection as to satisfy her needs. Now that want is not Episcopacy, neither is it the second order of the Ministry, for she rejoices both in her Bishops and her Priests. But what are we to say of the third order? *Where are her Deacons?* True there are men bearing this title, but we miss the clear distinction of office which we find in the other two orders. Why, a Deacon can take charge of a Parish in the absence of the Vicar or Incumbent! In short, the Deaconship is simply a stepping-stone to the Priesthood. Now is all this in harmony with the account given in the 6th chapter of the Acts, of the institution of Deaconship? Here the distinction of office is clear enough: those in the higher Ministry gave themselves "to prayer and to the ministry of the Word;" while the Deacon's office was, "to serve Tables;" *i. e.*, attend to the more temporal concerns of the people. Now is not this just what is wanted at the present time? The clergy are overworked; they are burdened with matters which ought not to be thrown upon them, and are thus hampered in the discharge of those duties which properly belong to their office. But where, you ask, are the men to be found who would be willing thus "to serve Tables"? I answer, *everywhere*. In every rank of life there are men of honest report, men of faith, filled with the grace and love of God, who would gladly give themselves to the service of God in His Church, in some regular appointed manner. Let such be chosen by their brethren out of their respective congregations; and with the consent and sanction of the Vicar and Bishop, let them be ordained Deacons in the Church of God, *without giving up their secular calling*. I will not detain you by speaking of the difficulties which I know can be urged, though I feel sure that they are not too great to be overcome. I rather pass on to point out the advantages of this course, and they are twofold; first as regards the Parish Priest, and secondly as regards the people. I have already alluded to the fact, too well known, that the clergy are burdened by many extraneous matters. One thing especially occurs to me. Is it right, is it in harmony with his office, that the clergyman of the parish should be responsible for the money required to build schools, or to restore his church, and yet how often is this the case! Here, however, the Deacons' duty would be plain; upon them this responsibility would rest, and being engaged in business or professions, they would be in a better position to undertake the responsibility than the Vicar whose income is limited, and too often very limited indeed. Other points might be mentioned, such as more leisure being left for study, and for training and looking after their own families, if the clergy felt they had men upon whom they could rely, to attend to the more secular concerns of the parish. Nor would the advantage be on the side of the clergy alone. The people would be represented, they would feel and appreciate the fact, and thus much heartburning would be prevented. They would have moving in and out among them, men engaged in occupations like themselves, men ever ready with the cheering word of counsel and encouragement, while teaching both by example and precept, how "denying ungodliness and worldly lusts," "to live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world; looking for that Blessed Hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ." But this is not all. We must not confine our view to the *present* only. (Indeed, so far as that is concerned I feel sure that the plan I am advocating can only be carried out slowly, and with the greatest caution). The subject has a very important aspect as regards the *future*. The general impression amongst farseeing, deep-thinking persons is that the future is dark and cloudy; that sooner or later trials and troubles will befal the Church of Christ as

a whole, when the faith, and love and zeal of her members will be tested to the utmost, and the Church of England as part of the one Holy Catholic Church will not escape. Let her see then betimes that her army is well officered, and that in every grade there are men valiant for the faith. She is increasing her Episcopate, her Priests are labouring in the many Churches springing up throughout the length and breadth of the land, let her also extend the borders of the Diaconate. Such a step will undoubtedly be a special means of bringing the Gospel of Salvation home to the masses, and of helping them to retain their allegiance to Christ and His Church. The Church of England being thus watchful, thus prepared, God will be able to fulfil in her His Word of Promise, "When the enemy shall come in like a flood the Spirit of the Lord will lift up a standard against him." It is *men* that God thus uses—men in certain offices and borders of ministry which He has appointed; these He fills with His Spirit, the Spirit of the Man Christ Jesus, and thus enables them to contend with that spirit of Antichrist which is already abroad in the world, aye, and against Antichrist himself when he shall arise. In a word, God has given to His Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, —the Church of England has the two former—let her see that the latter are not wanting. And then when the hour of her trial comes, she shall know to her comfort, to her strength, and to the glory of God, that such "a threefold cord is not quickly broken."

Archdeacon Ffoulkes.

I WISH at the outset of my observations to say with great deference to the Lord Bishop of Winchester that I cannot agree with the idea of a permanent diaconate, because I think many men admitted to it may so use their time and read so diligently that they may be found some day fitted for the priesthood, and I should be sorry that anybody entered upon the office of a deacon, with the idea that he must be tied to that for the rest of his days. I quite feel that it is in the power of our Bishops to decide upon the standard of deacons and priest orders, and I wish to leave that in their hands. I cannot at all agree with the idea of deacons being engaged in trade. In this country there is an idea that when a man is ordained deacon he becomes "Reverend," just as any other clergyman, and that he has entered upon the office of the ministry the same as others; so that his worldly calling might discredit his sacred office, for he would not be distinguished by the mass of the people from other ministers of Christ. In these days men have such opportunities of preparing themselves for the ministry, that if we could only adopt a better plan for obtaining additional deacons, we should be able to meet all the wants of the Church. I do not wish to lower the standard of the priesthood in any way. We cannot lower the age, the age must remain the same, but if you look in the preface to the ordination service, you will see that no man is to be ordained deacon "unless he has a faculty." I have mentioned this to several of our fathers in Christ, and they have said it would not be right to lower the age. The present Archbishop has told me he has never granted a faculty, but there have been cases in the present generation certainly where the thing has been done.

The Bishop of Winchester.

THERE is an Act of Parliament which says that if a man is ordained deacon before the age of 23 his ordination shall *ipso facto* be void.

Archdeacon Ffoulkes.

THEN I think that Act should be repealed as speedily as possible. My reason for speaking as to the age of deacons is this, I am sure there are a number of young

boys who are very anxious to take orders, and when they arrive at the age of 15 or 16 they are told by their parents they cannot possibly keep them on their hands until they are 23. If you look at the number of boys coming forward for the Oxford and Cambridge examinations, you may justly hope that many of these may be drawn out to prepare themselves for holy orders if encouragement were given to them. A scheme has been set on foot for providing exhibitions for boys at schools to keep them until they are fit to go to college. There is another scheme equally good to assist boys at school to prepare themselves for going to college and to assist them the first year or so there. Both those plans might be enlarged. Confirmation, again, is a time when boys are brought seriously to think of their duties towards God, and I think many boys at that age might be deeply impressed with the wish to serve God more actively than they could in any line of business. I have been told by many masters of grammar schools that a small exhibition would be quite sufficient to induce many boys to remain at school until they were 18 or 19, and that they would then go to college, if they had some little assistance to start with, with a view to taking holy orders. I should, therefore, not be afraid of going to a lower age and to lower grades of society for our candidates. I am thankful to know that there are men serving God in the highest places of his Church, who have come from the lower ranks of society. I know a remarkable case of a man very distinguished now in his university who was a pupil teacher; and I know other men who are now most excellent clergymen, and highly distinguished, who have risen from a similar rank of life. Therefore, I hope the ministry of the Church may be recruited from the lower stratum of society. I also hope that by the education now going on in our schools, many boys will be fit to go to college at the age of 18. Just think what it is for a man to leave college at the age of 21, wishing to go into holy orders, and to be debarred from them for two years at least. I believe it is a very common resource of such persons to become under-masters in schools. Can there be anything more unlikely to fit them for the work of the ministry than to be engaged for two years in some school? Is it not possible that school work being the more remunerative of the two, many will thus be induced to give up the idea of taking holy orders. Therefore we should adopt some plan for remedying this. Suppose a man were ordained at 21 he could not be a priest until he was 24, so that he would have a three years diaconate; and if he were ordained at that early age he could not be placed in charge of a parish as is often now the case. It was my own case, and I think it is one of the hardest things in the world for a young deacon to be sent into a parish where he has a sole charge, and the very day after his ordination. Besides all other parochial works he has to prepare two sermons for every Sunday. No wonder that sermons are complained of. It seems to me the most unreasonable thing that can possibly be. I venture to suggest to the Bishops that the examination for ordination should be divided into three parts, first the examination to prove that they are sufficient scholars. I should hope that the *testamur* from the universities or the B.A. degree would be sufficient for that. Then would, of course, come the theological examination, and there no doubt our Bishops will take care that none are admitted into holy orders but those who are duly qualified. But I wish strongly to urge that a license for preaching should never be given at the ordination of a deacon, until he had proved himself fit to receive it. I am not aware of a single instance where a man ordained deacon has been refused a license for preaching. In all the dioceses I have known, every man ordained a deacon is thereupon licensed to preach. Now, I have a strong idea that it would be the greatest possible relief to young clergymen if, after they were ordained deacons, they were not licensed until they had gone up for a further examination, and had proved their ability to preach. There would be plenty of work for such persons to do without preaching sermons. Suppose we have them ordained at the age of 21, they would naturally be sent into parishes where there were other

curates, so that they would begin to work with others who were older than themselves. They would be engaged generally in visiting, especially the poor and sick; in going to the schools, and there, I think, a great deal of stress ought to be laid on that particular work; they should go and teach, not only in the Sunday schools, but daily in the day school, giving the religious instruction daily. I cannot but wish that our Bishops would require from all young men coming to be ordained, that they should bring a testimonial from the clergy of their parishes to the effect that "this young man has been working in my parish, teaching in the Sunday school, and doing other work which I asked him to undertake." For I do not see any reason why an undergraduate should not occupy himself during a large portion of the long vacation in teaching in the Sunday school, (and that would prepare him for work in the National Schools afterwards) because our blessed Lord's first commission to His Apostles was, "Feed my lambs," before "Feed my sheep." All who care for the religious training of the rising generation cannot but grieve that the clergyman is not found in the National Schools of our country every day, to open school with prayer and give, at least, some portion of the religious instruction. Wherever that is done the result is most satisfactory, and where it is neglected by him the master is very much tempted to do the same. Now, suppose a man were ordained at this early age, but not licensed to preach, he would make it his study to qualify himself for that work, he would practice himself by reading first of all at the bedside of some bedridden person, he would then go on to cottage lectures, and by degrees would gradually accustom himself to expound the Scriptures, which is a most essential thing for every clergyman to do with clearness and vigour. When he comes up to obtain his license he would be able to give proof of his ability, to preach, expound the Word of God, and might then be required to write a sermon and preach it. To those who say that 21 is too early an age for the diaconate I would reply that they forget what a deacon's office really is—they expect a great deal more from a deacon than should be expected. A deacon is "to assist a priest in divine service, to help him in Holy Communion, to read Scriptures and Homilies in the Church, to instruct the youth in the Catechism, and, in the absence of the priest, to baptize; to search out the sick, poor and impotent people of the parish, that they may be relieved by the alms of the parishioners," and all this surely could be done when a man is 21 years of age—indeed I cannot conceive why from among the well educated classes you might not select deacons even at the age of 20—and to my mind the advantage of this would be that you would get a far larger supply of candidates for holy orders, and that each one ordained would have a long diaconate before he could be admitted to the priesthood.

Lieut.-Col. Eardley Childers, R.A.

I went the other day to a missionary meeting at a large town in England. We had a very good meeting, but I remarked that the principal clergyman of the town was not there, and I asked the secretary afterwards why that was. He was rather shy in telling me, but I found out eventually that the Vicar did not like to stand on the same platform with such a very objectionable, not to say ferocious, person as Col. Childers. You will, therefore, perhaps be astonished that I should come forward and speak upon this occasion; but my excuse for doing so is that in the diocese where I have lived during the last seven years, I have been the lay Secretary of our diocesan conference, that is the diocese of Madras, in India, where our Bishop is one of the best Bishops, I should think, in the whole world. When we first established our conference, we confined it to the office-bearers of the various churches, but we found that an interest was taken in our work by so many people that we gradually extended the conference until it included all communicants, and

in our conference every communicant in the diocese is entitled to vote and speak, whether that communicant be a man or a woman. I cannot say that any of our ladies have hitherto joined in the debates, but they have always come, and we have found their assistance very useful. In the diocese of Calcutta, the Bishop established some years ago an order which I have not heard mentioned this evening—the order of sub-deacons. In that country our Church population is very much scattered; we have a very limited number of Clergymen, some of whom have to visit several different places, so that out of the month perhaps they will only be able to be in their head-quarters on one or two Sundays. The Bishop of Calcutta found it necessary to have some third person to read the prayers during the absence of the chaplain, and he established this order of sub-deacons, who have undertaken this work for some years past, and I believe with the greatest success. Our own Bishop has not as yet followed this example, although I believe he has had it very seriously under consideration, and at the time it was first mentioned, a hint was given to me that perhaps I would undertake the office of sub-deacon. I thought it was not exactly the thing for a soldier to be in orders, for though I do not believe there is any work which a layman can properly do which would not become a soldier, still I did not and do not think that I could permit myself to receive any sort of ordination, and also retain my position in such a combative profession as the army. It has been my privilege for many years past to wear a surplice, and to join in the services of the Church; not only have I sung in the choir, but I have been permitted to assist the clergy in the Holy Communion. The Bishop of Calcutta, when he gives his license to a sub-deacon, licenses him to deliver the cup to the people. I cannot think as a soldier that is a thing I should like to do, nor do I believe the communicants would like it, which is another reason why I object to the ordination of officers, except surgeons, as sub-deacons, but as far as merely assisting the priest at the table, any devout layman is a person who can well undertake that work, and after very long experience, I know of no work which has a more solemnising effect upon a layman, or which is more beneficial to him in his personal religion. Objection has been raised by some people to the wearing of surplices by officers and soldiers in the choir. I cannot say that I have myself met with any such objection, but I will tell you an anecdote of something of the sort which occurred in India within the last year or two. A young friend of mine, an officer in a regiment in a very large military station, took a considerable interest in the Church work, and assisted the chaplain in such ways as he could. Among his other duties, one which he had to perform was to hand round the offertory bag in the church. His commanding officer sent for him and said, "They tell me that you are in the habit of handing round a money bag in the church." The young man said, "Yes," he was. The commanding officer said, "Then you will never do it any more, for I consider that it is not work fit for a gentleman." This young man showed some inclination to take a different view, so the commanding officer said to him, "You are assistant musketry instructor of the regiment. If you do anything of the sort again, I will take away your appointment." Of course that shut him up at once. But the chaplain was not so easily sat upon, and he went to the General and told him. The General said, "Will you come to my office to-morrow at 11 o'clock." The chaplain went, and found the Colonel there. The General asked the Colonel whether what had been stated was true. The Colonel said it was. The General turned round to the chaplain and said, "Very well, I do not like interfering in this gentleman's regiment, but next Sunday I will carry the bag myself." It is very little of my life that I have the privilege of spending in England, but whenever I am in this country I sing in a choir, and I must say it is an immense advantage to one who, as a rule, has very little opportunity of mixing with persons who do not belong to his own profession; to meet in the choir young men who devote so much of their time, and so much of their energies to the Church

as those young men do that I meet in the vestries of the different churches in this country. I believe that among those young men we have an immense reserve force, which we should use in every way in our power, and I also believe that many of those men might be ordained deacons, and might carry on, perhaps not trade—I do not know whether trade would be a nice thing for a deacon to engage in—but they might carry on other professions which are not connected with trade, and from among those young men I believe you really can get persons well qualified for the office you contemplate, even although perhaps they may not be first-rate Greek scholars, nor in every respect so highly educated as to be fitted for the Priesthood.

Rev. W. Littlewood.

I am not qualified to speak about the diaconate as a permanent diaconate, but I know a great deal about lay help; indeed I could not possibly get on without it, and it has always been a very great stay and comfort to me. I will say first of all a few words with reference to the point as to who our lay helpers should be. I would recall to your memory that our churchwardens are our lay helpers, and are disposed very much indeed, if they are treated in a proper manner, to help us considerably. Besides this we have our sidesmen; besides them we have a large staff of Sunday School teachers, superintendents, district visitors, and so on. Let us use these agencies first. But we want more. The Bishop of Winchester has, I think, very properly pointed out that we can draw help not merely from one class of society, but from other classes of society. I have had in the course of my career the charge of a mission room among a large population of what are commonly called "Brickies," in the neighbourhood of London, and I have also established for myself, in a manufacturing parish, in the county of Derby, a mission station. Both of these stations were maintained by laymen, and by laymen drawn from what would generally be called the lower stages of society. The work amongst the "Brickies" was in the hands of one who was simply a foreman among them, and the way he became to be manager of the mission room was this: I went to him and said "Now you are going on with your work in the parish, I am the parish clergyman, and I intend to take the command of you and your room." He did not like that at first, but I told him he must either carry on the work under my superintendence, or else he must go and find himself another place, the consequence was that he gave himself over into my hands; he was most useful, and I believe that work is going on now. With regard to the other mission station it introduced a principle which is very applicable to large country parishes. We all know that there are scattered hamlets which it is very difficult to reach by the ordinary ministrations of the Church. I had such a hamlet about two miles from my parish Church. Under these circumstances I was enabled to establish a mission station there, it was in the assembly room of the public-house. The proprietor of the public-house came to me and said—"If you will carry on this work I will lend you my assembly room for nothing," so it reduced the expense to a minimum. That is going on now, and is a very successful work indeed. The three people who carried on this mission station were drawn from various classes of society, one of them from what you would call almost the labouring class, and I do not know but what he was the most acceptable of all. There is another class of lay helpers to which no reference has been made. I do not think we ought to leave them out of account. I mean some who are considered by a great many gentlemen to be lay hinderers, rather than lay helpers—our Nonconforming brethren. In my parish in the city of Bath we have got a very great many Nonconformists, and I find that by courteous treatment

these gentlemen can be often got to help me, and I think I ought to say a word for them. Not long ago we had a very large prayer meeting in our parish Church on the eve of one of these missions, and on that occasion the principal Nonconformist of the city of Bath, the Rev. H. Tarrant, came into our church and said "I should like to help." I said to him "I do not see why you should not, as we are going to have laymen helping." That man got up in my church; he did not go into the reading desk or the pulpit, but he stood up in the pew, and prayed a most admirable and touching prayer. I felt he was doing a worthy deed, and I said to him, "You are a brother in Christ, though I differ from you on many points, you have done a kind and brotherly act, and God be with you." He said to me also, "God be with you," and he went away. I do not see how we are to revive our parochial system unless we carry out the system of lay help in all its integrity. The parochial system is not breaking down, but what it wants is propping up and buttressing, and the way to do it is by using diligently lay help. Whenever you can get the Bishop to give his license, do so, but where something prevents the license being granted then I say let us go to sea without it—if we cannot go to sea in a frigate let us go in a cock boat.

Mr. Henry Jeula.

From the papers and speeches which have just been given, I take it to be a foregone conclusion that if the work of the Church of England is to be done as, in the good providence of God, its opportunities increase, lay help must be extended. There is one kind of lay help which might be given, I venture to think, by a large number of educated gentlemen in our various parishes, which has not been mentioned to-day, and which would not require any change whatever in the organisation of the Church of England, but which might be of great value to many a parish minister now thoroughly overworked, and expending body, soul, and spirit, as well as money, and yet not covering the area of the work which, with the help of God, he desires to accomplish. I have seen instances of holy men of God with enormous populations surrounding their Churches thus overwhelmed with what is called secular work. On every morning of the week these good men's tables are covered with letters, each one of which requires some consideration, and it may be, organisation, before a reply can be given. Why should not some highly cultivated gentleman, be it the squire of the parish or some other gentleman who has leisure, devote himself to the humble but most noble work of being his parish clergyman's private secretary? Why should not a man thus conscientiously consecrate the leisure and the wealth which has come from God, to the service of God in the help of his minister in the parish surrounding the Church where he worships week by week. Is it anything but ennobling to a layman of wealth and social position to consecrate the powers and advantages God has given him, under the direction of a minister of God, in relation to work which is the work of God? Might not many a man now walking or riding about his domain and hardly knowing what to do, and yet, if he be a true Christian, having yearnings to do something, say to his clergyman, "I have leisure, I have wealth, and I have education, and will, if you will except my services, be your amanuensis. I will come to your rectory or vicarage every day at ten, eleven, or any convenient hour, and remain until the work of the day is done; I will take the answers to letters from your lips and write them and you can sign them, or assist you in any way I can with your secular parish work?" Would not that raise the standard of the spiritual life of many a parish minister and many an educated layman? How can a clergyman be all the week what some of us are, a thorough man of business,

and yet (as has been said to-day) provide two sermons on the Lord's Day which shall command the respect of the laity? We expect impossibilities and then wonder that they cannot be performed. Another suggestion to which I have listened with deep satisfaction is, that some form of diaconate should be established which should embrace men who cannot give their whole time to the service of the Church, but would maintain themselves by secular engagements in the sphere of life to which God has called them. I cannot but believe that it would be a great relief to parish clergymen who have three services on the Lord's Day, if they could obtain some deacon or some properly qualified person, who should be specially commissioned by the Bishop to read prayers for the clergyman. I am convinced that there are many men who are quite fit to read the beautiful liturgy of the Church of England, and who have no desire to rise higher in the ministry and who do not aspire to do anything in the service of the Church, save only to extend her usefulness and to work for the glory of God.

Mr. G. A. Spottiswoode.

I BELIEVE that the lay workers of the diocese of London are more fully organised than those of any other diocese of our country. This lay organisation had at the outset the advantage of the fostering care of the present Archbishop of Canterbury, and has been more fully developed under the present Bishop. The plan has been established on a thoroughly diocesan basis. As the diocese is divided into rural deaneries so we have a lay officer, who is called a correspondent, in each rural deanery; again, as the rural deaneries are divided into parishes so the lay organisation of the diocese is divided into parishes, and in each there is a correspondent who is appointed by the incumbent. The organised lay agency of the diocese of London is divided into two classes, first the lay readers then the general associates. There are in round numbers about 120 lay readers at work, some in different parishes and some in missions in the diocese. The whole number of lay helpers registered in the book of the association amounts to about 2,500 in addition to about 700 members of affiliated societies. The lay readers are furnished with a commission which permits of their reading the Scriptures in the Church, and rendering other assistance to the clergy; they are admitted by the Bishop twice a year by what may be called a sort of ordination. There is no laying on of hands. The office of reader is continued as long as he has some special field of duty in which to exercise his office, under the superintendence of a parochial clergyman. For the furtherance of the discipline and education of these lay helpers, we have in the winter time courses of lectures at the Chapter House or in the Cathedral, which have been very successful and have been well attended; at the end of each course an examination is held, and those who pass satisfactorily have certificates given them, so that we are doing something not only to call out lay help but to organise and improve it. This seems to me to be much wanted, for there is a great deal of zeal, but perhaps not so much knowledge. I should say that the organisation in the diocese of London includes men only. It might be thought desirable to include women also in the association, but, after much consultation, it was considered better to admit men only. The associates meet annually at the Cathedral and receive the Holy Communion at the hands of the Bishop, and some other of the clergy of the Cathedral. A lay helper must in the first place be recommended either by his clergyman or by two members of the association, he must be a communicant and willing to take some definite work in his parish. His name is then submitted to the Bishop, who sends him a letter of Godspeed, which he can always show to anyone who asks him by what authority he acts. The lay readers of the diocese hold the Bishop's commission

which has his seal upon it. This appears to me to be the way in which a diocesan organisation should be given to lay work. The Lay Helpers' Association is co-extensive with the diocese; not a mere society within the Church with particular views; High, Low, and Broad Churchmen, all are comprehended and welcomed in it, and in practice are found to work cordially and harmoniously within it.

Mr. George Skey, Tamworth.

It is about twelve years ago since I was invited by the committee of a clerical and lay association, of which I am a very humble member, to open the subject of lay agency in the Church of England by a paper, preparatory to discussion. The suggestions in that paper were of a far more moderate character than those which we have heard this morning, and yet they were not so well received, showing what great advances have been made upon this subject. I will just remind you of the Archbishop's remarks in that grand opening address of his. "It is very possible to perfect plans here, and then go away and do nothing." I hope there will be some results from this discussion. I have the honour to be a lay deacon in the diocese of Lichfield, that is upon the nomination of the vicar of my parish. I have been licensed by the Bishop of Lichfield to hold services in school and other rooms, and to do everything to assist the vicar which a layman may do. I have held that office now for nearly eight years, and I have worked in my parish in connection with the vicar, I hope not entirely unprofitably, but for the last six months it has pleased God to lay him aside; and if you did but know the difficulty I had had during that time to get the two services of the church taken Sunday after Sunday, you would see how very necessary it is that our Church should take some steps in this direction. So great has been the difficulty, that no less than three or four Sundays in the last few months the church has had to be closed in the morning, and the service has been transferred to my mission room. Fortunately a clergyman from an adjoining parish was enabled to take the afternoon service. I do hope therefore that something may be done as an out-come of this meeting. Two words in conclusion; do not attempt to lower the standard of our priesthood. The days in which we live are days in which the contest between truth and error is a contest requiring trained intellect. Why need you dub your Deacon "Reverend?" I do not mean the Deacons who are now in the Church, but I think you may have two orders of Deacons, lay deacons as well as clerical deacons. Let those who come into the Church with the intention of going on to full orders come as they do now, but let the other order of Deacons be simply laymen, and let them remain laymen unless their qualities recommend them to the Bishop, and they choose afterwards to take orders. When you once prefix "the Rev." to a man's name you begin to confound two orders that ought not be confounded. If a layman make a mis-statement of doctrine, it is said, "Oh, he is only a layman;" but only put "Rev." to his name, and it will be said "Oh, that was the Rev. Mr. So and So who made that statement," and official weight is given to it.

Rev. J. F. Messenger.

The point to which I wish to direct the attention of the Congress is the great waste of clerical power, which is almost necessarily involved in the retention of the existing restrictions on the diaconate. I will take the case of the Rural Deanery in which I have lived for the last eighteen years. My own parish has a population of about 750, has two churches in it, two miles apart; my next door

neighbour has a population of 450, and two churches; while another neighbour has a population of 950, and also has two churches; and in these three parishes, with little more than 2,000 people, we have generally six resident clergymen. Is there not here an enormous waste of power? and yet, as things are at present, unless we have these six clergy, some of our churches must remain closed during a portion of each Lord's day. Perhaps some persons might think that there would be no very great harm in this, and that where there is a parish with two churches at no great distance from one another, one of these churches might be opened and the other might be closed. *Fas est ab hoste doceri* is a very old motto. Let me tell you what was said to me sometime ago by the child of a Nonconformist, a person who lived and died a Nonconformist. She knew what the Sunday services were in that portion of my parish in which she lived, but she did not happen to know what they were in my other church two miles off. I told her they were the same as in the church of her own village, namely, morning and afternoon. She at once said, "If that is the case how can you wonder at so many people going to the dissenting chapel in the evening—you want them to go there I suppose." If we close any of our Churches in the morning we can hardly wonder if some of our parishioners who are accustomed to worship in them, go off to the dissenting chapel. We may fondly hope that they will go there in the morning, and come back to us in the afternoon or evening; but though they may do so for a time, it will not be long before we shall find that a large number of them will be at the dissenting chapel both morning and evening. But we are told that the remedy which has been touched upon so often to-day, namely, the opening the diaconate to persons who may still be allowed to pursue their secular calling is to some extent contrary to Canons of the Ancient Church. To some Canons it no doubt is, but it is in perfect harmony with others. For instance three Canons were passed by the Fourth Council of Carthage, which distinctly enjoin that in poor districts the clergy should relieve the revenues of the Church by pursuing a secular calling, and we are told of not a few Bishops who adopted this course, and among them of one good old Bishop, Bishop Zeno, of Maiuma, of whom it was stated that throughout his long life, which extended through a century, he constantly attended both morning and evening the service of the Church, and yet found time to work at the trade of a linen weaver, by which he not only subsisted himself but relieved others. But it may be thought that even if it were admitted to be desirable so to open the diaconate, those who would be ready to avail themselves of the privilege could be found only in large towns. Let me again take an instance from my own home. I have in my parish at the present moment a young man, the son of a very small farmer, who got all his education at the parish school, but who, by diligent application there, and by subsequent private study has acquired a very competent knowledge of Latin, and is not only well versed in the Holy Scriptures in our English version, but who a short time back wrote me a letter containing some very intelligent, critical remarks on one of the chapters in the Greek New Testament. Without, therefore, going beyond my own parish, I could produce the very person whose employment I am advocating, whose help *as a clergyman* I want (he gives it me *as a layman*) and by whose employment as a deacon, I could set free a brother in Priest's Orders to some other post of duty. I will just add that there would be a great advantage in increasing the number of our deacons, not only in large towns but also in country parishes, for they would then be able to do that which is a distinct part of the deacon's office, as Justice Martyn tells us in his second apology, that is they could not only assist the Priest in distributing the elements to the people who are present in Church at Holy Communion, but they could carry them to those who are kept by sickness from coming to the Lord's House.

SECTION ROOM.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON, OCTOBER 12th.

The BISHOP of DOVER took the Chair at Half-past Two o'clock.

THE CHURCH'S DUTY TOWARDS CHILDREN OF THE UPPER AND MIDDLE CLASSES.

PAPERS.

Rev. Dr. BUTLER, Head-master of Harrow.

LET me define, at the outset, how I understand the subject on which I have been invited to write. I understand the question to be—How Christian men and Christian women belonging to the Church of England can best exert themselves, so as to bring direct Christian influences to bear upon the children of the gentry and of the farmers and tradesmen. I say direct Christian influences, and I must call attention to the limit thus implied. If I were to speak of indirect Christian influences, it is plain that a paper of twenty minutes would be useless. And yet it is most important that the writer as he writes, and the hearers as they hear, should carefully bear in mind how incomparably greater is the power of indirect than of direct Christian influences. If parents are worldly or frivolous, the Church can do but little for their children. If, in all that surrounds his infancy or his boyhood, a child sees no sign of self-denial, of Christian enterprise, or of sympathy with distress, it is not likely that he will learn from even the best instruction in the Scriptures, or the most attractive splendour of worship, that the first principle of the faith he professes is "to take up his cross daily," and that the truest sign of the advancing Christian is that he "sets his affections on things above," and "condescends to men of low estate." Another most important limit I must lay down at the outset. In the greater part of what I have to say I shall be thinking of boys, and not of girls. A vast deficiency this, which will be supplied, I trust, orally and explicitly by some of my hearers, mentally by all. It seems best that each writer should confine himself to what he has studied most, but silence will in no case be supposed to mean indifference, much less disparagement.

Let us begin, then, with the children of the gentry. A Royal Commission is supposed to be a panacea for most social defects. The Universities, the public schools, the endowed schools generally, have all greatly profited by commissions of inquiry. I have sometimes been tempted to wish that there could be a Royal Commission

also upon parents. My school experience tells me that the Scriptural instruction given to the sons of the gentry at home is in very many cases lamentably deficient. Those Christian mothers—and, thank God, there are many such—who have personally taken real pains with the teaching of their children, would be surprised to find how little has been done with many boys who are sent to school; how slight is their knowledge of the simplest Bible narrative; how gross the confusion of thought as to facts, words, and speakers; how little has been committed to memory; how few allusions can be made from the pulpit or in the class-room to Bible characters in the Old or New Testament with any fair prospect of an intelligent recognition. That this deficiency exists in a very glaring form few schoolmasters, I think, will question. It comes before us both in our Bible lessons and when we prepare boys for confirmation.

It is sad then to find how small a foundation of knowledge there is, in most cases, to work upon. The evil requires more than one remedy.

In the first place, the clergy might from time to time, both from the pulpit and in private intercourse, remind parents of the duty and the importance of giving their children an intelligent knowledge of such parts of the Bible as young people are able to follow.

Secondly,—The clergy might establish special voluntary classes for young children, availing themselves largely of lay help, whether from ladies or gentlemen, but contributing, on their own part, at least a general direction and a lively personal interest. Such classes were conducted, I understand, with marked success by Bishop Moorhouse, before he left London for Australia, and doubtless they have been set on foot by many others also.

Thirdly,—I venture to plead for an important reform which many fathers and mothers must surely long have had at heart. Why should not our Church organise, as part of her regular system, special services for children? For this purpose a form of liturgy would be required, while, at the same time, much latitude should be left to those entrusted with the conduct of the service. Details would be out of place on the present occasion, but in general I may urge that the services should be short, that such prayers as might be added to the Collects should be simple and few at a time, and contain petitions for parents and friends; and that the Lessons, when taken from the Prophets or the Epistles, should be very carefully selected. There should, of course, be frequent singing, and the hymns should breathe such thoughts as children can naturally and healthily express. Only on rare and special occasions should hymns be chosen which are prompted by the weariness of life, or an overwhelming sense of the burthen of sin, or an eager craving, in children necessarily morbid, for the rest and adoration of Paradise. The reading of the Lessons might well be accompanied or followed by a short oral explanation, and the service should close with a short address lasting not more than ten minutes, or, at the outside, a quarter of an hour. The comments on the Lessons, no less than the address, would often be much helped by maps or

pictures; and partly for this reason, partly for others, I would urge that these services for children should be held ordinarily not in the Church, but in some special room, and be conducted by persons—not necessarily clerical, or necessarily men—of whose piety, love of children, and capacity for teaching sufficient proof had been given. On the other hand, I should regard these services as distinctly leading up to and preparing for the regular services of the Church; and I should advise that at frequent intervals, say once in each month, they should be taken, with certain modifications, in the Church itself by the incumbent or his curates. This monthly visit to the Church would be regarded by the young worshippers as a privilege and an honour. If services of this kind were once spread over the country, I cannot but be sanguine that Sunday would become dearer than it is to many young and tender hearts; that the thought of worship would be less associated with tedium or vacancy; that much solid Christian instruction would fall on eager and intelligent ears; and that a fresh career of pastoral or semi-pastoral usefulness would be opened to many pious men and women, in harmony with, and yet clearly distinct from, their present labours in Sunday schools.

I pass on to the time when, in most cases, the sons of the gentry are sent to school. There are preparatory schools, and there are the public schools. It is a good sign that in one after another among the first-rate preparatory schools, special school chapels are being established. Where they do not yet exist, the sooner they are established the better; or, at least, let no Sunday pass without some kind of sermon addressed to the boys collectively, either by the master or one of his assistants, or some friend invited by him. Where a chapel does exist, or where the best substitute for it has been established, I know of nothing new in addition to suggest. The present system appears to me sound and adequate. All will depend on the spirit in which it is worked. If that spirit be a true Christian and pastoral spirit, the Church in this case will have done her duty.

In the same way I would speak of the public schools. Fifty or a hundred years ago the question now before us would have had a different meaning from that which it has to day. We know, many of us, how it would then have been answered by many earnest Christian men, such men, for example, as the poet Cowper, or Bowdler, or Wilberforce. But when Dr. Arnold went to Rugby in 1828, a new epoch was opened. It is hardly too much to say that the Church then began to do her duty to the sons of the gentry. At the present day, in all the best-known public schools there is a chapel, which is the very centre of school life. The services are bright and much prized. The attendance at the Holy Communion is large. The preparation for confirmation is earnest and systematic. Great pains are taken by the masters to make the Scripture lessons in school thorough and interesting. Again, I say, the system seems to me good and adequate. All depends on the spirit in which it is worked. I know of no definite change or addition to suggest; but I do know, and every one charged

with the training of youth must know the immense difficulty of keeping alive in young and old, in teacher and taught, the true flame of Christian devotion. Hearty services, frequent Communions, earnest confirmations, far from extirpating evil, bring even subtle dangers of their own—the dangers besetting a generation which loves indeed the emotions and tender grace of religion, but, perhaps, loves luxury and self-indulgence more. "Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it. Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."

Lastly, I have reserved to the end one topic, to my mind the most important and the most pressing of all—the duty of the Church to the boys of the middle class.

Here I cannot doubt that a vast work of organisation and of reconstruction still lies before us. We need scores, and even hundreds, of great schools similar in their organisation to the best public schools, but conducted at less cost, and adjusting their teaching to the clearly recognised condition that the most advanced scholars leave school at sixteen or seventeen. These schools should be partly boarding-schools in the country, partly day-schools in the towns. In all cases, if possible, but especially, of course, in boarding-schools, there should be a school chapel, and great exertions should be made to secure that men of a very high order, both in attainments and character, are appointed masters. Schools of this kind can probably be made self-supporting if once they are established; but to establish them very large sums are required, and these in the present state, at least, of national feeling, can only be obtained by private bounty. How such bounty can be evoked, and how flourishing institutions can be built upon it, has been shown by the unflagging energy of Canon Woodward and others. It is partly to the success of similiar efforts in the future, and partly to a wise carrying out of the Endowed Schools Act, with a view to making the most of existing endowments, that I look for the removal of the great blot that now rests upon our Church and nation—the total inadequacy of the education at present open to the great middle class. But here a practical difficulty occurs which it would be cowardly to ignore. Each of these schools should have its chapel, but does it therefore follow that its chief master should be a clergyman? Those Churchmen who say Yes can hardly, I think, be fully aware of the present state of the educational profession. There are large numbers of able and earnest Christian men, gifted in a high degree with the pastoral spirit, who are nevertheless not prepared to take holy orders. If these men are excluded from the chief direction of schools, the schools will suffer. On the other hand, it is of the greatest importance to a school that the chief master should, as a part of his regular duties, address his boys on religious subjects, and that the place of such addresses should be the school chapel. This consideration is, to my mind, only one of many arguments pointing to the wisdom of extending to laymen, under proper ecclesiastical authority, and with such conditions as may be thought best, the right to preach in our churches. It is possible that we are not yet ripe for this important change; but I am convinced that the question, which has already once or twice

come before Parliament, will engage more and more the attention of Churchmen. My reason for alluding to it here, where it is, perhaps, not likely to be popular, is that I am forced to do so by the course of my argument in favour of public schools for the sons of the middle class.

I will end by summing up as briefly as possible what has been said. For the younger children of the gentry let there be more voluntary bible-classes, conducted by the incumbent or persons appointed by him. Let a special service for children be framed and put forth by authority, and let this service be conducted, not necessarily by a clergyman, or necessarily in the church, but always in such a manner as to lead up to the full service in the church. For boys a little older—say from nine years old and upwards—it is desirable that preparatory schools should each have its own chapel, or, failing this, some weekly opportunity of a religious address to the boys. At public schools, where chapels already exist, there is little new to be suggested, though all need the humbling reminder, "Hold fast that thou hast." Passing to the sons of the middle classes, we find the greatest possible need for numerous public schools, partly day-schools and partly boarding schools. All of these, but chiefly the boarding-schools, should have their own chapel. This chapel will be served, of course, by a clerical master, but the right of preaching in it should be extended also, under proper safeguards, to laymen. These suggestions, whether likely to find favour or otherwise, are now respectfully submitted to the impartial judgment of the Congress.

Rev. R. Elwyn, vicar of Ramsgate, and late head master of Charterhouse, and St. Peter's School, York.

That the Church has a most important duty to perform in respect of the children of all classes of society, that the command of the One True Head and Chief Shepherd of that Church to "feed the lambs" of His flock is as comprehensive in its nature and as binding in its obligation as the command to "feed and tend the sheep" thereof, and that such "feeding" includes in it the duty of giving a sound religious education, is a truism, the force of which I am sure will be admitted by us all; and that our own branch of Christ's Holy Catholic Church does, in theory at least, acknowledge its obligation in this respect is shown by the rubric which stands second in order after the Catechism in the Prayer-book, and which, in language that sounds somewhat archaic, peremptorily commands "all fathers, mothers, masters, and dames to cause their children, servants, and apprentices (which have not learned their Catechism) to come to the church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear and be ordered by the curate, until such time as they have learned all that is appointed for them to learn." And yet, notwithstanding this rubric, for the enforcement of which upon the part of the aggrieved clergyman against the more than three disobedient parishioners, no association has, so far as I know, been yet formed, and in respect of

which no judgment of the Privy Council has yet been invoked, because, I presume it is so exceedingly clear, and yet, like many other plain rubrics, so very widely neglected and so very difficult to enforce, it may well be doubted whether there has not been in practice a very serious limitation to the efforts which have been made in the recent times of happy revival in our Church (for happy, indeed, do I regard it, notwithstanding any drawbacks which may have accompanied it) for giving a sound, systematic religious training in the catechism and cognate subjects to the younger members of the Church.

Much, very much, has been done in this respect in our Church elementary day-schools for the lower classes, and many advantages in this matter have been and are enjoyed by the scholars who regularly attend them. 1. The daily religious instruction given in these schools under the superintendence of the clergyman, or, as in some cases is now done, given in the church to the upper classes by the clergyman himself, day by day, after a short form of Morning Prayer, even though the time allowed for such instruction may seem but small. 2. The annual religious examination both of the pupil-teachers and of the scholars by the diocesan inspectors. 3. The special examinations of the children in certain portions of the Prayer-book, such as are annually held in the diocese of Canterbury—all tend towards securing on the part of many of the children no inconsiderable amount of definite religious knowledge. Many of them thus become well acquainted with those great fundamental truths, which are revealed in God's Holy Word, embodied in the Creeds, and preserved for us and explained in that Book of Common Prayer, which is, I am sure, for us all—whatever imperfections may be pointed out in it, and however much we may differ as to the interpretations of certain parts of it—a very precious bond of union of which we do not, I think, always take sufficient account amidst our unhappy, but to some extent inevitable differences, of which, I am persuaded, we often do make too much, but the effect of which I trust that the spirit shown in this great Congress of the Church will, under God's blessing, do not a little to temper and allay.

Again, in our Sunday-schools—notably in some of them—(as, for instance, in the famous Jesus-lane Sunday-schools, in my own University, of which the jubilee is to be held next week, the preceding distinguished speaker taking part in it, with Professor Westcott, himself an old teacher, and other eminent men, who have done so much—all honour to them—in this noble work)—a very important service has been rendered week by week to the children of our lower classes by self-denying teachers. The religious instruction therein given is of itself of no mean value, especially when it is regarded as supplementary to the religious instruction of the day-school, and when it is given on some definite system (as is the case in my own parish, where a lesson for the teachers, both from the Old and the New Testament, is given week by week by my curates and myself, and the children are examined in the same lesson when the teachers in turn, with their own several illustrations and enlargements of the lesson, have given it to them), while of the loving sympathy which

is often manifestly roused between a conscientious and systematic Sunday teacher and the regular Sunday scholar, and which in some respects is more important than the actual amount of instruction given and received, who can think or speak too highly, or who can over-rate its value to the Church?

But when we turn our thoughts to the children of the (so-called) middle and upper classes, we have not, I fear, as regards a large proportion of them the same means of securing systematic religious teaching, and of awakening the same kind of sympathy. It will, I think, be generally admitted that when the time for preparation for the reception of the holy Apostolic rite of confirmation arrives, and the clergyman is brought into closer relation than at other times with the young members of his flock at a most critical period of their lives, there is a marked difference between the amount of definite religious knowledge both as regards the Bible and the Prayer-book, the Catechism and the Creeds, the times and seasons of the Christian year, and the like, possessed by the children of the upper and middle classes, and that which has been acquired by those who have been regularly taught in our elementary day-schools and in our Sunday-schools. There are, of course, exceptions to the general rule in this as in other cases; but, speaking generally, I believe that all, or nearly all, parish priests of any experience will be constrained to admit that if they have carefully tested the knowledge of their candidates for confirmation, and not assumed, as I fear we sometimes do, that many seemingly simple things are really known (such as the meanings of the most familiar sacred names of Jesus and Christ, and of expressions in our creeds and services, &c., such as that often misunderstood and misapplied word "Catholic," which some unhappily seek to narrow from its grand old sense of universal, "the communion of saints," "He descended into hell," and the like), they have had occasion to lament the small amount of clear, definite knowledge upon the part of very many of those who belong to the upper and middle strata of society. I believe, too, that it will be found that many of the candidates from the same conditions of life who present themselves for instruction in confirmation classes have hitherto had but little appreciation of the great privileges which during childhood they have enjoyed as baptised members of our Catholic Apostolic Church, or of the advantages which in their spiritual as well as intellectual life they may gather from the systematic, careful study of the Holy Scriptures, and from not merely reading, but from really learning, marking, and inwardly digesting the precious truths necessary for salvation which they contain, and from an intelligent knowledge of those ancient Creeds, and of the formularies of the Church, which express, we believe, in all essential points the teaching of Moses and the Prophets, and of Him "of Whom Moses in the Law and the Prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth," the Son of God, and of the Apostles whom He sent forth, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, which procedeth from the Father and the Son, to build His Church upon the One Foundation, which never shall, never can, be moved.

What, then, we are led to ask, has been done, is being done, or

can be done by the Church as a body, or by individual members of it, to remove this blot, if blot it is, as I believe it to be, in our ecclesiastical system, and to provide some remedy or remedies for the evils which have been mentioned?

Several answers can be given to this question, and many courses may be suggested. Some have been mentioned in the preceding paper, others will be brought forward by succeeding readers and speakers. Merely to speak in passing of those with which I am personally familiar—

There are, for instance, children's services in church, such as are held in my own parish church on the first Sunday of every month, and at which some of the children of our Sunday-schools are catechised in the presence of large congregations of parents and children of various classes on some definite subject (previously prepared), and at which a short address is given upon the topic which has been the subject of the previous catechetical instruction; such subject in our own case consisting of one article of the Creed, or one Commandment of the Decalogue, or one petition of the Lord's Prayer—these several subjects of the Creed, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer being taken in succession, with illustrations from Holy Scriptures specially bearing upon the subject.

Again, a clergyman, especially in a town parish, may have the opportunity and be glad to seize it (such as I have in my own parish, in the case of a large school of young ladies), of taking a class or classes in private schools, and going systematically through some portions of the Bible—previously prepared—the members of the class answering questions put to them, and having their Bibles before them, so as to turn to any important passages to which reference may be made during the lesson, and so carefully to compare Scripture with Scripture. A great deal of good may, I believe, be quietly done in this way, while the connexion thus formed between the clergyman and these younger members of his flock is in itself of no inconsiderable value.

Once more, much has been done and more may still be done towards the furtherance of these objects by the establishment of Church schools for the middle classes. In my own parish (where, thank God, we have a very complete system of elementary voluntary Church schools, all under Government inspection, for nearly 1,400 children, with fees varying from 9d. to 1d. a week, according to the nature of the school) we have established, with very beneficial results, an upper boys' school for the lower middle class, in which religious instruction is daily given, and we are now establishing a similar school for girls, while the clergyman of the adjoining parish has recently opened a higher middle class school for girls, in which the religious instruction is superintended by himself. And the mention of this branch of my subject leads me at once to the two special points on which, by an arrangement made between some of us, who have been asked to read or speak on this subject, I have undertaken to say a few words.

The first of these points is the importance and possibility of giving, in our higher as well as our middle and lower class schools, a con-

siderable amount of systematic instruction in religious subjects and of Church teaching, without any real encroachment on that religious liberty of which so much is said, as if it were in danger of being violated, whereas in practice it is known by those who act that no real difficulty exists and that no ground for reasonable complaint is given. Speaking from the experience which I have had as head master of two public schools, in one of which there were boys of different denominations, the head of it for some time being a Roman Catholic boy (one of the best boys, I may say, in justice to him, whom I ever taught, and who was afterwards a Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge), I believe that very much may be done for encouraging an accurate study of the Bible—I mean the study of the Bible itself, not merely some meagre epitomes or analyses (such as are far too frequently used, or rather misused, as substitutes for instead of summaries of Biblical knowledge), with the life often taken out of the body, of which they are merely the skeleton, or its real beauty marred by the loss of its native colour and freshness; such study, pursued by the younger boys in the English Version, and by the elder—as regards the New Testament at least—in the original language, if only they have had the privilege (for privilege, not burden, for the future layman as well as for the future clergyman, I regard it) of learning that language, which in itself is one of the most perfect of all languages, and which has been for ever consecrated by the selection of it by God Himself, as the religious language of the Newer Covenant. With my elder boys, in the latter of the two schools with which I was specially connected, it was my custom to read critically and carefully some portion of the Greek Testament every day; while on Monday morning I spent a considerable time with them in the study of various religious subjects connected with the Bible, the Prayer-book, and Church history, &c., given out on Saturday, to be studied during the Sunday, with reference to books accessible in the school library, such as Smith's Dictionaries, Stanley's Palestine, and Dr. Maclear's valuable Companions to the Study of the Bible, both of the Old and New Testaments (the Companion to the New Testament, including the best short account which I know of that period between the times of the Old and New Testament, which is so full of interest, and yet but little known); while every year we also carefully read portions of Churton's Early English Church, or Massingberd's History of the English Reformation, and Maclear's and Procter's Introduction to the Prayer-book.

In this way the elder boys were able to acquire a fair amount of religious knowledge of varied character, every year reading a large proportion of the Old Testament history, studying in the Greek at least one Gospel, some portion of the Acts of the Apostles, one or two of the shorter Epistles of St. Paul, and also learning some of the principal points of interest connected with the history of the English Church and her Service-book, while the lower boys were also systematically instructed in definite portions of the Bible (every half-year carefully reading one book of the Old and one of the New Testament) and in the Catechism (with the use of another of Dr.

Maclear's most valuable books); and every morning, after school prayers, read in their several classes the Psalms for the day. By these means, through the school generally, I felt that the secular studies were not only not injuriously affected, but were also daily consecrated by the study of sacred things; and there is no part of my school-work to which I now look back with so much pleasure as to this daily religious teaching of the school, in addition to that conveyed through the hearty services and the sermons in our chapel.

I have mentioned these circumstances not with any desire to claim any special merit for the work thus done, but merely with the wish to state facts which are within the range of my own experience. I have no reason to doubt that at many of the schools for the upper and middle classes a similar system is adopted. Of this, at least, I am sure—that in these days of free inquiry, of searching study, of stirring controversy, and, I am constrained to add, of frequent misinterpretations and misquotations, often founded upon a real or fanciful application of the words of the English Version of the Bible, which, precious and valuable as it is, if rightly used, is not free from imperfections and inaccuracy—how could we expect it to be?—and also of frequent tearing away of words from the context in which they are really to be found, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of giving to the younger members of the upper and middle classes of society opportunities of accurately closely studying (and studying, where it is possible, in the original languages, especially in the language of the New Testament) the venerable records which we believe contain special revelation made by God Himself through prophets and apostles, but above all through His Son. And of this also am I sure—that if we desire to attach the same younger members to the Church—to which it is their and our highest privilege to belong—it is right to give them in their schools opportunities of acquiring—not in a dry, uninteresting way, but in a life-like manner, with illustrations and explanations given by the teacher—some definite knowledge of the history of the Catholic Church of Christ, especially our own English branch of it; of understanding with heart and mind, as well as of repeating with voice and lip, the principal articles of the Christian faith; of appreciating, to some degree at least, the value of the spiritual privileges which they enjoy; so training them to become, we hope, intelligent members of that Church, able to give to those who ask them the reason of the faith which they profess, and which we believe to be of primary value to their souls and spirits, not only in time, but for eternity.

But once more. Regarding this subject from my present position as the parish priest of a large town population, with the knowledge that a considerable number of the male children of our upper and middle classes are *not* being educated in large public or private schools, and that very many of the girls are educated at home, I desire *very* briefly—for I have already occupied, I fear, too much of your time, and there are others to follow me—to invite special attention to a branch of this subject, which has of late been brought in a prominent position—especially by the Church of England

Sunday-school Institute, both in its monthly publication and at one of the conferences which were held on the occasion of its last annual meeting. I refer to the establishment of Sunday or week-day classes for religious instruction of the children of the higher and middle stations of life, similar to the Sunday-schools for the lower classes.

In America and in parts of Ireland it appears to be no uncommon practice for children of all classes to attend the same Sunday-schools, and to receive the same instructions from the same teachers. For many reasons it may be doubted whether such a system could be successfully organised in our parishes generally, and even if it could be there would be great practical difficulties in many of our parishes from want of sufficient room. This being so, great efforts have been recently made in many parishes, both in London and in the provinces, to gather together the children of either sex of our upper and middle classes in one large separate room, distinct from the ordinary Sunday schoolroom, under a separate body of teachers, and to have the same kind of systematic instruction given to them by gentlemen and ladies qualified for the work, as that which is given by the teachers of the Sunday-schools of the parish.

In other cases, where there has been a difficulty in securing any one large room adequate for the purpose, ladies and gentlemen have kindly given their drawing or other rooms on the Sunday afternoons for this purpose, and by themselves or by others have had regular Sunday classes taught in them, while it has been suggested that in order to remove the objection which may be possibly felt by some parents to their children being away from them on Sunday (to professional men often the only day in the week in which they *can* be much with their children, even if these latter are educated at home), it might be well to have such classes on a week-day rather than on the Sunday. I cannot but think (speaking unhappily on this point without practical experience, but most willing to learn, for it is *never* too late to do so, from those who have it) that this is a matter thoroughly deserving the prominence which has been given to it. There are many who have taken an active part in this movement, as Mr. Abbott, the vicar of Paddington; Mr. Stanton, vicar of Holy Trinity, Little Queen Street, Bloomsbury; Mr. Head, the vicar of St. Mark's, Tollington-park; Mr. Gregory Smith, the vicar of Malvern, who are willing to give such information, derived from their own experience, as may be desired.

To many of us there may be special difficulties in adopting this plan, arising from the special circumstances of the parishes in which it is our privelege to labour as the shepherds of Christ's flock. But I think that in many parishes, especially in London and in our great cities, and towns, it is a system which might admit of gradual development and which would prove to be of very real service.

There are many parents, I am sure, in our upper and middle classes who, with all their love for their children, are conscious of their inability from various causes to give them such systematic instruction in religious subjects as they would desire; and who, I believe, might be glad to avail themselves of opportunities for

having such instruction given by others specially qualified for it. I would only express an earnest hope that when such a system is tried there may always be preserved a very close and real connexion between the teachers of such classes and between the classes themselves, and the clergyman of the parish. It would, I consider, be most desirable that there should be weekly meetings of these teachers as of those in the Sunday-schools, for instruction and for consultation, that the clergyman should himself from time to time examine the children so taught, and that everything should be done to attract the children by loving sympathy and by occasional reunions corresponding to the treats of our Sunday-schools.

If such a plan as this could be adopted at least in our principal centres of Church work, I believe that great benefit would accrue to the individual clergyman and his staff, to the individual parish, to the teachers themselves, and to those who are taught, and that the whole Church would partake of the benefit. I believe that a most valuable impetus might thus be given to Church work; that many of such scholars might in time become qualified and willing to act in turn as trained teachers in our Sunday-schools, and that so *all* classes would have a fresh bond of union, and that the sense of being all members of *one body*, each having his or her own office, would be quickened and deepened. I believe that we should thus have taken one more step to secure, as far as in us lies, under God's blessing working with us, that "the whole body may be fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, growing up in all things unto Him which is the Head even Christ—the Head of that Church which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all," while I would fain hope and pray that (practically for this purpose, to apply the words of St. Paul, which formed the conclusion of the Second Lesson for the morning service of this day)—they who in their childhood shall have thus "received Christ Jesus the Lord," may "so walk in Him rooted and built up in Him, and established in the faith, as they have been taught, abounding therein, with thanksgiving," and that to ourselves, or to those who shall come after us, when our short time for ministering both to the elder and the younger members of Christ's flock shall have come to an end, it may be given to have the "joy of beholding their order, and the steadfastness of their faith in Christ." (Colossians xi. 4, &c.)

Rev. E. C. Wickham, Head-master of Wellington College.

I can only touch a corner of a great subject. I wished to make two remarks upon it, both of them truisms, but each involving one or two practical corollaries not without importance at this time.

I. The first remark which I wished to make is that in the multiplication and improvement of agencies for bringing the work of the Church to bear upon the young we must not forget that the first, most direct, and by far most potent agency must be looked for in the *home*.

The *first* and most *direct*—all other agencies are only supplemental of it—they cannot replace it. The right of the parent, and the duty of the parent, to be the communicator of religious truth to his children, and the moulder of their moral and spiritual life, not only rests on the instincts and necessities of nature, but is recognised also by the Church in the very principle of infant baptism and in the consecration to the duties of parentage implied in the idea of holy matrimony.

The *first* and also the *most potent*. I do not suppose it can be disputed that the machinery of moral and religious education in our schools (I speak of boys' schools for the upper and middle classes) has been greatly improved within the last fifty years. The masters (except in one or two historic schools) are of a higher calibre. Their relations to boys are closer, better, and more human. The chapel has become a necessary part of school life. Its services are adapted to the boy's age in length and character. School sermons are almost always suitable to their purpose, and are certainly not without effect on the actual life of the community. Divinity lessons have their proper place. Not only the facts of Old Testament history, but the substance of the Gospels and Epistles, is regularly and thoroughly taught. There is no point, perhaps, in which the change would be more noticeable than in the care expended on the preparation for Confirmation. I am not exceeding fact in saying that fifty years ago, at a public school not the least closely connected with the Church, it was thought sufficient preparation for Confirmation to assemble the candidates a few times in a class-room and read to them for a few minutes from a printed book of sermons. There was no real instruction, no personal communion. Masters seem to have had no idea of the engine of power which the Church had put into their hands for touching the conscience and opening the heart of their boys. In all these points there has been a great advance. And I do not wish to depreciate the results. Of course the improvement has gone side by side with a corresponding advance in Church work generally. If school services and school confirmations were now what they were fifty years ago, they would do harm, and they would imply carelessness, which they did not then. But, doubtless, the good results of the improvement are not merely negative. If school life has not been altogether purified from its greatest evils and dangers, it has been considerably humanised. It is happier. Some vices are very greatly diminished—I would name lying, bullying, drinking. External religious habits, such as morning and evening prayers, have ceased to attract persecution or ridicule, and are the rule, instead of the exception. Confirmation is followed up by voluntary, and, for the most part, regular, and, as far as human eye can judge, reverent and serious attendance at the Holy Communion. It may be asked, What more do we wish? It must be remembered that the improvement is not a thing of yesterday. It began with Dr. Arnold's administration of Rugby, and it has now been the tradition of public schools for many generations of boys. It ought to have leavened English society. Can we say, if we take this measure, that the results are as large as might have

been looked for? Will the careful school training of this generation have given to the Church, to take one test, a body of Christian laymen which in numbers, if not in character, will leave far behind the Harrowbys and Shaftesburys, the Gladstones and Lyttletons, the Hatherleys, and Selbornes of the last?

I think that the conclusion to which any attempts to gauge the results of these school improvements will lead us, is not that they are of no value, not that in the present state of society any retrogression in the matter would not be very destructive, but that it is possible to assign much too large a share to school teaching and habits in the sum of influences which mould the character. Every schoolmaster knows the sense of *safety* with which he receives a boy whom he knows to come of a good stock and from a good home. *Home* has, at the least, the start of us. One of the greatest of living schoolmasters, himself the father of a large family, is in the habit of saying that unless a child learns the most elementary moral lesson, *obedience*, before it is three years old, it *never* learns it. A present head-master, whose life has been spent among young men and boys, is in the habit of saying that, though he has often failed in most particulars to argue back from a pupil's character to his surroundings, there is one point in which he has never been disappointed; if he has a pupil of exceptionally attractive character, he knows that if he makes the acquaintance of his family he shall find that he has, or has had, a mother of unusually fine nature. This is the first point where I think the Church owes a duty to the young: to press on parents, through all the organs by which the Christian community can teach and move opinion and action, the primary duty and the immense result of home teaching, influence, example. The rapid multiplication of schools—the spread of the public boarding school system from the upper to the middle classes—the great increase of preparatory schools for little boys—make it more important than ever that parents should be reminded that *they cannot, if they will, have their children really educated for them.* The *foundation must be* laid at home. The sense of awe must be awakened—the sense of another world—the sense of the Heavenly Father—the sense of the hatefulness of what is bad. We can appeal to these feelings, but we cannot create them. *Mothers*, to speak humanly, *can*. They can plant religious truth so deep in the soul that no after wildness or intellectual doubt will wholly root it out. And the *associations* of home must *go along with* and foster the best that is learnt at school and not the worst. Religion must be seen there in action, and seen to be lovely and to be inspiring. Boys must not go home from Confirmation with their hearts really full of it, to find that there it is but as a mere matter of course—to find that if they go to Communion they must go alone, or at least without their father or elder brothers. They must not go home to find the tone on moral questions at bottom not distinctly more Christian or more reasonable than that of their less high-minded boy-companions.

II. I pass to my *second* remark. That is, that if the Church would do her duty to the young she must keep alive the idea that *true*

education is in the fullest sense a *clerical*—that is to say, a *pastoral* work. I do not mean that it must always be done by clergymen, but that it is always fitting work for a clergyman, and that whoever does it he cannot do it well unless he does it in the pastoral spirit, as one who feels responsible for the heart and conscience as well as the intellectual progress of his pupil.

I have said that on the part of schoolmasters the responsibility of their office has been very largely recognised of late years. There are not wanting, however, signs of a reaction in this matter. There are several concurrent causes which are tending to diminish the proportion of young masters who enter holy orders—some of which are unconnected in origin with any such reaction of feeling about the duties of the office, but all of which act with it—tend to encourage it. Such is the removal of the restriction from the office of head-master in a considerable number of schools—from a large number in *law*, and from a sufficient number in *practice* to open more of a career than was previously accessible to lay schoolmasters. Such again is the unsettled state of religious opinion which in one way or another affects most thoughtful young men who pass through the Universities—not that I believe that the Universities are in this respect any worse off than all other places where men congregate who read and think, or even who talk without much reading or thinking, in London society, in medical and scientific schools, even in army mess-rooms. Apart again from this unsettlement of opinion, the intellectual activity of the day, the newly awakened interest in methods of teaching, and the quickened interest in the subjects of teaching, the widening of the range of study, with its necessary result of specialising to some extent the teachers, and so lessoning their personal contact with boys—all these things tend in some degree to make the occupation of a teacher in itself more satisfying—to make him a little more of a professor—to lessen his need of a human interest in his pupils beyond his pupil-room.

All these are disturbing causes for which we must make our count, and which cannot be laid to the Church's door. But there is one to which she may have more to say. There has grown up, happily, among us a much keener sense than was common some years ago of the responsibility of the clergyman's calling. Who would wish to make the stream of time run back in this respect? An awakened conscience, however, needs sometimes the check of calm sense. There is a tendency, I think, just now, I will not say to overstrain the responsibility—that cannot be exaggerated—but to narrow too much the scope of clerical work, as though parochial ministration or direct missionary labour were its only permissible forms. It is a tendency of feeling rather than of conscious argument. The argument from history, from the practice of the universal Church, is too strong to allow us in words to exclude the clergy from the occupations of education and of sacred learning. The feeling operates probably mainly in the minds of the young schoolmaster himself. Scrupulous men, doubting their own motives when a shadow of even remote personal interest is involved in the decision, are apt to hesitate to take holy orders all the more because the lack of

them may stand in the way of their advancement in their profession. But the scruples are fanned rather than quieted in some cases by the way in which they fancy rightly or wrongly that they are received by the Bishop to whom they apply. They think that difficulties are raised and conditions are made which imply some hesitation on his part, some feeling that the work in which they are actually engaged is not in itself clerical work. It strengthens their own doubts. It is just what some of their own friends who have taken orders, and who are in the first enthusiasm of their own start in parochial work have already hinted to them. It is just what their more secular and anti-clerical contemporaries, perhaps colleagues, have told them not without a sneer and not without a purpose. "*Hoc Ithacus velit!*" I have nothing to say *against*, and everything to say *for*, any pressure that can fairly be put on young clerical schoolmasters to induce them to take such opportunities as offer of learning something practically of other kinds of a clergyman's work. Part of the holidays spent from time to time in parish work will be well expended time in more ways than one. They will bring back a richer experience and larger view to their own special work. As a fact I am sure that very little pressure, only a little guidance, is needed to induce more to gain this experience than gain it—though they are not very few that do so at present. But it is a strange misconception, a memory of a state of things long past, not a true picture of the present, if any one thinks that a master of a boarding-house, or a tutor in charge of dormitories, has not, even if his field be a limited one, a very genuine and constant occupation with duties as properly clerical, even in the narrowest sense, as those of a parochial minister. He has probably a share in daily and Sunday chapel services, including sermons—he has certainly a class of boys yearly to prepare for Confirmation—he has constantly sick boys to visit—he has to be perpetually watching character, pleading, waiting, wrestling to save souls alive. I am sure that if those in whose hands it lies to act and to lead opinion in this matter realised how vitally important it is for the interests of the Church, in its *widest* sense, that our school education should be largely in the hands of men who will look on their pupils as a pastoral charge—how important it is for the interests of the Church, in its *narrower* sense, that those who have this pastoral charge should be *her officers*, and not the rivals of her officers—they would welcome with both hands every properly qualified schoolmaster candidate for holy orders.

ADDRESSES.

Rev. Dawson Campbell.

I enter upon this subject with an experience somewhat different to the previous speakers. They are, or have been, connected with the profession of teaching, whereas I appear before you as a simple parochial clergyman, possessed strongly with the feeling that the attention of our Church should be directed towards the children of the upper and middle classes. It is indeed a stigma upon the Church of England that for many years she has

almost entirely neglected these children. We have the testimony of the Rev. W. Hay Aitken, whose experience as a mission preacher in different parts of England qualifies him as a judge, that there is no comparison between the children of the upper and middle classes and those attending our parochial schools, in the matter of religious knowledge.

There is a word in our subject that requires definition—"The Duty of the Church, &c." Does "the Church" mean (1) The Church of England in her corporate capacity; or (2) The individual members of that Church?

It is important to be thus accurate, for upon the meaning attached to the word "Church" hangs the whole treatment of our subject. Let me take up each of these two definitions separately.

First. What is the duty of the Church in *her corporate capacity* towards these children? What has she done already? She provides them with a baptismal, confirmation, and burial service, orders that they should be catechised, and provides a catechism upon which that catechetical instruction is to be based. (Of course in all this there is no recognition of "classes." The Church knows nothing of "class" distinction; to her, children are children, nothing more.) It would be well if attention were paid by the clergy to the "catechising" of children. The reason for the neglect of the rubric in the matter is, I suppose, that whilst any clergyman can preach a sermon, very few can really catechise. Let me illustrate this by two examples which have lately come under my notice. One clergyman in the south of England commenced thus: "Well, children, can you tell me what it is to genuflect?" Another in the north, thus: "Can you tell me who is the scarlet woman in the Apocalypse?" I take these instances so as to be impartial. But the Church not only orders catechetical instruction, but she directs God-parents to provide that their God-children "hear sermons." Perhaps some of us have had some painful experience in our earlier days of "sermon-hearing"; but whatever it was in the past, there is no doubt in the present day an entire change in the matter of children's services, and what used to be dreaded as the terror of the Sabbath, is now looked forward to as the bright hour of the week.

But what can the Church do for these children? She can provide them with *a Special Form of Children's Service*. Let it either be sanctioned by Convocation, or by the Bishops, and I am sure that it would be welcomed by the clergy throughout the country. At these services let there be plenty of singing, only do let children sing *children's* hymns. Do not put into the mouths of children praises which are suited to Christians of ripe experience. And do not give them such hymns as this to sing, each verse beginning with some monosyllabic intoxicating drink, "Gin, gin, thou hast bereft me," "Rum, rum," "Beer, beer," and so on; or as this:—

> "The school of my Church, the school that I love,
> I never will leave till I go up above."

This, then, is all that I conceive the Church, as a body, can provide for the children of all classes (and therefore including the upper and middle), viz., *A Special Form of Service*.

I turn now to my second definition of the word Church, and view our subject in the light of what can be done for these children by the *individual members* of the Church of England. At the present moment, in many of our large towns, our clergy are terribly burdened with the incubus of supporting their day schools; to compete with the School Board is useless, as the shortest pocket must inevitably at length go to the wall. Why should not the clergy convert their schools, in such cases, into a kind of *lower middle-class school?* Let them do this, and they would obtain a hold upon that very class which most favours dissent. I believe that the fact that we, as Churchmen, have failed to provide schools for the lower middle-classes of England, accounts to a great extent, for these classes being the strong-

hold of Nonconformity. But there is a class of schools which has received no attention from any previous speaker. I mean *Girls' Boarding Schools.* Ought not every clergyman to provide religious instruction, in the shape of Bible classes, for the children residing in the different boarding-schools in his parish? I feel convinced that whenever the offer of such a class is made, it will in almost every instance be thankfully accepted. If, indeed, the schools are too many for the clergy individually to visit, why should not godly laymen and laywomen conduct the classes, of course under clerical supervision? or in case this were, through lack of workers, impossible, why should not the boarding-schools come to the Church? I am convinced we do not use our Churches enough. Let there be, then, Bible classes for these schools conducted in our Churches.

There is, in addition, the question of "*personal influence.*" Do we, as clergy, exercise sufficient influence over the children of the upper and middle-classes? Do we even notice them at all? When we meet them in the street, instead of passing them by without a word, why not stop them with a "Well, little man, how are you?" We hardly know how children notice the pleasant word of a passing friend. But a word of caution is needed. In all our intercourse with the little ones, let us be very careful that it savours of *guidance*, rather than *direction.* I only allude to this point, and pass it by.

There is no time now to enter into the large and difficult question of *Sunday Schools* for the upper and middle classes. For myself, I do not see why the example, already set in this respect by Ireland and America, should not be followed by England. We may not be ripe for it yet, but I believe I might almost say that wherever they have been tried, they have not proved failures. The fact that the Church of England Sunday School Institute is already moving in this direction is a sign of the increased attention which the matter is receiving. Before I sit down, I would ask you to bear in mind this one fact, viz., that everything that has been suggested this afternoon is only a means to an end. We desire to build up a Temple of God the Holy Ghost in each child; and, oh! do not let us, by paying too much attention to the scaffold, neglect the building. Do not, with all this machinery of Day Schools, Bible Classes, and Sunday Schools, forget that the object of them all is this—to bring children to Christ.

Ah! there is a glorious future in store for our Church, if each member of it, be he lay or clerical, would look forward to that day when we may say with joy, "Here am I and the children whom Thou hast given me."

Mr. Philip Vernon Smith, Lincoln's Inn.

In an article in the *Saturday Review* of 21st July, 1877, on the examinations in Scripture knowledge which had been then recently held of 82,000 children of the London School Board, the writer remarks that "Persons who have been examiners in divinity at the Universities, or who have themselves undergone examination, will be surprised to hear that there is comparatively but little irrelevancy in the answers . . . The fact is that no class of Christians are so entirely ignorant of Bible history as undergraduates, while it is almost all the history that many of the poor are acquainted with." This statement may not be strictly accurate, but I have no doubt that there is a great deal of truth in it; and what is true of undergraduates is true also, I fear, of their sisters, in fact of young people generally in the same class of society. The large majority of these are professedly members of our Church, and this state of things can therefore scarcely exist without a neglect of duty on the part of the Church. As Mr. Elwyn has shewn, the fault does not lie with the Rubrics of the Prayer Book, nor with the Canons, for they clearly recognise the fact that the duty

of the Church in the matter can only be carried out by the instrumentality of her parochial clergy, and impose on them the obligation of imparting systematic religious instruction to the young of all classes alike. The 59th Canon goes so far as to inflict the penalty of suspension, and ultimately of excommunication, not only on those clergy who persist in neglecting their duty in this respect, but also on any parents, or masters, or mistresses, who fail to send their children, servants, and apprentices to be instructed by the clergy in the prescribed manner. How is it then, that, while the old system of catechizing has been surpassed as regards the children of the lower classes, and the Church has so well discharged her duty to them, that not only has she provided an excellent religious education for such of them as attend her own schools, but also by her example secured almost universally the adoption of religious instruction, as a part of the education scheme in schools not under her control, the religious education of the upper and middle-class children has been comparatively neglected? Three distinct causes may be assigned for this. First, the fewer number of the upper and middle-class children, which has hindered their wants in the matter from being so apparent, either to the Church at large or the individual clergy, as in the case of the poorer children, where the multitude of mouths crying for the bread of life could not be overlooked. But if the quantity is less in their case, the superiority of the quality of the material at command ought surely to be considered; and although in the sight of God all men are of equal value, yet in the interests of religion the Church ought to endeavour to enlist their intellectual powers on her side. Secondly, the children of the upper and middle classes are not so accessible, owing to their being educated either at home or at schools which are not under the control of the parochial clergy; whereas the poorer children are on Sunday entirely in the hands of the clergy and their lay-helpers, the Sunday-school teachers; and are also on week-days, in a great measure, though of course less now than a few years ago, educated in schools in which the Church can direct their religious instruction. The third cause is the variety of the conditions under which upper and middle-class children receive their education. Some of the boys are at boarding schools possessing chapels of their own. Others of the children are at boarding-schools which possess no chapels, but the pupils of which attend the parish church. Others live at home and are educated at day-schools; and others are educated entirely at home. This diversity prevents such a simple uniform plan being adopted in their case, as can be applied to the children of the poor.

But the existence of these difficulties ought not to interfere with the discharge of our duty in the matter; and if they are resolutely faced, they are capable of being overcome. Boys at boarding-schools which have private chapels are no doubt practically withdrawn from the care of the clergy in whose parishes the schools are situated. But as regards boarding-schools, whether for boys or girls, which are not possessed of chapels, surely the attendance of the pupils at the parish church gives the clergy a reason for offering to impart to them some special religious instruction. They might hold weekly classes for the purpose in such schools, and also in any day schools within the parish. Why should not the clergy make a point of asking for leave to hold classes of this kind? I believe that such a request would very rarely be refused, and often most gladly accepted. If the schools in the parish were too numerous to hold classes in each separately, the pupils might be collected together for the purpose in some parochial building. Then again, there is the plan which has already been tried with success in a few parishes, and particularly, to my own knowledge, in one in the North of London, of a Sunday-school, or Sunday-classes for upper and middle-class children. The details of such an institution require careful arrangement. It should be conducted in a separate place from the ordinary Sunday-school. As to time, it should, I think, meet only once in the day, from three to four o'clock. And as in this country

social distinctions cannot be disregarded, it is important to prescribe definitely what children shall be admitted. In the North London parish, to which I referred, the pews in the church are let, and the line is satisfactorily drawn by admitting the children of all seat-holders. But where the system of pew-letting does not exist, some other standard of eligibility must be adopted. Then selection of the teachers is a matter of great importance. Children of the upper-classes are accustomed to a higher style of teaching than is given in National Schools; and if the religious instruction is not imparted by competent teachers, they will look upon it with contempt. The best persons to volunteer as teachers will be governesses, masters, and others who have experience in teaching upper-class children during the week. Again, the superintendent should be a person of courteous bearing, who, when he calls on the parents of the children, may succeed in winning their esteem and confidence. In the school in the North London parish, periodical examinations of the children are held; and every Sunday they have questions given to them, which they answer on paper. There are also social gatherings for the children from time to time, and an evening treat once a year. And the teachers, with some of the elder children, meet once a week to read the Bible in French, and converse upon it in that language.

But with all the different plans which may be suggested, it is, after all, only to a limited extent that the Church can directly reach the upper and middle-class children. The religious training of these children must be left mainly in the hands of their parents and of those to whom their parents commit the charge of their general education. It seems to me, therefore, that one of the chief ways, if not *the* chief way in which the Church can discharge its duty to the children is by the clergy, from the pulpit, and on every other practicable occasion, not once or twice and spasmodically, but periodically and systematically, inculcating upon parents, schoolmasters, mistresses, and teachers, the solemn charge and duty which lies upon them, to bestow on the children committed to them, a preparation, not merely for time but for eternity—to train their children to love and serve the Lord their God, with all their heart, and also with all their mind and intellect—and to communicate to them daily as a part of their general education, an amount of religious knowledge, such as will enable them in this age of doubt and discussion, not only to hold fast the form of sound words themselves, but also to contend earnestly with others for the faith once delivered to the Saints.

DISCUSSION.

Rev. Robert S. Tabor, Cheam.

In offering a few remarks upon the subject which is now before the section of the Congress, I will confine myself to the practical part of the question. With reference to the principle involved, the Church acknowledges her own duty, and has made provision for fulfilling it. Let me draw your attention to the fact that the Church devolves this duty, very much indeed, upon the Laity. Turn to the Baptismal Service, and you will find that when parents and godfathers and godmothers have brought their children to the Church to be baptized, they are told, "Ye must remember that it is your parts and duties"—not the duty of the clergy—"to see that this infant be taught, so soon as he shall be able to learn, what a solemn vow, promise, and profession he hath here made by you," &c. It is assumed that the Church will provide sermons for the young, but it is the duty of parents to bring their children to hear those sermons. "Ye shall call upon him to hear sermons, and chiefly ye shall provide that he may learn the Creed, the

Lord's Prayer, &c., and all other things which a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health." Again, it is on the laity that the duty rests of seeing that the child is virtuously brought up to lead a godly and a Christian life, and led to follow the example of our Saviour Christ. Then again, in the baptism of those of riper years, it is on the laity, and not on the clergy, that the responsibility is laid. This admonition is given to the witnesses,—"Ye must remember that it is your part and duty to put them in mind," &c. The words are addressed to the laity, as also are those which follow:—"Ye are to call upon them to use all diligence to be rightly instructed in God's Holy Word, that so they may grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, and live godly, righteously, and soberly in this present world." These are the admonitions of our Church. I have read them to remind you of the importance of using the immense influence you have with the young so as to dispose and encourage them to lead a godly and useful life. I have a great deal to do with children, and grieve to think that their highest interests are often altogether neglected. Although very many parents exercise a wise influence over their children, and teach them to know and love God, yet there are also many who do not teach their children any of the truths or duties of religion, not even to pray. They leave this to be done by a nurse, or neglect it altogether. In connection with this subject, I will venture to express a desire for more of this personal influence, upon which our Church insists so strongly, to be exercised in the public schools of the country. I know that great pains are taken by some of the head masters of those schools, as, for example, by Dr. Butler at Harrow. I have read his Sermons to the Young with pleasure and advantage. Nothing can be more valuable than the influence which he exercises. But the influence of a head master is not sufficient; if the boys, before they reach him, have not been influenced for the highest good, how little can he do! If they have not received encouragement, and sympathy, and advice when needed; if personal influence in favour of religion is not exercised, we are not doing what Churchmen should do, and what the Church requires. We should endeavour to use all diligence that the youth of the country may be rightly instructed in religion—in its simple doctrines and practical duties. I am bound to express my opinion that personal religion is not a force of which much account is taken in our public schools. I am not alluding to services and sermons, but to the personal contact which is necessary of mind to mind, and heart to heart. There is no limit to what may be done in this way. Our Lord spoke personally to Peter—"I have prayed for thee." St. Paul constantly used his personal influence to provoke individuals to love and good works, and to make peace: "I beseech Euodias," he says, "and beseech Syntyche, that they be of the same mind in the Lord. And I entreat thee also, true yoke-fellow," &c. In like manner, my friends, use your personal influence with the young, for there is no telling what result may come of it. Endeavour, each one of you, to bring the young to earnest personal acquaintance with God, and to awaken them to a sense of their duty to Him, and you will have done much to secure their happiness and usefulness in after-life, and their eternal happiness in the world to come.

Archdeacon Emery.

I should not have ventured to address the section, but that I wished to mention two or three ways in which the Church may do much good in this matter. Good wholesome school education is still much needed for the lower middle and middle classes: and much may be done to provide good Church Schools for these without great expense. Clergy and laity have given very largely, and are still giving, to provide education for the poorer classes, but we have not done much for the classes

above them. Yet successful efforts in this direction show what can be effected. Under Chancellor Leeke, of Lincoln, then an incumbent at Cambridge, two schools were established by way of experiment for the middle classes, the children paying 6d. and 9d. a week, so as to enable a Government grant to be obtained. From the time we got the school buildings ready we had them full and self-supporting. Surely every town of a fair size is able to start and maintain such a school. At Ely, in connection with an endowed free school, we have done much the same by admitting paying scholars. Doubtless other places have moved in the same direction. I believe the National Society did some time ago ask for special assistance towards thus providing for the lower middle-class, but I don't know how far it has been encouraged. Then I think some of the old Church endowments in the hands of various bodies might be used for this object, and if some additional good Church schools were established by that means, our dissenting brethren surely could not complain. Another thing may be done to meet the wants of the middle-class, viz., to reorganise and enlarge our cathedral schools. At Ely, during the last seven years, we have resuscitated our King's school, and lately the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have offered us a grant to improve and extend it, so as to give a first-class education at a moderate cost. Churchmen may greatly assist in promoting such practicable schemes. The Sunday-school system has been mentioned to-day. One speaker has spoken wisely of the great value of Sunday schools for the middle-classes as well as for the poorest, and told us also that the clergy should go to boarding schools in their parishes and give religious instruction. But the fact is, the clergy do not often do this in large towns because they have not time. They are already overburdened with work. They can and ought to superintend, but they must have the laity to help them in the actual regular teaching. The Church of England has many laymen, I am sure, who are able to take these classes, and would, if invited and encouraged, take them. We clergy, I trust, are trying to do what we can, and wish to do more, but we must have the help of our pious and well-educated laity, many of whom are University men. Once more. Our clergy exercise oftentimes less personal influence with the youth of the country than they might. They are too apt, I mean, to treat boys and girls in classes, and not study individual character sufficiently. Yet a clergyman who will pay some attention to this, and try to get influence by personal sympathy with individuals, will be admired and loved by the young people, and get a hold for good on many young men now lost for lack of such treatment. I will conclude by touching on another point—the duty of parents to their children. I have boys of my own growing up, and am alarmed at the rumours I hear about the temptations and conduct of boys at public schools. Extraordinary, and yet true, statements, I fear, have reached me on these points, and sad instances of after drunkenness and profligacy as a result have been given in detail by those who have watched these matters. The amount of "tips" given by parents is often, I am assured, a fertile source of extravagance and sinful wasteful excess. Parents and friends ought doubtless to behave generously to children, and try to make school-life cheerful and pleasant, but be they rich, or be they poor, they have no business to put it in the power of their children to indulge in excesses, or run into corrupting habits. I entreat the laity, as well as clergy, to do their part, privately and publicly, in education, for the sake of their children, and the welfare of the country.

Rev. J. W. Gedge, Guildford.

As I have something to do with a large girls' school in London, I shall address myself to the education of girls in the upper classes. Formerly the mother was the instructor of the girls, but now girls are no longer kept in school-rooms. The girls of the upper classes are sent to school, but they are soon allowed to go into society, even before their education is complete. I have often, when lecturing to young ladies, found a most painful contrast between the girls of from ten to thirteen years of age and those of from seventeen to nineteen. The younger children display a brightness and intelligence which I look for in vain in their elders. The difficulties we have to contend against are that the exigencies of modern society take away so much of their time, and that they are not sent in many instances to first-class schools until they are too old to be impressionable. Also too often the system begins and ends with an individual teacher. Look at our great schools for boys. There the wisdom and knowledge of past generations of teachers is accumulated, and is easily applied; but it is not so with girls' schools. A lady takes a school, and after some time gets married perhaps, or sells it to some one else who has had no special experience in teaching, and the experiment of teaching is made first by one and then by another independently. We want a sort of training college for young lady teachers. For the teachers of the lower classes we have such places, and there is Bishop Otter's Memorial School at Winchester, which is doing good work, but we have no such institution for the teachers of young ladies. There is a scheme afoot, of which I hold in my hand a prospectus. It is an institution, started under Episcopal sanction, by the Church of England Association for Governesses. This association consists of ladies, members of the Church of England, whose work in life is training and teaching the young. Since the foundation of the society great efforts have been made in other quarters to develop the intellectual, without regard to the spiritual, life of teachers and their pupils. To combine the one with the other, and so bring about a true education of the highest kind, in faithful adherence both in doctrine and practice to the Church of England, is the main object of this association. It has been in existence five years, and now numbers more than ninety members. "To meet," says the prospectus, "the increasing desire of governesses to prepare themselves in some adequate way for their great work—that of instructing and educating the future wives and mothers of England—it is hoped that the society may be provided with a house of its own in London, where its members can go to prepare for university examinations, and from time to time for self-improvement, and also for rest between engagements. Opportunities for further cultivation have been promised by several university professors, and some of the first London masters have also promised their assistance. It is also hoped, through the combined efforts of some of the members of the association, and the generous help of others who are interested in the peculiar position of governesses, eventually to found small homes, to which members may retire when their working days are over, for their calling in life is one which has little to offer when health and strength fail, or old age comes on. It is thought that if means were provided to buy and furnish a house, the college would in time become self-supporting. For this purpose it is desired to raise the sum of £5,000. The idea of the society originated with governesses themselves, and is carried on by them side by side with their own work; therefore it is considered essential to the success of the scheme that that sum should be in the hands of their bankers before they undertake any monetary responsibilities. Its centre has hitherto been at the house of one of its members, but, from the steady increase of the society and its work, it is outgrowing the possible limits which can be given it there." The scheme has been approved of by, amongst others, the Dean of St. Paul's, the Dean of Manchester, Canon Gregory, Canon Liddon, Canon King,

Canon Furse, Canon Carter, Canon Butler, Miss C. M. Yonge, and Miss Beale, Principal of the Ladies' College, Cheltenham. We want helping hands and brains to raise the education of the girls of the upper classes, and we ask as a right, and not as a favour, for you to help us; as it is most necessary that teachers should have the best tools possible to work with. We want the best kind of help and the advantages the brothers of the young ladies receive in having good and trained teachers. It is by teaching the teachers that we shall best bring the influence of the Church to bear on the children of the upper classes.

Rev. Thos. Ford Fenn, Trent College.

I am very thankful for this opportunity of speaking here. The school I represent is one of recent foundation, and it is carried on under Church influences. Having known it from the beginning, and having admitted every boy, I may, perhaps, say that few people can know more of the entire working of a school than I do of mine. Nearly 1,000 boys are passing or have passed through my hands, and I have thus become intimate, not only with them, but in nearly every case with their parents as well. I have thus been led to feel very seriously how great a field such a school presents for the Church to exercise its influence over the youth of the country. It is impossible to over estimate the opportunity thus offered for training boys in the principle and the practice of loyalty to the Church of England. I represent a school that has been established for the children of men of business, or professional men unable to meet the expenses of the older public schools, and consequently we have boys both of the upper and middle classes. I mention this because the term middle class school sometimes applied to such schools is apt to mislead and to give an idea that a lower kind of school is intended; one in many cases and in many respects inferior to a good national school. Schools like Trent must always have a distinctly religious character. Members of the Church of England will not often found schools of this sort unless they hold distinct and definite views in religion. Other persons will be satisfied with the old or revived grammar schools. Those who established the school to which I belong have these distinct views in religion, and represent that side of the teaching of the Church of England which is distinctly Scriptural and Protestant. This is a very different thing from teaching in a party spirit, for indeed I never will conduct education in a party spirit. I think that persons holding definite opinions are doing very right to take up this field of education, and by conducting schools on good principles they may enable those at the head of such schools to turn out sound Churchmen. Consider what advantages we have in such schools for this purpose. We have the chapel with its regular services, the annual confirmation, which the Bishop of the Diocese will always consent to hold there. Our Bishop, the Bishop of Lichfield, has always been most kind in this respect. The elder boys take part in the Church service by reading the lessons, and, if they come from a parish where help is needed, they thus learn to assist their own clergyman after they leave school. And it is a great thing for them to understand that they can have a service conducted in a reverent, bright, hearty, and sensible manner without excessive ritual, and for them to know that there is nothing in our views inconsistent with a beautiful service.

Mr. J. Palmer.

I APPREHEND that it is the duty of the Church to see that all her children receive systematic instruction in the truths and doctrines she holds, and that they are also led to adopt the Christian life. It will be observed that this implies something more than the mere acquisition of biblical and religious knowledge. It is possible to be thoroughly intelligent in everything relating to the facts and claims of Christianity, and to be able to talk learnedly about the value of definite Church teaching, and yet at the same time to be hopelessly frivolous and vicious; a man may carry the whole scheme of Christian truth in his head from boyhood to old age, without it having the slightest effect upon his character and aims. It may, in fact, have less real influence upon him than the common rules of arithmetic. The Church, therefore, has not performed the whole of its duty to its children when it has made provision for their acquiring religious knowledge. One further step has to be taken, and the necessary machinery set in motion for adapting the knowledge imparted to the life. There can be no question that the efforts which are made at present by the Church for supplying the religious needs of the children of the middle class are most inadequate. Even among those who have grown up amidst religious principles, who have been trained in Christian families, and attend Church services, there is oftentimes an amazing ignorance of the elements of Christian knowledge and duty. It is a matter of common observation that the children of the working classes who attend the Sunday School are much more thoroughly and accurately instructed in biblical and doctrinal teaching than the children of the upper and middle classes, because the latter have not the same facilities for obtaining this special knowledge. The Church has made great efforts for gathering children into our Day Schools, but little has been done to retain a hold upon them when they leave those schools. The consequence is, that the loss to the Church, by leakage, is very great. But the Church should be strong to hold as well as to gather. The fisherman does more than cast and haul his net: he keeps it in good condition, so that none of his fish escapes. The Church must exercise the same amount of care. The duty having been ascertained, allow me to indicate the machinery which it is possible for every clergyman to set in motion in order to insure the gradual progress of the children baptised into the Church in spiritual life and experience. First of all, the *Children's Service, or Public Catechising in Church*, should be a useful part of this work. It would not supply all that is needed, but it might be advantageously used for ascertaining the extent of the pupils' knowledge, and of testing the character of the teaching imparted. But it is a point that must be conceded, that in great centres of busy life, no pastor can watch over or instruct his flock, member by member, man by man, child by child. Recourse must, therefore, be had to other operations. Now as a matter of fact, the institution which combines the facilities for disseminating religious knowledge with the capacity for adapting the instruction imparted to the life of the pupil, is the Sunday School. The *personal* element, both as regards teachers as well as scholars, is its great advantage, and it bears about the same relationship to catechising as an improved modern rifle bears to the old-fashioned flint and steel musket. The strength and power of the Sunday School system proceeds from the personal influence of Christian men and women, who, knowing their scholars intimately, and loving them tenderly, lead them by the power of their love, and the light of their own Christian character into the adoption of a Christian life, and if you can introduce this element in any plans you may make for giving definite religious instruction to the children of the upper and middle classes, you may be certain of success. I can, therefore, conceive of no better plan for obtaining the object we have in view, than by adopting, in some form, the principles upon which the Sunday School is based. Let me try and sketch a plan

which I think would be easily carried out. First of all, I would suggest that *classes* should be formed from the congregation, or from other sources. There should be—a servant's class, a youth's class, as well as classes for others. The *time* for holding the classes must, of course, depend upon the circumstances and occupations of the members, and whether they should be held on Saturday, Sunday, or on any other day must also be settled by all. *Where they should be held* must also be determined according to local circumstances. One or more might be held at the Incumbent's house, or at the school room, or at the houses of the parishioners. If the question be asked, *Who are to teach?* I should say qualified laymen, duly appointed to the work, or members of the congregation. There are earnest members in every congregation, who are qualified for, or who might be trained to undertake, this work; and if properly managed and directed it would result in a steady progress from the school to the Church, and from the class-room to the Holy Table. If a system of classes such as I have suggested were adopted, well-joined together, and fitted into their allotted place in the parochial machinery, it would be a permanent source of strength to the Church. The great middle class of England, which has been allowed to drift away in the past, would be united more closely with the Church, while the children of the upper classes would be less likely to be led captive by the various forms of error to which at present from an imperfect knowledge of the principles of the Church, and from the lack of systematic religious instruction, they are exposed.

Rev. Goodrich Langley.

Having already read a paper in this Section Room, I should not have spoken now but for the very large and warm interest I take in children. I think, then, it is the duty of the Church to extend religious education to the upper classes, but how is this to be done? I would extend the benefits of the Sunday school system to them, and would organise Sunday classes for the children of tradesmen and gentry where they may receive religious instruction. We know the children of the upper classes are generally well taught in all subjects of secular knowledge and accomplishments, but there is often to be found among them much ignorance in religious knowledge; and indeed how could it be otherwise, for, unless their parents be godly people, as a rule but little religious instruction is given to these children. I would counsel having "Sunday Classes" for such children where they might receive regular instruction in religious subjects, under the superintendence of the parish clergyman. Then there is the plan of visiting private schools used by the upper and middle classes. There are a great number of private schools situated in certain towns. Why should not these schools be regularly and systematically visited by the parish clergy at stated periods, say weekly or so, and regular religious instruction given to the pupils. No objection would be made to the clergy visiting them, and in 99 cases out of 100 consent would be readily given. Such opportunities are most valuable, for they enable the clergy to impart religious instruction, on the lines of the good old Church of England, to a class of children whom they do not find in their ordinary Sunday schools. I will mention one other point, which is this—I would advocate forming what I would call "children's contingents" for the upper and middle classes. I would have their interest aroused in all the good and great movements of the age. A child has a mind and can take an interest in these things. There is the great work of missions; let there be a line of work for children here, and I am sure that those of my brethren who have had experience in this matter know that even young children have taken this matter up earnestly, and have done great things for the missionary cause. I would interest them also in the temperance movement,

and here the children of the upper classes should be especially called in to lend their aid to this great and good cause, and could help it very materially. In all parochial associations let the upper-class children be invited as helpers; they will I am sure very readily respond to the call, and will furnish that element of fresh enthusiasm which is so cheering to elder and veteran workers. In fine let the Church's duty to these and all children be the bringing home to them of this personal question, "What work are you doing, my child, for that dear and kind Saviour who so tenderly watches over you?"

The Bishop of Dover.

I CANNOT leave the chair which it has been my duty to occupy during the last few days, for the last time, without a few words of deep thankfulness and of congratulation to all who have been concerned in the Congress. You know, doubtless, that up to the very moment of opening the session, all who were in any way officially or otherwise connected with the Congress were literally belaboured with dire prognostications of evil and warnings of danger, certainly to be looked for from the gathering together of such a meeting so close to London, in days when the ecclesiastical atmosphere seemed to be rather surcharged with electricity. Thank God, all these prophecies have been falsified. Thank God, all those anticipations of danger have been utterly silenced. For my own part I venture to believe that this has come as a direct answer to the prayers of Christian people. I believe it was God's own reply to the words of the Collect for the week, which has been so often in the mouths and hearts of individuals and of us all—that God's Holy Spirit might in all things direct and rule our hearts. Truly, the chairmen of the Congress, round whose chairs so many hidden dangers seemed to lurk, have had an easy time of it, for verily—God be praised!—the one presiding influence throughout this Congress at Croydon in the archdiocese of Canterbury has been none other than the Holy Spirit of God—the Spirit at once of truth, and unity, and peace. I cannot do better than, before we close our last session, ask you to join in singing the hymn—

The Church's one Foundation
Is Jesus Christ our Lord.

The hymn having been sung and the Benediction pronounced, the proceedings in the Section Hall finally closed.

FRIDAY EVENING, 12th OCTOBER.

FINAL MEETING.

The final meeting was held in the great Congress Hall during the Conversazione to which all the members of the Congress had been invited, the most Reverend the President in the Chair.

Mr. A. J. B. Beresford Hope, M.P.

The very high honour has been put upon me—an honour which I feel very deeply—of proposing the first resolution. I feel that I have been invited to do so as a very old hack horse at these Congresses. Never had I omitted attending one of them until last year, when an accident prevented my being at Plymouth; but out of seventeen I have been at sixteen. We were at first a few stray sheep in the wilderness of King's College Hall, Cambridge, called together by two young resident Fellows. One was Beaumont, now, alas, no longer amongst us, and the other an active Fellow of Corpus, a man who, I believe, never closes his eyes in sleep. That man is not only Archdeacon of Ely, but the popular secretary of Church Congresses. From that time we have gone on meeting in various towns and cities in England, and once in Dublin; but of all these Congresses in all their good characteristics, the crown and summing up is the present one. We have met in a year which as the eloquent preacher in the opening sermon told us was culminating in a crisis such as would only occur once in two or three centuries. We have assembled at a time in which everybody is in earnest but not accordant, and in which great thought is lavished upon everything past, present, and to come. We might have had with such cyclones in the air, a dark and turbulent "*latrocinium*," instead of the enthusiastic and happy gathering we have had. We all came here feeling deeply and earnestly upon most of the matters which we have discussed, and we leave with the pleasurable discovery that the points on which we are agreed, much outweigh those on which we differ. To what preponderating influence do we owe our agreement and peace? To that, I dare assert, of the Most Rev. Prelate who has given up a week of his time—of that time which is so valuable—to preside over our deliberations. In his Grace's presence I cannot say all that could be said if he were not here. I can only, therefore, state the leading fact, and I am certain that all here present will fill up the picture. I feel it a great privilege to move this resolution. I have many times experienced

great consideration from him, both in London and Canterbury, in each of which dioceses I have had the privilege of looking up to him as my diocesan. I feel that I need say no more—the speech of the mover has already been made by what has taken place in this hall—and without further preface, therefore I move, "That this Church Congress begs most respectfully to tender its thanks to the most reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the kindness and courtesy—and let me add, tact and wisdom—with which he has presided over us."

The resolution was then put to the meeting by the Rev. W. Wilks, and carried with acclamation.

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Mr. Hope, my reverend brethren, and my brethren of the laity,—I beg to thank you, not only for this kind expression of your good will, but still more for the spirit which has characterised the whole of the meetings of this week. It is to me a cause of profound thankfulness that this Congress has been held, and that having been held it has left on the country so favourable an impression. Our thanks are due to all those who have taken part in the deliberations of this week; our thanks are due to a kind Providence, which has made even the weather shine on us, and our thanks are due to all the friends in this neighbourhood who have welcomed the Congress, and done their best to render our residence here agreeable. I believe it is the custom for the President at the close of these Congresses to say a few words as to his own impressions of the Congress which he closes. Circumstances made it impossible that this could be done at our early sitting, and therefore, if I say a few words now, you will understand the reason why this expression of my feelings has been postponed till this our social gathering.

We thank all those who have expressed their opinions boldly, freely, thoughtfully, yet kindly, in this great meeting. It is out of the question that so many persons as have been gathered together here could assent to all the propositions which have been laid before this assembly. If, indeed, they could do so, the propositions themselves must have been mere platitudes. When men speak earnestly and from the heart, they must often say things which those who hear them cannot altogether follow or approve. But this I think is the feeling in all our minds, that what has been said has been said in such a manner, that as little offence as possible has been given to those who disapproved the sentiments uttered, while yet there has been an unflinching determination to "speak the truth in love."

I daresay it will be said that it is all very well for us to meet

thus together, but that there are certain difficulties, and even "burning questions," which we have avoided. We have been wise to avoid them. Such questions as must at all times agitate the Church of Christ are not to be settled in assemblies so large as this—are not to be discussed in ten minutes, with the fear of the bell haunting every speaker; and, therefore, we are wise if we have reserved many questions on which we might have spoken, which were very near, I doubt not, to all our thoughts, but which we conceived it was better should not be introduced on occasions such as this. With the great principles, however, on which such questions should be settled we have not hesitated to deal. We have not hesitated freely to express our thoughts and lay down, so far as we may, the great principles by which we were to be guided, and by those principles, no doubt, the questions which agitate the Church will calmly and quietly be settled, when the proper time for settlement arrives.

Now in such meetings as this many things are said which are wise. May I be excused if I venture to hint that it is possible also that some things may be said which are not wise. But whether they are wise things which are said or unwise, of this I am sure, that it is well they should be said and that there should be a free and full expression of opinion, in order that we may, in all the difficulties which may lie before us, arrive calmly and carefully at the truth. When I speak of some things being said which I do not conceive to be wise, I daresay you will think that it is not improbable I may be alluding to certain remarks which have been made as to the Bishops. An excellent friend of mine stated that he thought those now holding the office of Bishop were not the persons whom the clergy would have placed in that position if they had a free opportunity of expressing their minds. He said nothing about Archbishops. Well, I looked round the platform and saw my right rev. friend the Bishop of Winchester, and my right rev. friend the Bishop of Lichfield, and my right rev. friends the Bishops of Lincoln and Derry, and I said to myself if my friend is right so much the worse for the clergy. But whether my right rev. friends have got to their position or no by mere accident, they are, I am sure you will admit, very respectable men, and I know they will receive, not only from this assembly, but also from their dioceses and from the Church at large that respect and regard which their high characters command. Not only this, but I feel so much confidence in the good principle of Englishmen, that I believe those forms of speech which address Bishops as "Fathers in God" and as exercising their authority, some of them "by Divine Providence" and some "by Divine permission," will not be forgotten by earnest members of the Church of England. And I am confident that if there is one thing the

Church of England does feel it is this, that, as our people have due regard to authority, and look with respect to those whom God has placed over them, the Bishops will never fail to receive kindly sympathy and kindly assistance both from the Clergy and the Laity in the very difficult, and responsible positions which they hold. So much for the Bishops.

Let me now say a word for the Judges. They have been, upon the whole, pretty well treated here, considering the way in which they have been treated elsewhere, and I am not surprised at it. Some men seem to suppose that a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council must be the incarnation of all secular and evil things. I had sitting beside me to-day a man who, I regret to say, is not able to be with us this evening, whom some of you heard in the Section Hall to-day discoursing on the best mode of employing the laity in the work of the Church of England, who has held the high office of Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, and who, I believe, is more respected as a Christian man than perhaps, I may say, even any Bishop upon the Bench, and of whom when I was Bishop of London I felt it an honour to say that he was the lay Bishop of that Diocese. The name of Lord Hatherley must challenge the regard of every Churchman throughout the Empire, and I feel confident that while we have Judges such as he, not one word that is said against the judgment seat can be listened to by good Churchmen or good Christians of any persuasion. Now, I say this because I think it important that we should remember that we are living in a Christian country, and that our Judges are an honour to the Christian country in which we live.

But then there are those Houses of Parliament. What in the world are we to do with them? If we were living under His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and it was this new Parliament which has just been assembled in Constantinople of which we were speaking, I could quite understand the sort of view which some take of the secularising and altogether injurious influence of the Parliament as compared with the Church; but we have had Lord Nelson and Lord Midleton discoursing to us here on very important subjects of Church polity, and I do not know that either of them showed themselves utterly secularised or grossly ignorant in respect of the subjects on which they discoursed. We can only judge by the specimens which are brought before us, and my impression is that the House of Lords is not such an assembly as would be found in the Upper House of Representatives of his Imperial Majesty the Sultan. Then, with regard to the House of Commons. Well, here is one member for the county sitting near me, and there, a little way off is another member for the county. There are other members of that body here. I hope they are all Christians. I

have every reason to believe they are. I have the honour of knowing both these members for our county. I have never heard their Christianity doubted, and I believe them to be fair specimens of the members of the House of Commons.

There is another member of the House of Commons beside me (Mr. Beresford Hope) who has moved the vote of thanks. I do not allude to him. His may be thought an exceptional case. He is a sort of *persona mixta*—half a clergyman, half a layman. Then, again, a gentleman who was, but is not now, in the House of Commons—a Queen's Counsel—a very excellent friend of mine, addressed you to-day. Some of you did not like his sentiments, but it is impossible to doubt that he is a Christian, and it was also very apparent that he is a member of the National Church. My advice to you is this. In the midst of our difficulties—for, of course, there are always difficulties in every great Empire—ventilate if you will, better ways of selecting Bishops—by universal suffrage or by *plébiscite*; ventilate, if you will, better ways of appointing Judges. I hope you will get as good a Judge as Lord Hatherley. Ventilate better ways of discussing religious questions with a view to legislation—when you have produced your new plan, drawn up by somebody, and I have no clear notion of what it is to be—ventilate all these questions; but, after all, life is short, and speculation is long, and improvements are very slow of being made, and the wisest thing that most of us who are coming to the end of our time can do is this—to make the very best of the system in which God has placed us until we find a better. Let me say that in the Church of England—such as it is with all its faults and its excellencies, and, thank God, the excellencies seem far greater than the faults—we ought for the present to make the best of what we have. After all, if the Queen, the representative of the secular power, has a good deal of influence in this Church of ours, it might be in worse hands. I have heard many schemes proposed by persons who would vest the influence now vested in the Crown in some other quarter. But discussions generally result in this—namely, a very great doubt whether any other set of men, such, for example, as the Deacons of our Dissenting brethren, would upon the whole exercise a more beneficial influence on the supposed free Church of the future than Her Majesty the Queen, by God's blessing, exercises on this not free, it is said, Church of ours. Also, let this be considered, that, if we once get into the way of speaking as if the secular authorities of this land were merely secular, as if their great and only business in Parliament were to make this a rich nation—a nation in which the outward symbols of wealth were to be seen on every side—then, I fear, we might come to a very low style of statesmanship. If men, when they enter that great

Assembly which represents this Empire, were to consider only the things of this life, then, I fear, the Empire would soon go to decay. It is my hope for the British Empire that every man who enters that Assembly, does so with a deep impression on his mind that it is his business to do his best for his fellow-countrymen, not only as to their material prosperity, but as to what he believes to be their highest and undying interests, and to do so under a sense of the presence of Almighty God. Who would consent to be a legislator in either House of Parliament if he thought that he was to enter either Assembly merely as a man enters on the routine business of the Board-room of a railway company? Who that is worthy of the name of a representative of his fellow-countrymen ought not to feel himself constrained—as the prayers with which both Houses commence their deliberations remind him—to enter upon his duties under the deepest sense of responsibility which the religion he professes sanctions. Now, having made these remarks, let me say they merely tend to this—do not fly to imaginary things to the disparagement of that which you have got; look to high ideals, according to your power of realising them, and be sure you make the best of that which, by God's providence, is allotted to you. We thank God that besides our commission from above we are commissioned by a Christian country, as the Church of this nation, to perform a great Christian work. Difficulties stand in our way, no doubt, and those difficulties we hope to remove by a gradual process of improvement. But let us never indulge in any vain mode of speech which would seem to imply a doubt that the position in which we are placed has many and great blessings and advantages, and let us by God's help always make the best of them. We shall, I trust, all of us leave this assembly strengthened for our daily work. This quiet town of Croydon will soon return to its normal condition. A market day will become, perhaps, its most important event for the next few months. We who are further off in the country will be quieter still, but I trust that the echoes of this great meeting will be ringing in our ears, with this warning voice, that the Church of which we are members, and the Lord who presides over that Church, expects each of us, in that kindly, tolerant, loving spirit which has characterised this meeting, to go forth and do His work among those who agree with us and those who disagree with us; to give them the hand of fellowship so far as we can; to labour quietly but incessantly to advance the Kingdom of our Lord and Master in the special province which he has assigned to each of us, in a spirit of unity in the best sense of the word, with a determination to make the best of our opportunities, with earnest zeal for the Church of which we are members, and for the religion which we profess. All these thoughts, I

trust, will rest with us from this Congress. It will, I think, with God's blessing, be good for ourselves, and I think it will be good also for those without, if they see how we can unite, and how we are determined, with God's blessing, to keep together united in our common work. And now I have nothing more to say, except to return our warmest thanks—and I am sure I may do so in your name—to this town and neighbourhood of Croydon, for the ready welcome and large-hearted hospitality which have been extended to us. And I am desired especially by my friend Archdeacon Emery to say that some of those, who are separated from us by disagreement on many important questions, have cordially helped us so far as their consciences would allow—that some Dissenting ministers of this town have encouraged their congregations to be present at this Conference. And I feel confident that in this town and neighbourhood the presence of this Congress will be remembered for many years, and will make all Christians in the neighbourhood better, and cause them to love one another and to act more cordially together.

Rev. Canon Hodgson, Vicar of Croydon.

There has been some mention made about a Mayor of Croydon. I am inclined to wish that there was a Mayor, that a layman might have followed an ecclesiastic in addressing you. I don't know whether Mayors are more eloquent than Vicars, or Vicars than Mayors. But on this occasion you do not look for eloquence, but rather for a simple expression of true feeling. I shall, therefore, content myself with saying that we accepted the responsibility of receiving the Congress with mixed feelings of hope and fear. We scarcely knew what was before us, but, as it has turned out, our fears have been dissipated and our hopes realised. The tone and temper which have characterised the whole of the proceedings of this great Congress are but the echoes of the feelings which have prevailed throughout this town and neighbourhood. With regard to the clergy of this Rural Deanery, although we have our differences of opinion, and wide differences too, I never remember any ruri-decanal meeting taking place which was not marked by brotherly feeling and courteous bearing. And I am not surprised, though much pleased, to hear of Nonconformists among us extending their hospitality to visitors, for, during a residence of 30 years in this town, there has always existed between Church people and Nonconformists a kindly feeling, which I have always endeavoured to promote. Speaking generally for the inhabitants of Croydon, I believe that, expecting a stranger in their household, they have parted with a friend. We are all delighted with the proceedings of the past week. We are most thankful that the Congress has been carried out in a manner to give satisfaction to ourselves and to our visitors, and although we may not hope that Croydon, in our time,

will see such another meeting, yet should it in some future year be proposed to hold a Congress here, a cordial welcome will, I am convinced, be given to such proposal. I believe that the one we are now concluding will be found to have promoted Church feeling, Church union, and mutual sympathy and toleration. We have had the pleasure of seeing many old friends and made new ones, whose friendship we hope in coming days to strengthen. I cordially thank the visitors for this kindly acknowledgment of the hospitality, which it has been a pleasure to us to offer them, and for giving us a pleasant and profitable week.

Rev. W. Benham.

The duty devolves upon me, and I have great pleasure in discharging it, of moving "That the thanks of this meeting be offered to the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Dover, for presiding over the sectional meetings." What he is to the clergy of his Archdeaconry, that he has been here, kind, courteous, manly, winning the love and respect of all.

The Lord Bishop of Dover.

In closing the business of our section this afternoon, I have already expressed my thankfulness for the peaceful progress and prosperous termination of the Congress; and I am glad to say, once more, that I believe this success is mainly due to the earnest prayers which have gone up to Almighty God from many Christian hearts in the words of this week's collect, that "His Holy Spirit might in all things direct and rule our hearts." Our Section Hall has on some occasions been quite full, while at one meeting we had only twenty-five persons present. But both in prosperity and adversity, under sunshine and under cloud, we whom daily duty called thither, have striven to do our duty. We have done no more than others, and it is for this reason—*viz.*, because all have tried to do their duty that the Croydon Church Congress has been, not the failure which some anticipated, but a triumphant success.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Antigua.

Although we shall all agree that this has been the most successful of all the Church Congresses, and attribute much to the cordial and ready acceptance given by the members to the advice contained in the admirable address of our beloved president, we must also attribute a great deal of that success to those who have had the good fortune to appear on this platform. It would be no mere compliment to say we have listened to specimens of eloquence which few of us will find it easy to forget. We have had in many of the speakers an intellectual treat, but that is not the chief point. It is that we have had an open expression of opinions by men of every variety of sentiment and of contrary sentiments, and yet their utterances have been characterised by a Christian charity and

forbearance, which reflects the highest honour on them all. I hope, therefore, that you will, with acclamation, agree to present our thanks to the Bishops and clergy and laity who have by their addresses rendered such valuable services to this Church Congress.

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Winchester.

I do not know why I am called upon to answer to this resolution except that I have been, in a small degree, a speaker during the Congress. There have been readers for twenty minutes, and selected speakers for fifteen minutes, and as I was not one of either it has perhaps been thought that I am the better competent to form a judgment upon those papers and speeches. Without, however, doing that, I am able to say the results have been such as to satisfy all of us, that we are really one Church. I do not remember any single meeting during my long ministry, and not very short episcopate, which has so forcibly brought home to my mind that with all our differences and hard speeches and sometimes hard actions, we are at heart one Church. My intention in coming to this Congress was not to speak unless there was something like a breeze or a storm such as we were informed would arise by papers circulated with other hard things in them; but I think we shall all testify that there has been nothing like irreconcileable differences of opinion. Throughout the whole Congress the speakers have put a wise restraint on themselves, and have felt that in the presence of the Archbishop, in the presence of their fellow clergymen, they ought not to be careless of what they say, and that their fellow Christians had a right to their opinions as well as themselves—that they ought to speak manfully and boldly as before God and man, and that they ought not to speak offensively one to another. I was with Mr. Hope at that meeting to which he has alluded when these Congresses were started, but I have not, like him, been to all subsequent ones. I have, however, been to many, and I never was at one when there was more real forbearance, and at the same time more outspoken boldness and manliness than at this meeting. I hope your Grace will, in all your future life, have reason to rejoice that you came to preside over this Congress.

Rev. Canon Ryle.

I am put forward in a position I did not expect to take, namely, to express the thanks of the readers and speakers for the very kind reception you have given us, and the forbearance with which we have been treated. If anybody on this platform ought to thank you it is myself. I have said many things which may have tried that forbearance; but I have only spoken out what was in my mind, and kept nothing back. When I cannot speak out all my mind, I shall cease to attend Congresses. But if I have said anything to wound the feelings of anyone I make a public apology. If I have said anything about the Bishops which has seemed hard I beg to assure them that I wish them no harm at all, and that all I said

was for their good. I can assure them that no one feels more deeply than I do the extreme difficulty of their position, or recognises more completely the need they have for the prayers and intercessions of all those who love the Lord Jesus Christ and His Church. When I look at their position, I often think of the late Dean Alford's clever verses :—

"I'm glad I'm not a Bishop,
To walk in long black gaiters,
And have my conduct pulled about
By democrat dictators.

Here in cathedral close
I sit at home at ease,
And cool my old grey temples
Beneath the summer breeze.

While half the Bench from north to south,
From Exeter to Lincoln,
Have knots to cut or to untie,
'Twould drive me mad to think on!"

Of course we cannot always expect to agree when we stand on Congress platforms. For example, Mr. Hope has pulled about my opinions respecting James II. and the Seven Bishops. He has his view of the subject and I have mine. But our Congresses would be very dull if there were no differences, and if we did not speak out that which in our hearts we cherish and believe. In short there was much truth in what Dr. Johnson said of a husband and wife who had lived together for fifty years, according to report, without a single difference of opinion. "Sir," said the old philosopher to his informant, "it must have been mighty flat work."

The Very Rev. the Dean of Chester.

The resolution placed in my hands is one which I feel to be a high honour to propose. It is—"That the cordial thanks of the Congress be given to the Honorary Secretaries, the Rev. T. L. N. Causton, Major Watson, and the Rev. W. Wilks; and also to Mr. A. B. Burrows, honorary secretary of the Reception Committee, and other officials." I have been myself in office with reference to the practical working of a large Congress, and I know how difficult it is to avoid giving dissatisfaction and to make arrangements which will work smoothly and easily. But the best reason why they should have my sympathy and yours is our own experience of the success which they have achieved. We have had everything in our favour—we have had beautiful weather, and we meet in a crisis which the preacher told us was one of the most interesting in the history of our Church. We are presided over by a Prelate of the highest rank, and we have the advantage of his official position and personal character; but none of these things, or all of them, would have made our gathering so successful if it had not been for the labours of the gentlemen I have enumerated. I am sure the resolution will have your enthusiastic approval, especially when I combine it with the name of the Rev. W. Wilks.

Rev. W. Wilks, Hon. Sec.

I am sure that my fellow Honorary Secretaries will agree with me that we needed no formal expression of thanks after the words which have incidently fallen from the Archbishop and the Bishop of Winchester. The best thanks we could have wished for in return for all the hard work of the last year—and I must frankly admit it has at times been very hard work indeed—is the assurance from such high and unimpeachable authority that this Congress at Croydon has been a great success. We have been afflicted with many prophets of evil, and dire indeed were their forebodings; we were afflicted too with what was perhaps harder to bear, I mean the constantly reiterated anonymous assertions that the work we were doing for the Congress was done in behalf of a cause which was not only bad, but so bad that it could not possibly be worse. I am thankful, however, to say that though we sometimes trembled at the prophecies for fear there might be some shadow of truth in them, we never for a moment listened to these stern denunciations, but from the very first we knew that our work had high aims, and believed it would have still higher results; and now we have had the supreme gratification of hearing from the Archbishop and others that this Congress has been unusually successful, and has demonstrated to the world at large that the Church of England is not split into three opposing and irreconcileable parties, but that whilst differing and agreeing to differ on some points, High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church are at heart indissolubly one and for ever.

In my own name, and in that of my fellow secretaries, therefore, I thank you. But there was one name which the Dean of Chester was not commissioned to mention, but which must not, as indeed it cannot, be forgotten. Of what use would it have been for us to have brought you all here if we had had no building in which to receive you? I ask you to look at this magnificent hall, so spacious, so lofty, so fine in all its proportions, but in which the weakest voice at the Congress could be heard most distinctly. And you must bear in mind that it is a building of a kind such as you do not see put up every day; our architect has had no examples to guide him, but size, light, space, and sound—the most important—in fact the whole thing has, of necessity, been entirely the result of his own judgment and foresight; and I think you will all agree with me that he has produced a building in every way to be proud of, and that may most favourably compare with others intended to be more stable and lasting. I therefore ask you to accord your heartiest thanks to our Honorary Architect, Mr. Edward Salter.

Mr. Salter, Hon. Architect.

My Lord Archbishop, Ladies and gentlemen,—I thank you very much for the great compliment you have paid me by receiving in so kind and marked a manner the vote of thanks which Mr. Wilks has been good enough to propose to the hon. architect of this Congress. I can only assure you that my work in erecting this building has

been a labour of love and a real gratification and pleasure, and I am amply rewarded by hearing that you are all satisfied with it. I ought to acknowledge the great assistance I have received from the committee, and especially from Mr. Wilks, without whose unwearying labour this Croydon Congress could not have been so signal a success.

Mr. Wm. Grantham, Q.C., M.P.

I am glad to have the opportunity, as one of the representatives of this county, to express my satisfaction that its chief town should have shown itself so worthy of this great occasion. It is true we have not here, as in some towns which have offered a welcome to the Church Congress, a grand historic cathedral crowded with glorious memories—memories of the past; nor can we boast, as in other towns, of our great commercial wealth, but we have shown ourselves worthy to take rank with them as one of the great centres of national life, and I rejoice that it has been in this county that such sterling proof has been given, not only of the vitality, but of the feeling of unity that exists in our grand old national Church. The success of the Congress (one of the largest ever held) has been owing to several causes, but not the least of those causes has been the openheartedness of the inhabitants of this town. They have thrown themselves heartily into the work, and formed a committee to make arrangements for so many visitors. From the beginning to the end not one single hitch has been discovered, and their success has been complete. Never has there been a greater number of persons gathered together at one time, and yet all has gone "merry as a marriage bell." It would be invidious to select names from the self-denying and laborious committee of the inhabitants that was appointed, when all are so worthy of being specially mentioned, but if I must single out one name, that must be the name of Dr. Carpenter, to whom, on behalf of the Committee, I ask you to join me in giving our most hearty thanks.

Mr. Alfred Carpenter, M.D., J.P., &c.

In returning you my thanks, I have only to say that everyone on this committee was determined that the Congress should be a success, and we are glad to find our labours have achieved that result.

The Ven. Archdeacon Emery.

One piece of business remains which it is my duty, as Permanent Secretary, to bring forward. It is proposed in future to have a large Consultative Committee, in extension of that agreed upon at Bath in 1873: and I ask the Congress now to call it into existence. Its duty will be to receive invitations for future Congresses, to recommend where the next Congress shall be held, and to advise

generally with the Local Committee formed at the next place of meeting.

A resolution constituting the Consultative Committee was then put and agreed to.*

The following are the members of the Committee, viz :—

(a) The Presidents and Secretaries of previous Congresses :

(b) Also,

Earl of Harrowby.
Earl Nelson.
A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., M.P.
T. Salt, Esq., M.P.
J. G. Talbot, Esq., M.P.
Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, M.P.
Cecil Raikes, Esq., M.P.
John Walter, Esq., M.P.
J. G. Hubbard, Esq., M.P.
Sir W. W. Heygate, M.P.
Hon. C. L. Wood.
Sir Antonio Brady.
Hon. Captain F. Maude.
Wyndham Portal, Esq.
George Skey, Esq.
F. H. Dickinson, Esq.
Thomas Hughes, Esq.
J. M. Clabon, Esq.
Dr. Alfred Carpenter.
Eugene Stock, Esq.
C. L. Higgins, Esq.
F. S. Powell, Esq.
C. H. Lovell, Esq.
Sydney Gedge, Esq.
J. A. Shaw Stewart, Esq.

Bishop of Winchester.
Bishop of Lichfield.
Bishop of Carlisle.
Bishop of Ely.
Bishop Perry.
Dean of York.
Dean of Chester.
Archdeacon Trollope.
Archdeacon Hannah.
Archdeacon Hessey.
Archdeacon Emery (Sec).
Canon Barry.
Canon Farrar.
Canon Gregory.
Canon Garbett.
Canon Walsham How.
Canon Ryle.
Professor Wace.
Prebendary Cadman.
Rev. Sir Emilius Bayley.
Rev. Dr. A. T. Lee.
Rev. Dawson Campbell.
Rev. W. D. Maclagan.
Rev. R. W. Randall.
Rev. R. C. Billing.
Rev. Berdmore Compton.
Rev. G. Venables.

The most Rev. the President then pronounced the Benediction, and the proceedings terminated.

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* The first meeting of the Committee was held November 21st, in the National Society's Room, when the invitation for Sheffield was accepted for 1878.

The Permanent Secretary was also requested to draw up a digest of the rules of Church Congress as they have been hitherto followed; and submit such digest to an adjourned meeting of the Committee for revisal and completion.

THE SERMON

PREACHED IN THE PARISH CHURCH, CROYDON,

On Saturday, October 13th, 1877,

BY THE

Rev. CANON FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S.

"Fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God."—Is. xli. 10.

We have been meeting together, my brethren, during the last few days, to take mutual counsel respecting many things which concern the welfare of the Church and of the world; and we are here assembled to bid farewell to one another in an act of solemn worship, before we separate for another year of work. It is a very serious, it should be to all of us a deeply humbling thought, that the spiritual, and if the spiritual, then also the physical and moral well-being of myriads of our fellow countrymen throughout these teeming islands, has been entrusted in some measure to our charge. Nay, when we think of ourselves only, of our feebleness and ignorance; of our temptations to selfishness, vanity, and sloth; of that unreality against which, in constant prayer to God, we ought to be ever on our guard; of the effeminacy, the conventionality, the self-importance with which we are so often charged:—or when, again, we think of the immense opportunities open to us, and therefore of the immense responsibilities which are imposed upon us; when we think of all that we—so weak, so tempted, so earthly—ought to be in our lives; of all that we—so careworn, so occupied, so timid—ought to be in our dealing with the souls of men:—or, once more, when we look on the world around us, and see what

colossal forces there are arrayed against us, the indifference of the worldly, the passions of the sensual, the jealousy of the alienated, the opposition of the enraged; when we see our Church imperilled by unbelief, ringing with dissensions, attacked by politicians, exposed more and more openly to the unjust sneers of intellect, and the mistaken scorn of science:—when, I say, we look around us, and meditate on all these things, then the recollection of our position—of all the weakness we are, of all the force we ought to be—becomes not only solemn but awful, not only humbling but intolerable. If we stopped there, we might well be tempted at moments of discouragement or faithlessness, to wish that God had placed us in positions that made less strenuous demands upon the energy and conscience; in positions where the results of failure did but fall upon ourselves, and the reproaches from within would not be reverberated by a thousand echoes from without. Well may we sigh "And who is sufficient for these things?" But with the sigh comes the prayer; and with the prayer the inspiration; and, as we lift up our eyes to the hills whence cometh our help, though we be deep in the darkness of the valley, lo! the rosy dawn shines high upon their summits, and we know that it shall broaden to the boundless day!

2. Let us then fear not, only believe, for "the best of all is, God is with us." Not for one moment are we left to our own unaided powers. Are we feeble? Yes, utterly feeble, utterly inadequate, deserving all scorn; sinful in ourselves, divided against each other, worldly of heart, stammering of tongue, unclean of lips; but Christ's strength is made perfect in weakness, and it was with the irresistible might of weakness that the martyrs shook the world. And is our work vast? Aye, vast as the immortality of man; but it is never we that do it, but Christ that worketh in us. We are less than nothing; it is of privilege, not of need that God entrusts to us the task which He might entrust to more than twelve legions of angels, of whom the least, it has been said, could, at a touch, shatter a rock into smaller atoms than the sand it stands upon, and a millstone into finer flour than it grinds. The powers which oppose religion may look irresistible; and it may be that they will gather more and more densely to the valley of decision, inspired with a yet subtler malice, enflamed with a yet fiercer rage. But if we fight not against flesh and blood, neither are the weapons of our warfare carnal. Let us not fear, only believe. The forces against us are predestined to defeat; and if we put on the whole armour of righteousness, there is not the weakest Abdiel among us all, who may not walk, defiant and unharmed, through the very centre of their menacing array.

3. And oh! do not think, my reverend brethren, or rather, for I know that you will not think so, let not *the world* think—

that these assurances are but the cant of the advocate, but the conventionalities of the profession. If any be not content to take them on the assurance of conscience or of Scripture, let him test them by the indisputable facts of secular history. That history of eighteen centuries is a new Bible to us; a continuous revelation; a constant and visible fulfilment of the Divine prophecy "Lo! I am with you always, even to the end of the world." If you feel inclined to fear the giant champions, the intense hostilities, the impenetrable indifferences which are against us, look up and see whether the hills around the beleaguered city have not, in all ages, been full of fiery chariots and fiery horses. What hope could there have seemed to be for Christianity, when the sun was setting upon the bleeding figure which had been just unnailed from the shameful cross? What hope when the infant Church was ravaged and scattered by a ruthless persecutor? What chance against the religions of the world, when a poor hunted missionary, scarred and sick, scorched with Sirius and smitten by Euroclydon, stood, chained and doomed, with not one soul beside him, before the brutal judgment-seat? What hope when Nero drove his chariot through the gardens of his Golden House amid blazing torches of which each was a martyr in his shirt of flame? What hope when Diocletian and Maximillian struck their medals "*Deleta religione Christiani quae orbem turbabat?*" Only consider what vast forces were, during those three centuries, banded with internecine fury against the faith of Christ! There was all Judaism with its magnificent hierarchs, its Sinaitic splendours, its immemorial prestige. There was all Paganism with its grace and glitter, its Hellenic gaiety, its pillared temple, its radiant and fascinating charm. There was civil power—with its absolute Emperors, its invincible legions, its illimitable wealth. There was philosophy with its logic, its eloquence, its depth. There was satire with its scathing epigrams, and poetry with its lyric songs. There was a witchery of vice, there was not a plausibility of virtue, there was not a pomp of wealth, there was not a pleasure of sensuality, which was not enlisted for its overthrow. Even good men hated it. The thoughtful Tacitus called it an execrable superstition. The amiable Pliny dragged its votaries to execution. Celsus and Porphyry impeached it with eloquence and learning; Lucian bespattered it with bitter cynicism, and Martial with ribald wit; even the wise and noble Epictetus dismissed it with a sneer. Nor was it only the Nero's and the Galerii who tried to stamp it out; it was the just Aurelius, the politic Diocletian, the philosophic Julian. How could it possibly resist such tremendous combinations? Intellect spurned it, force grappled with it. Athens encountered it with bursts of laughter; Rome, with her iron hand, smote it on the lips. Again, I ask how

could the rude fishermen, and the branded tent maker—he who has been called in scorn "the ugly little Jew"—hope to defeat the Siren sorceries of Greek beauty, the imperial forces of Roman power? What hope was there for the outcasts of the Ghetto, and the haunters of the catacomb, against the pride, the passion, the eloquence, the glories of a thousand Pagan, of 1500 Jewish years?

4. Well this scorned Christianity did resist; it did succeed, it did absolutely triumph. And why? Simply because its children did not fear, and did believe. You know, the world knows, and cannot obliterate, what happened. Christianity drew no sword. She used no sorceries. She did but hold up her cross of wood; she did but point to Him who had died thereon; she did but sing her hymns to Christ at dawn; her martyrs did but smile upon the rack and from the flame, her children did but live sweet lives of love and purity, and lo! before the "tempestuous glory," not of her battles but of her sufferings, Kings and their armies did flee and were discomfited, and they of the household divided the spoil. Years passed on—years of struggle, years of persecution; but before three centuries were over, by her very meekness, by her very ignorance, by her very simplicity, she had shamed the sorcerers, and convinced the philosophers, and emptied the temples, and silenced the oracles, and above the towering eagles of the legions, and the jewelled diadem of Emperors, she had placed, as the proudest of all emblems, her cross of shame.

5. Great—and yet the least great, the least amazing of her triumphs! Far more surprising is it that over the social life of heathendom, no less than over its gigantic power, she had silently but irresistibly prevailed. Slavery lay at the very basis of the social system; Christianity did not—could not without dangerous revolutions—denounce it; yet, by simply proclaiming the equality of man before God, she sapped its very foundations, and made St. Paul's few lines of a private letter to Philemon the Magna Charta of the world. Even under Christian emperors continued the brutal excitement of gladiatorial games; but they instantly fell doomed when the poor monk of the Thebaid leapt in God's name into the arena, and sealed his witness against them with his blood. Over half the world womanhood had been degraded, childhood neglected, suffering abandoned, the sacredness of purity trampled and ignored; but this despised religion elevated woman to the beloved helpmeet of men, and hallowed childhood with the lustral dews of baptism, and built her homes and her hospitals for every form of suffering, and made unblemished chastity a cardinal virtue of her sons. Nor did she only triumph over the guilty customs of society; but, more even than this, she triumphed in the very heart of man. Need we any further

witness than this one fact? Read all the annals of antiquity, and you will find there heroes and magnanimous men, and men whose souls burned with a lofty patriotism.

"All brave, many noble, and some pure;"

but when you look for something more—when you seek among them all for an example of *holiness*, you find that the very ideal was non-existent—that many of the victors and teachers of the ancients were disgraceful in their lives. One perhaps you may find in all Greek history—a Socrates; two perhaps in all Roman history—Aurelius and Epicletus, to whom, long after the truths of Christianity had purified the air, you might doubtfully apply the epithet of "holy." But Christianity made holiness a common spectacle. It was she, and she alone, that exalted pity into a universal virtue; she alone who first grasped the grand conception of humanity; she who invented or ennobled the very names for humility and charity. If you can find few or none who were "holy,"—few or none whose lives were indeed exemplary—in the long waste of Pagan centuries, can you not find them now in every age, in every country, in every village, in every street? Have you not seen, and not in dreams,—have you not seen even in poor hamlets and London slums—lives rich with the fruits of the Spirit, foreheads whereon the Lamb has set his seal? There is no triumph of Christianity comparable to this,—that she came to a guilty and degraded world, and made thousands and thousands of its men and women walk as children of the light, till, touched with transfiguration as with a ray out of God's eternity, we look upon them and, lo! their very faces are as the face of an angel.

6. But these, perhaps, were only initial victories, to be followed by collapse and by decay. I may not pursue the tale, but, again, you know. You know, how when the hordes of Northern nations burst over the devastated empire, the Church who had redeemed the Greek and Roman, moulded also the barbarian world; how her Bishops earned the title of *defensores populi;* how it was a pope and not an emperor,—a Leo and not a Cæsar,—who met Attila at the gates of Rome; how it was Christian missionaries,—a Boniface and an Ulphilas,—not Imperial soldiers, who won them to forsake for the "white Christ" their warrior deities, and wield their swords as a crusading chivalry. Nor were her successes less striking within her own pale. Heresies arose, but they were refuted; they spread, but they were subdued. Against an Arius she raised an Athanasius, against a Pelagius an Augustine. When the world grew careless of salvation, the hermits uplifted in the wilderness their silent protest against its sins. When it needed a type of social holiness her Benedictines set the high example

of toil, and humility, and peace. When the Church itself was corrupted by wealth and pride, the Franciscans renewed on the Umbrian hills the poverty and self-denial of their Lord. When Feudalism held all Europe under its iron network, it was the Church alone which had the courage and the power to dash down the mailed arm of the baron, and to proclaim that God was the God also of the serf. When there was an abject servility to noble rank, it was she alone who, by her steady exaltation of wisdom above violence, of righteousness above force, impelled emperors to kiss the feet, and hold the stirrup of her peasants' sons. She it was who saved the spark from dying out of the cold embers of learning, she who saved the precious literature of antiquity, she who inspired the immortal poems, and reared the imperishable cathedrals. Nor, when she herself tended to become tyrannous and corrupt—when she made turbid with alien influx of error, and system, and tradition, the crystal stream of faith—when she put on the scarlet robe, stiff with earthly pomp, and made merchandise of the souls of men, did God fail to raise from the midst of her his witnesses—a Fra Dolcino, a Savonarola, a Wycliffe, a Huss —until at last the voice of Luther's indignation shook the world. And so we come to the days of our Fathers. Once more, the faith passed through a period of consummate peril. In the 18th century Atheism sat on the thrones of Europe; the philosophy of Voltaire was triumphant, the Church of England was asleep, the belief in Christ was held, in polite society, to be a mark of designing hypocrisy or of imbecile superstition. But, once again, Christianity arose from her ashes. The example in high places of a Wilson, a Butler, a Berkely, the poems of a Cowper, the indignant voices and Gospel teachings of a Wesley and a Whitfield; the doctrines and the lives of a Newton, a Fletcher, a Wilberforce—afterwards the eloquence, the sincerity, the learning, the self-denial of the school of Oxford—shamed into decency and startled into repentance a corrupt and guilty age. Does not such a history, from century to century, peal forth to us from the heavenly places, "Fear not, for I am with thee?" Does it not prove to us that, however terribly the little boat may seem to be tossed by wild hurricanes on stormy seas, her mariners have but to toil on faithfully at the oar, and grasp the helm, and trim the sail, and through the storm and through the midnight they, like their predecessors of old, shall see, in the third watch, the white gleam of the fluttering robe, and hear the thrilling voice which says to them "It is I; be not afraid?"

7. And we, my brethren, are the children of the prophets, and are surrounded by their perils. It would be idle to ignore the dangers which assail our Church and faith. But may we not say with the eloquent Montalembert, "We are the successors

of the martyrs, and we tremble not before the successors of the Apostate; we are the sons of the Crusaders, and we will not give ground before the sons of Mons. De Voltaire." Our trials are in great measure from our own sins; they are partly the slow Nemesis of an evil time, partly the incurable follies of an obstinate tradition. We toiled at education; we gathered in the children of the poor and taught them long before education became a political watchword; yet, chiefly because of our narrowness and intolerance, education is being taken from our hands. We have built and rebuilt and restored our churches by hundreds, at immense expenditure, yet, chiefly because we have failed to read the signs of the times, our very churches are threatened. We have been, in thousands of remote and wretched places, the sole guides and friends of the poor and destitute, yet from a want of due courage in our dealings with the rich the working classes love us not, and their leaders misrepresent our aims. We are of all professions the poorest and the most struggling, yet from the past greed of pluralities and mammon-worship, our Church is being continually taunted with her enormous wealth. What, under these circumstances, ought we to do? Persecute, denounce, murmur?—we could not if we would, but I am quite sure that most of us, at any rate, would not if we could. What then; have I, as one of the least worthy, nothing to advise? Yes! I say let us without fear, without excitement, without irritation,—in simplicity, in faithfulness, in charity,—by knowing how to love, and labour, and wait,—work, trust, pray; strive more and more to live innocent, and contented, and diligent, and manly lives. The "*Nos soli innocentes sumus*" will, if we can say it, be now as in the earliest centuries the most impregnable bulwark of our faith; and a political observer has rightly noted that "no hierarchy and no creed has ever been overthrown by the people on account only of its theoretical dogmas, so long as the practice of the clergy was incorrupt and conformable with their professions."* "By pureness, by knowledge," these, it has been said, are the two great wings that have winnowed, that will still continue to winnow the mighty world.

8. I have spoken then, my brethren, not for one moment to discourage, but to inspire. Sons of the prophets, what they did, we can do, by the same high aid, though it be, alas! too often, with dimmed enthusiasm and diminished self-denial. We, like them, have still to win to Christ the heathen who have not known Him, and the people that have not called upon His name. We, like them, have to proclaim the common brotherhood of men in Christ, and the common access by Christ of men to God. O, that weak words of mine could

* Nugent Memorials of John Hampden.

bring home to any of us the breadth, the nobleness of the work we have to do! We have, in these days, a message to all classes. We have great messages to deliver, great battles to fight. We have, it seems to me, a very special, perhaps, a greatly neglected message to the rich. For all our showy subscription lists, I cannot but think that the gifts of multitudes of our wealthiest to the cause of God—their gifts, I mean, in proportion to the boundless margin of their superfluities—are often disgracefully inadequate, shamefully disproportionate; a proof of indifference far more than a monument of liberality. And when we see them steeped to the very lips in every conceivable luxury and comfort, and giving to the cause of charity, and the service of Heaven, so miserable a fraction—not a tithe, nay not a twentieth, nay not a hundredth, nay, sometimes, not even one thousandth part of those magnificent revenues which some of them squander and lavish in sins and follies, and many of them in personal luxuries and family ostentations—then we must not hesitate, if need be, to

> Bare the mean heart that works beneath a star,

and to say to them—aye in language stern and plain as that of Amos and St. James, or like that thundercrash at midnight of "Thou fool, this night"—the truth, that, daub themselves as they will with the thick clay of selfish grandeur, they are but the brief responsible stewards, not the permanent owners of their possessions, and that, instead of nourishing their hearts by immense self-indulgence and endless accumulations, for a day of slaughter, it would be unspeakably a better and a happier thing for them to live richly than to die rich.

And we have a very special message to the labouring classes; a hearty God-speed for every effort at self-amelioration; a vigorous support in every aim after improved conditions of existence; but, at the same time, a serious warning that, while striving, as they have the fullest right to do, to obtain full justice from others, they do not sully these efforts by envious tyrannies among themselves, that they do not ruin alike themselves and their country by impossible demands, that they suffer neither sloth nor sensualism to delude them with false ideals of the lowest minimum of work and the utmost maximum of wage; that they rely less on the force of combination, and more on their own righteousness, and honesty, and thrift; less on coercing their employers, and more on reforming themselves; less on becoming formidable, and more on becoming temperate and provident; less on the unwonted sense of enormous power, and more on the eternal laws of equity and wisdom.

And we have a message—a message which is a gospel, and the only gospel to the poor—that Christ was poor, and His

apostles poor, and that some of the noblest, aye, and the happiest men who have ever lived, and who now live, are poor; and that there is a beatitude for honest poverty transcendently deeper and sweeter than for the coarse comfort of those whose heart is fat as brawn; and that for the real ills of poverty there is an infinite hope, and an atonement for its intolerable wrongs.

And we have a message for the young, a loving message to save them from the inexperience and the passions of their youth, and so lead them by the hand to the marble threshold of a noble manhood; preparing them alike by precept and example to maintain the high honours of this virtuous and godly island; teaching them to scorn luxury and to take high labour as their portion, and to choose Christ for their Captain, and do their duty to all the world; making them feel how divine is the blush of modesty on young human cheeks, and convincing them in the teeth of the deadly pseudo-science which, by preaching the harmlessness of impurity, degrades itself into a "procuress of the lords of hell," that the path of happiness lies not in chambering and wantonness, but in chastity and self-control. And we have a message—oh, how sweet and how divine a message—to the fallen; a message of hope and of forgiveness and of moral renovation, to the stained and weeping woman, to the forlorn and outcast child, to the thief in the lodging-house, to the felon in the dock, to the murderer in the cell; a message that the God loves them Whose name they haply never heard save to weight a curse, and that Christ died for their souls, to Whom, if they come, "they shall in no wise be cast out."

And with these messages to deliver, we have also battles to fight, of which I will now name two alone. The battle against Unbelief, to be waged, not with the futility of ignorant anathema, nor the usurpation of repudiated authority, but by the calmest thought, the purest candour, the deepest learning that we may, and, above all, with that weapon which the weakest hand may wield, the argument of blameless lives; and the battle against Intemperance, that national sin which makes us "the helots of the world," not dallying with it, not scoffing at those who are in earnest against it, not smoothing the way for it by feeble compromises, and so weakly and basely suffering to grow up around us another generation of miserable drunkards, the ruin of England's glory and the drain of England's strength; but, if we be men, if we be true men, if we be indeed in earnest, seizing this foul and fetid monster resolutely by the throat, and wrenching its poison from it, and crushing its head beneath our heels.

9. But, in a few last words, how are we to do this? Again, I say that we can do it, as our fathers did before us, by faith,

by zeal, by work, by prayer. Is Christianity a spent force? Is it an exhausted impulse? Is it an extinguished torch? Is it a dying illumination? Have we not so much as heard whether there be a Holy Ghost? Ah, my brethren, surely their Father, their Saviour, their Guiding Spirit are ours, and for us no less than for them, the whole blue heaven may be a shield upon the arm of God! We shall not do this work of God's by recoiling before its difficulties, or by reviling its opponents, or by muttered shibboleths, or by multiplied functions, or revised rituals, or mechanical organisations, but by the burning enthusiasm which darts a ray of lightning into the very dullest work; by the "warrior zeal, mounting the flaming chariot, and shaking loosely the slack reins;" by the eagle faith, "gazing with unscaled eye on the noonday beam;" by the heroic self-abnegation, which thrills with "an epidemic of nobleness" the coarsest and basest hearts. If we cannot at once gaze on the noonday sun of righteousness, look we up at the galaxy of saintly souls who have caught His splendour. The faith, which, in our own Church, inspired an Augustine and a Paullinus; which raised St. Edmund, of Canterbury, above the vulgar love of wealth; which made Langton and Grostête so brave amid political dangers; which enabled Ridley and Latimer to bear up amid the flames; that faith which sustained the toils of Ussher, and the patience of Tyndale, and the fairness of Hooker, and the eloquence of Taylor, and the song of Milton, and the love of Wilberforce and Howard, is it dead? or is it the very same faith which in our own day, made Keble happy in his little vicarage, and Milman calm amid storms of obloquy; which sent Mackenzie to Africa, and Coleridge Pattison to the Coral Isles, and Florence Nightingale to the hospitals of Scutari, and which day by day on thousands of the faithful who are not famous sheds its courage and its joy? Many of these saints knew not that they were saints; thought not that their work was so divine: dreamed not that their names should shine like beacon-lights upon the holy hills to show what pure air man's life can breathe. They just did in quietude, their daily, their often painful and discouraged, work. "One never mounts so high as when one knows not whither one is going." Let us not be disheartened, my brethren, if, with all this great work to do, we seem to be doing but sadly little. Let us work, let us love, let us even, if it be God's will, but stand and wait. We cannot all do the same work, but, though there may be diversities of operations, it is the same spirit. Whether, therefore, we be students, or teachers, or ministers to the poor, whether we exhort, or rule, or write, or prophesy, oh let us present an united front. Let us be ashamed of puerilities; let us blush at disproportions; let us bow our heads for very humiliation, if,

being the servants of such a Master, at such a time, in such a Church, in such a cause, with such tastes before us, we do the devil's own work by fomenting the treacheries of a ruinous dissension, and fanning into destroying conflagration the wretched sparks of party selfishness. In God's Church there is room for all; for a Jerome no less than an Augustine; for an Abelard as for a Bernard; for an Erasmus an well as a Luther; for a Fénélon as for a Bossuet; for a Tillotson as for an Andrews; for a Wilson as for a Wesley; for an Arnold and a Maurice as for a Keble and a Hook. Working together as one man, let us fear not, only believe. Let not one of us consider his work to be humble work, or insignificant work, so it be God's work. No act is little, if it be done in Christ's name; no service valueless if it be persevered in for Christ's sake. There is nothing that He loves more, nothing that does Him more effectual service, than even little duties if they be inspired by great principles. They pass into the pure and noble habits that regenerate the world.

> "There will come a weary day" perhaps
> When, overtasked at length,
> Both hope and love beneath
> The weight give way;
> Then with a statue's smile,
> A statue's strength,
> Patience, nothing loth
> And uncomplaining, does
> The work of both.

And on such humble, quiet, faithful duties, come in turn the tides of inspiration. Oh let us then separate in faith, in charity, in hope. If we separate only to push to extremes our party wilfulness; to sacrifice the sacred work of the Church of God for disputes about æsthetic fancies or unessential formulæ; to set the example of vanity, and virulence, and self-seeking; then we deserve to fall, nor long will the lifted arm remain unswung, or the voice of the Holy One refrain to call "Cut down the barren tree." If we separate to act as though our party (if we have one, but some of us, I hope, have no party, and own no party but the Church of Christ) as though our party were more to us than righteousness and truth; if we try to found our own importance on the assumptions of arrogance, or the superstitions of timidity; if we dare to thrust ourselves, or our doctrines, or our offices, restrictively between God's lowest and their free immediate access to this love; if we revive the arts and resuscitate the pretensions of a tyrannous, a corrupt, and an intolerant priestcraft; if we confound a feeble, heresy-hunting, irritability with the holy duties of faith and love, then, as we shall fall, God grant we may fall with such a crash as shall be a warning to all future times. But oh, you who will go away not to approve

yourselves and vilify your brethren, but to work in your Saviour's name; to be familiar with foul streets and lanes; to sit by peasants' bedsides; to teach in dingy schoolrooms; to relieve the widow's anguish and dry the orphan's tears; and having toiled long and unknown, and haply unnoticed, in dull parishes far away, to lie down at last, forgotten, amid the green graves where "the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep," God will bless *you*, He will honour *you*. Fear not, only believe. Stubborn inflexibility, clamorous disloyalty, reckless novelty, ambitious partisanship, angry agitation—these may be prominent, may be successful, but they are base and vulgar things; but ye, true priests of God, veritable children of the Most High, meek saints, and servants of a crucified Redeemer, your work is not low work, not poor work, it is noble work, it is sacred work, it is most Christ-like work, it is work of which the reward and the blessing shall last for evermore. Whatever enemies be sowing tares, ye are sowing good seed, and if it be in tears ye shall yet bring again your sheaves with joy. A Church that hath such workers may well exclaim "Rejoice not over me, Satan mine enemy, for though I fall I shall rise again." We shall pass certainly through days of trouble. "Such," it has been said by one of the noblest of living voices, "such is God's will, gathering in the elect, first one and then another, by little and little, in the intervals of sunshine between storm and storm, snatching them from the surge of evil even when the waters rage most furiously; but, meanwhile, thus much of comfort do we gain from what hath been hitherto; not to despond, not to be dismayed, not even to be anxious, at the troubles which encompass us. They have ever been; they ever shall be; such is our portion." "The floods are risen, oh God; the floods lift up their voice; the floods lift up their waves. The waves of the sea are mighty and rage horribly, but yet the Lord that dwelleth on high is mightier."

THE END.

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